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# E X A M I N A T I O N

Of Mr. *Thomas Ruddiman's* philological notes on the works of the great *Buchanan*, more particularly on the history of *Scotland* : K

In which also,

Most of the chronological and geographical, and many of the historical and political notes, are taken into consideration.

In a LETTER to a friend.

Necessary for restoring the true readings, the graces and beauties, and for understanding the true meaning of a vast number of passages of *BUCHANAN's* writings, which have been so foully corrupted, so miserably defaced, so grossly perverted and misunderstood :

Containing many curious particulars of his *life*, and a vindication of his *character* from many gross calumnies.

A B E R D E E N :

Printed for the AUTHOR : and sold by JOHN and GEORGE PATON at *Buchanan's* head in the parliament closs, *Edinburgh*.

M.DCC.LIII.

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S I R,

Y O U have been pleased to acquaint me, that the design of publishing a new edition of *Buchanan's* works with an answer to Mr. *Ruddiman's* chronological and historical notes, which has been so long interrupted, is still carrying on by some learned gentlemen in *Edinburgh*, and that you could wish to see the latter part of the design well executed; but that you don't apprehend there is any great occasion at present for a new edition of *Buchanan*. You own indeed, you have heard it suggested of late, that Mr. *Ruddiman* has altered and corrupted the text of that incomparable author, more especially of his history, in a vast number of places. But you can hardly believe, that Mr. *Ruddiman* should have been capable of acting such a part; since he was furnished with the best helps both printed and manuscript; and, if we can depend upon his own testimony, in the preface to *Freibairn's* edition (really written by himself though addressed to the publick in *Freibairn's* name, to save his modesty) made the best use of them that can well be imagined; and besides, consulted other gentlemen of the best taste and learning for a solution of such difficulties as occurred to him in the execution of his design of giving us as accurate an edition as possible of the great man's works he was employed to publish; and that at a time when he enjoyed his memory, and we may suppose, of consequence, all his other faculties in their greatest vigour and perfection; or in some of his late performances he has thought fit to inform us, that it was about forty years ago that he was so employed, and that he had once a lusty and well bearing memory; *my memory*, says he, *was once tolerably,*



(that is, very) good, tho' now it be much the worse for wearing. In short, to you it seems a perfect paradox, that a man of so great learning and industry, of such natural endowments, and so well assisted, should have ventured his reputation abroad in the learned world, in assuming the character of a critic on so great an author, without going upon sure ground. However, as a great part of mankind are but too apt to take things on trust, and you do not pretend to be exempted from being liable to be carried down the stream of common opinion, as of those that have abilities few have leisure and opportunity, and still fewer an inclination to enter into such discussions, and as you understand I have thoroughly examined that matter, you will be well pleased to hear my sentiments, and to be informed whether there be any sufficient ground for asserting that Mr. *Ruddiman* has, in any considerable number of passages, corrupted *Buchanan's* writings, more particularly his history, in the edition printed by Mr. *Robert Freebairn* at *Edinburgh* 1715 in 2 tomes in folio; of which edition he had the oversight, and which has generally been allowed to be the best and most correct: and to know Mr. *Ruddiman's* real character.

I do not indeed wonder that you have a difficulty to believe what has been alledged of *Ruddiman's* corrupting *Buchanan's* writings; for I myself would have believed it as little as you, before I made the trial; but, now that I have made it, I think I am able to shew you, that *Freebairn's* edition of *Buchanan's* works is vastly worse than the very worst that went before it; that whereas Mr. *Ruddiman* pretends to have altered or amended such passages only as were contrary to the genius and known rules of the *Latin* tongue, he discovers himself to be unacquainted with the one, to be ignorant not only of the elegancies, the idioms and figures, but also of the obvious use and signification of many of the

the words themselves, and to want skill or understanding to apply the other ; that he has grossly imposed on the publick by affirming in the general title page, that he has purged *Buchanan* of almost innumerable errors, and in the title page of the history, that, chiefly by the help of the manuscript copy of it in the library of the college of *Edinburgh*, he has corrected it in passages almost without number : it being manifest from the account which he himself gives of that manuscript that it has been either a first, or rather a second draught of the work, to which the author had not put his last hand, and as plain by comparing it with the first edition printed at *Edinburgh* in the author's life-time in 1582, that many beauties and graces have been added by the author's masterly hand in retouching his incomparable work, of which *Ruddiman* has robbed and spoiled it by pretending to correct the first and best edition by the manuscript or rude draught ; that, notwithstanding his mighty boasts, he has only corrected a few typographical errors by means of the manuscript, and that the most part of what he imagined to be slips of the press are so far from being blemishes that they are real beauties ; not to mention his spoiling the orthography by misspelling words and mispointing clauses and sentences without number : in one word, that *Ruddiman's* corrections, of which he has proposed to make a good many more than he has actually done, are for the most part corruptions of the text of *Buchanan's* writings, and that throughout the text and notes, he discovers ignorance, inattention, forgetfulness, vanity and inconsistency, want of taste, want of judgment, sometimes want of sincerity, and often caprice in altering, dashing out and foisting in, without reason and without authority. All that I require of you, sir, at present, is to suspend your judgment, till you see what I have to say for supporting so heavy a charge, and in the mean time to suffer me to

observe, that learning applied to frivolous or to wrong and wicked purposes must become either ridiculous or detestable ; and to adduce a passage or two from some eminent authors which may help to illustrate Mr. *Ruddiman's* character as a man of great learning and of a blessed memory.

The first of them is taken from *liv. i. ch. 24.* of the essays of *Michael de Montaigne*, who was a scholar of *Bachanan's*. “ In my younger years, says he, I have been often vexed to see in *Italian* comedies a pedant always for a fop, and the title of *magister* not to have a much more honourable signification among us. —

The most gallant men were those that held them in the greatest contempt, witness our good *du Bellay* *Mais je hay par sur tout un sçavoir pedantesque*. As I grew older, I found that they had the greatest reason, and that *magis magnos clericos non sunt magis magnos sapientes*. We readily enquire, does he understand *Greek* or *Latin* ? Does he write in verse or in prose ? But the principal question, is he become better or wiser, is left out. The enquiry should be, who is best learned, not who is most learned. We labour only to fill the memory, and leave the understanding and the conscience empty.”

Now for the memory, tho' Mr. *Ruddiman* has nothing extraordinary to boast of on this score, let us hear *Charron de la sagesse* ; which *Gabriel Naudé* told cardinal *Bagni* was the best book in the world, next to the bible, and *Guy Patin* in one of his letters cries out, O the fine book ! it is of more value than jewels and diamonds. Thus then *Charron* speaks of the memory, *liv. i. c. 17*. “ The memory is often taken by the vulgar for sense and understanding, but they are in the wrong : for both by reason and experience, the excellence of the one is commonly attended with the weakness of the other : 'tis indeed a faculty exceeding useful to the world, but it is much inferior to the understanding, and of all the parts



of the soul, the most delicate and frail. Its excellence is not exceeding requisite, except to three sorts of persons, to negociators, to such as are ambitious to talk (for the magazine of the memory is for ordinary fuller and better stored than that of the invention; and he who has it not, stops short, and must hammer and speak out of his own head), and to liars, *mendacem oportet esse memorem*. The defect of memory is useful in order not to tell many lies, to speak little, to forget offences. Mediocrity is sufficient in every thing."

To sum up Mr. Ruddiman's character in two words, he is a finished pedant, and a most furious calumniator; of both I have many proofs, but shall give some signal evidences of the last part of it, before I come directly to consider his pretended emendations of the text of *Buchanan's* writings and his notes upon them, where his pedantry will appear in the strongest light.

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Mr. *Thomas Ruddiman's* notes on the works  
of the Great *Buchanan*.

C H A P. I.

*Of the time when Buchanan began to write, and when he ended his history. Refutation of some of Mr. Ruddiman's calumnies; one, that Buchanan wrote his history to raise the Earl of Murray to the throne; another, that he did not continue it through the Earl of Morton's regency out of hatred to that nobleman. Some curious particulars of Buchanan's life.*

**A**S *Buchanan's* history of *Scotland* is to be the principal subject of the following sheets, it may not be improper to inquire into the time when he undertook, and when he finished that noble work; the rather, that by this means we shall have a taste of Mr. *Ruddiman's* skill in chronology, on which he so much values himself, and a fair opportunity of refuting some of his calumnies. In his notes on *Buchanan's* life, or continuation of it, pag. 10. *Rud.* tells us that *Buchanan* wrote the *Chamaeleon* and admonition to the true Lords in 1570, and that the dialogue *de jure regni* seems to have been written about this time (in page 18 of the preface he conjectures it to have

have been written in 1569.) Immediately he adds, what year he began to write the history of *Scotland* doth not as yet evidently appear : however it is not improbable that this work was undertaken not long after this time, that is, not long after 1569 or 1570; for it is not likely that a work *tantæ molis* of so difficult and extensive a nature should have been compleated in the course of a few years, by an old man labouring under continual diseases, and so often interrupted by the care of his royal pupil and other occupations. And here he quotes a passage near the end of the 27th letter in his collection, which he says was written about three years before the author's death, and consequently before the history was published; which as it was the greatest, so it was the last thing almost that happened to him in this world, since he survived the publication of it scarce an intire month. He adds, that in 1581 being broken with age and sickness he resigned all his employments, and prepared himself wholly for a private life or rather for a pleasant death; and that from this time having left the court, he kept himself at *Edinburgh*, in which city he died a little after five in the morning on *Friday 28th of September 1582*, of his age the 77th year. In the preface page 9th Mr. *Rud.* tells us that *Buchanan* seems to have spent the greatest part of his life from the year 1568 in compiling of his history, as far as his health, and the charge of instructing the king, which was at that time committed to him, did perm: for, as we have observed in another place, he did not survive the publication of it a whole month. Hence it appears, if *Rud.* speaks with accuracy, that he writ the notes on *Buchanan's* life before he writ the preface to his works, and, by comparing both passages together, that he retracts in the latter what he had advanced in the former; for in the one he says the history was begun not long after 1569 or 1570, and in the other that it was begun in 1568, where he



he falls asserts that at that time the charge of instructing king *James* the VI. was committed to the author ; for the late vindicator of *Buchanan* has obliged him to own that the act of privy council, by which *Buchanan* is called from his mastership of *St. Leonard's* college to attend king *James's* education, passed after the earl of *Murray's* death, which happened on the 23d day of January 15<sup>68</sup>. See his animadversions on the vindication of *Buchanan*, page 66, and the act of council itself page 9th and 10th of his notes on *Buchanan's* life, in which act the priory of *St. Andrews* is said to be destitute of a prior or commendatar.

But in his answer to the reverend Mr. *Logan's* treatise on government, he retracts his opinion of *Buchanan's* having begun to write his history even in 1568, to give the better colour to his old calumny of its having been undertaken to advance the earl of *Murray* to the crown, page 56, 57, and from 76 to 81. These passages give a pretty good view of our author's manner. First he artfully dissembles his own opinion ; next by several steps, and by turning the same things over and over, he ascends to a certain knowledge of what he once doubted, and still writes of in a wavering uncertain and shuffling way, and supports by false and precarious assertions, some of which destroy one another. " I have  
 " some reason to be of their mind ; tho' the thing be  
 " not absolutely certain, nor do I positively assert it, yet  
 " it looked much, and many things give very shrewd  
 " suspicions that way, and lastly, the matter is put very  
 " much out of doubt ; so that we have no difficulty to  
 " believe it." Just so in many other places of this answer of his to Mr. *Logan*. *I believe, I firmly believe,* and sometimes, *I'll be sworn*, are the arguments he uses to persuade his readers. And who would be so unmannerly as not to take his bare word for a sufficient warrant, and his opinions however unreasonable, tho'

not backed with his oath, for the standard of truth. In the passages above referred to, we have several alumnies vented against *Buchanan*, of which I shall relate two or three. 1st, That he wrote his history with view to the earl of *Murray's* obtaining the crown. 2dly, That he hated the earl of *Morton*. 3dly, That therefore he would not continue the history through his agency; which last seems to be purely *Ruddiman's* own invention.

The more effectually to refute the 1st of these slanders, viz. that *Buchanan* wrote his history with a design to raise the earl of *Murray* to the throne, I shall prove that he did not begin to write the history till some years after the earl of *Murray's* death, which happened January 23d 1570. And in order to that, I shall shew 1st, in opposition to what *Rud.* asserts, that the three first books containing a dissertation on the origin of the *British* nations and a geographical description of *Scotland*, were written before the other 17, which are more properly the history of *Scotland*. 2dly, That the three first books could not be written before the year 1572, and most probably were wrote in 1573 or beginning of 1574. 3dly, That *Buchanan* did not begin to write the 4th book, or the 1st of the last 17, till the month of October 1574.

First then, I am to prove in opposition to *Ruddiman's* assertion that the three first books containing a dissertation on the *British* antiquities and the geography of the kingdom of *Scotland* were written before the other 17 books. Mr. *Ruddiman* indeed boasts he has made it pretty clear, (a no mean discovery! *I will tell our author a thing that every one does not know*, tho' he had told it to all the learned world many years before,) that the 4th book and consequently the 5th, and so onto the 17th, were written before the 1st, 2d and 3d books, and that, by comparing a passage of book 1st chap. 21. page

9 B with an other in book 4th chap. 38. page 65 (you will observe that I quote the passages of the history in such a manner as you may easily find them, whether you have *Freebairn's*, *Burman's* or the last *Edinburgh edition* printed in 1727.) In *lib. 1. cap. 21.* *Buchanan* describes an ancient monument on the water of *Carro* about 2 miles below *Dunypace*, and tells us, he once had a conjecture that it was a temple of *Terminus*, but then being informed by credible persons that in a certain island there were several buildings (and two in *Ross*) of the like form, he had retracted his former opinion. In *lib. 4. cap. 38.* under the reign of *Donald* the 27th, and first christian king, he mentions his conjecture that the said monument on *Carro* water was not a temple of *Claudius* but of *Terminus*, without giving us any intimation that he had retracted this his opinion. *Ruddiman* in his note on the former passage says, by comparing the two places together, it plainly appears that the 4th book was written before the 1st, and consequently before the 2d and 3d, and that for the same reason we may believe that the whole history of *Scotland* was first finished and then the 3 first books adjected to it as it were by way of preface. But this proves only, as *Mr. Innes* has observed, that the three first books, or that part which contains the geographical description of the kingdom were revised after the whole was finished. It might even be alledged that in the first book, *Buchanan* is only retracting the opinion he had advanced in 1558 in the most elegant epithalamium which he wrote on the marriage of *Francis de Valois* and *Mary Stewart*, king and queen of *France* and *Scotland*, viz. that the monument described in the history was a temple of *Terminus*. These lines quoted by *Ruddiman* in his said note,

*Roma securigeris prætendit moenia Scotis,  
Hic spe progressus posita, Carrontis ad undam  
Terminus Ausonii signat divortia regni.*

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Be that as it will, it is certain that the three first books were written before the other 17. My first proof is taken from the same book from which *Ruddiman* pretends to prove the contrary, *lib. 4. cap. 16. page 61, A B*, under the 21st King's reign, *Corbred* the 2d surnamed *Golde*, whom some think to be the same person with *Galgatus* mentioned by *Tacitus*. The *Scots*, says *Buchman*, gave him the surname of *Golde*, because he had been educated among the *Britons*. *Scoti enim veterem consuetudine advenas Galdos vel Gallos, velut Germani Wals appellare solent: quae de re alibi plura diximus.* (Here *Ruddiman* reads *Walsch* for *Wals*, meaning I suppose to make the author uniform.) "For the *Scots* according to an ancient custom use to call strangers *Gald* or *Galle*, as the *Germans* call them *Wals*; of which subject we have treated more at-large in another place." Now this other place is *lib. 2. cap. 26, 27. and especially cap. 28. pag. 34 and 35. A. Scoti prisci omnes nationes quae Britanniam incolunt, in duo genera partiuntur: alteros Gail, alteros Galle, sive Gald appellant: hoc est (ut ego quidem interpretor) Galæcos, & Gallos, &c.* "The antient *Scots* divide all the nations that inhabit *Britain* into two kinds: the one they call *Gael*, the other *Galle* or *Gald*." Farther they please themselves with the term *Gael*, and call their own language *Gaelic*, and glory in it as more polite and elegant than that of the other inhabitants whom they despise as barbarous in respect of themselves; and tho' at first the *Scots* called the *Britons*, that is the most antient inhabitants of the island *Galle*, yet a custom of speaking has prevailed by degrees of their calling all the nations that settled later in *Britain* by that name, which is rather a reproachful than a national compellation. "For the word *Galle* or *Gald* is no less significant and of the same import with them as *Barbarus* among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and *Walsch* among the *Germans*." *Von enim Gal-*



le, aut Gald non est minus apud eos significans quam apud Græcos & Latinos Barbarus, apud Germanos Walsch. Here I take *Walsch* to be the singular and *Wals* in lib. 4. cap. 26. to be the plural, and am of the mind that *Ruddiman* has corrupted this last mentioned passage reading *Walsch* for *Wals*. Be it how it will, this is a clear proof that the 2d book was written before the 4th, and consequently before the last 17, which further appears from

The next argument taken from lib. 6. cap. 2. pag. 92 D E, where we are told that *Kenneth Mac Alpin* having driven out the *Picts*, divided their lands among his men as a reward of their valour; that their ambition gave new names to many places and countries, so that the old grew out of use; that *Horestia* falling to the share of two brothers *Aeneas* or *Angus* and *Mernas*, was divided in two parts, of which the one was called *Angus* and the other *Mernis*; that the next country lying between the *Tay* and *Forth* called by the antients *Ros*, that is a peninsula, in which are at this day the towns *Culross* and *Kinross*, that is the back and head of *Ross*, was called *Fife*, from *Fife* an eminent man, who is said to have been surnamed *Duff*; that *Dumbar*, a town in *Lothian* was so called from a valiant man named *Bar*; that *Cunningham* and probably *Merse* are *Danish* words; that *Edinburgh* called by the antients *Dun Edinum Dunaiden*, might rather be called *Edinum Aiden*, a middle appellation between the two. Immediately *Buchanan* adds, *Hactenus de regionum priscis et novis vocabulis: de quibus alio loco plura diximus.* "So much for the antient and modern names of countries; of which we have spoke more at large in another place." Now that other place is book 1st from chap. 17 to 31. from page 8 to 12 of *Freebairn's* edition, including the description of the continent of *Scotland*; which shews that the utmost that *Ruddiman's* above mentioned note proves, is, that this geographical description of the continent has been revised

revised by the author after he had written the last books of the history. As for the geographical account of the isles, particularly the western, or those called *Æbudæ*, Buchanan owns he borrowed it from *Donald Monro* a man of learning, piety and industry, who travelled over them in person and viewed them with his eyes. And thus I have shewed 1st, that the 2d, and next that the 1st book was written before the last 17.

And now I am to prove from the same 6th book, chap. 17, page 97th C D that the last 17 were written after the 1st and 2d. After an account of the actions of *Constantine* 3d the 75th king, Buchanan refutes such *English* historians as write that *Athelstane* was sole king of all *Britain*, and that the rest who assumed the title of Kings within *Albium*, depended on him, were his vassals and used to swear fealty to him as their sovereign lord. In proof of this assertion, says *Buchanan*, they quote many obscure *English* writers, and to gain them the more easy belief, to them they add *Marianus Scotus* a man of great reputation. As to which particular I have thought fit to put the reader in mind, that there is not the least mention of it in that copy of *Marianus*, which is printed in *Germany*. And if they themselves have another *Marianus* than that which has been published to the world, either interpolated or forged by themselves, I would fain have them to produce it. Nay as they are, for the most part, men without learning, they do not well understand even their own historians in other places, nor observe, that in *Bede*, *William of Malmesbury*, and *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, that part which was under the dominion of the *Britons*, that is, which is within or on the south side of *Adrian's* wall, or when they enlarge its borders farther, within *Severus's* wall, is generally called *Britain*; and the *Scots* and *Picts* are often reckoned to be out of *Britain*, and sometimes called *transmarini populi*, "the people beyond the seas or friths." *Quod igitur apud*

illos est, *Anglos toti Britanniae imperasse aliquando, id igitur ita accipiunt, ac si diceretur totam Britanniam, id est Albium sive Albionem, cum illi brevioribus finibus plerunque, ut dixi, Britanniam circumscribant. Sed de his alio loco latius differuimus.* What therefore is said by *Bede, William of Malmesbury, and Geoffrey of Monmouth*, that the *English* had once all *Britain* under their power, that is so understood by the writers that assert the crown of *Scotland* to be dependent on that of *England*, as if it were said, the whole island of *Britain*, that is *Albium* or *Albion*, altho' the former authois do generally, as I have said, circumscribe *Britain* within narrower limits. " But of " these things we have discoursed more largely in another place." Now this refers us both to *lib. 1. cap. 11. page 5. B C D*, and to *lib. 2. cap. 42. pag. 42. A*. In the former passage *Buchanan* observes that foreign writers by *Britannia* understand the whole island; that the *Britons* and *English*, who have written the history of *Britain*, sometimes take it in that sense, and sometimes reckon it to be that part of the island, which was the *Roman* province, and extended no farther north than *Severus' wall*. In proof of this he adduces 6 or 7 passages from *Bede*, and thinks *Claudian* was not ignorant of this way of speaking, which is very often used by *William of Malmesbury, and Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and that the misunderstanding of these writers led those of the next age into gross mistakes, who have affirmed that *Alured, Athelstane* and some other *Saxon* Kings were once masters of the whole island, tho' they never passed beyond the wall of *Severus*.

In the other passage *lib. 2. cap. 42. to which Buchanan* refers us at *lib. 6. cap. 17. disputing against Humphrey Lhuyd*, who contends that the *Scots* did not settle in *Britain* before the year 420 in the reign of *Honorius* the *Roman* emperour, he observes such a difference in the word *Britannia* among those that write



of it, as there is among the *Greeks* and *Latins* in the word *Asia*. For *Asia* sometimes is the third part of the habitable earth, and sometimes a part of the greater *Asia*, which is on this side mount *Taurus*, and commonly called *Asia the less*. Ita. *Britannia modo nomen est insulae universae : modo partis ejus, quæ Romanis fascibus parebat eaque pars nunc Humbro fluvio, nunc Adriani, nunc Severi vallo finiebatur. Ejus autem partis habitatores sæpius à Britannis scriptoribus Brittones, quam Britanni nominantur : cætero verò insulae habitatores, nempe Scotos & Piætos, interim Britannos, interim peregrinos & transmarinos Beda vocat. Idem quoque discrimen apud Monumetensem monachum, & Gulielmum Malmesburiensem observare est.* “ Thus *Britannia* is sometimes the name of  
 “ the whole island ; sometimes of that part of it, which  
 “ was subject to the *Roman* power : and that part was  
 “ sometimes bounded by the river *Humber*, sometimes  
 “ by *Adrian’s*, and sometimes by *Severus’* wall. Now  
 “ the inhabitants of that part are more frequently cal-  
 “ led *Brittones*, than *Britanni* by the *British* writers :  
 “ and *Beda* calls the other inhabitants of the island viz.  
 “ the *Scots* and *Piæts*, sometimes *Britanni*, sometimes  
 “ *peregrini* and *transmarini*. The same distinction  
 “ may likewise be observed in the monk of *Monmouth*  
 “ and *William of Malmesbury*.”

What has been adduced is, I think, sufficient to prove that the 3 first books of *Buchanan’s* history, containing a dissertation on the antient inhabitants of *Britain*, and a geographical description of *Scotland*, were written before the last 17. For as to the 3d book there needs be no manner of difficulty ; since, as *Ruddiman* himself has observed, and is obvious to every body, it consists entirely of quotations of the principal passages of those authors that have written on *Britain*, which serve to support what had been advanced in the two former books concerning the origin of the *British* nations.



What I have proved to be a certain fact, *Thomas Innes*, a great friend and fellow labourer of *Ruddiman's*, in the 1st volume of his critical essay on the antient inhabitants of *Britain*, has rendered extremely probable by two reasons at least, *viz.* the 1st and 3d, the 2d being mere naught. “ As to the time, says he, when *Buchanan* wrote the first preliminary books of his history; the remark that *Mr. Ruddiman* makes in his learned observations on *Buchanan's* history, upon a passage of the 1st book, where *Buchanan* corrects what he had advanced in his 4th book concerning the antient monument, commonly called *Jules-Hoff*; that remark shews very well that the 2 or 3 first books were either written, or at least revised and augmented with new observations by the author, after the 4th book was composed: but that these first books were composed, as to the substance of them, before the history, and only revised and augmented by *Buchanan* with new observations, after he had written his history, appears to me much more probable, for the reasons following. 1st, It seems much more natural that a man of *Buchanan's* great reading would premise to the history which he intended to give of his country, some such disquisitions on the country itself, the first inhabitants, &c. as are contained in the two first books, than bluntly to begin the history, as the 4th book doth; without any preliminary. 2d. There appears no where, that I could observe, in these 3 first books, any thing of that spirit of party with which *Buchanan* was so possessed when he wrote his history, and in which he continued to the end of it, that it discovers itself almost in every page. 3d, It appears by *Buchanan's* letters (*ego verò literis jam valledixi*) written about the time, or after he had finished his history; and by the same learned author's observations (*senio & morbis fractus*) on them in *Buchanan's*

*Buchanan's* life, that he was then so oppressed with the weight of age and infirmities, that he had given over all studies that required any great application : and so I think it noways likely, that he could, in these circumstances, have composed the two first books, which contain such a variety of observations, that required a more than ordinary application, a ready memory and presence of mind, of which *Buchanan* at that age, and under those infirmities, is not to be supposed capable ; and that all he could do in that situation of body and mind, was to revise what he had composed long before, and augment it with such new observations, as he had afterwards made. In fine, the introduction or beginning of the 1st book appears visibly to be the words of a writer that had not already written the history of his country, but was only resolved to set about it. So upon the whole I am much more inclined to look upon the two first books of *Buchanan's* history, as composed by him, as to the substance, whilst he was yet unprejudiced, and before he was embarked in any party or faction, and whilst he had nothing in view but the truth of history, and was sincerely enquiring into the true state of the antient inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*, by the helps which his erudition and lecture of the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* writers furnish'd him, as well as the knowledge he had of the *Gaelick* and other ancient languages ; and that he afterwards reduced these collections into the order in which we have them, with his additional observations, to serve for an introduction to his history."

What *Junius* says of *Buchanan's* spirit of party not appearing in the 3 first books, and of their having been written whilst he was unprejudiced, and before he was embarked in any party or faction, is ridiculous and absurd. For, pray what occasion had *Buchanan* in the 3 first

first books, which contain an enquiry into the true state of the antient inhabitants of the northern part of *Britain* to discover a spirit of party, or what side he had taken in the political and religious debates, which were tossed in his time ; or in other words, whether he was for liberty and the reformed religion, or for popery and slavery ? *Innes*' 2d reason, is as false as it is ridiculous and absurd. For we shall shew immediately that the 3 first books of the history were written after the dialogue *de jure regni*, after the *detection of the doings of Q. Mary* both in *Latin* and *English*, and after the *Chamæleon* and *admonition to the true Lords, maintainers of the king's authority* ; in all which pieces what *Innes* calls the spirit of party, that is the author's opposition to tyranny and defence of the innocent against the designs and calumnies of their wicked enemies, does very evidently appear. Farther, at the time of writing these 3 first books of the history, *Q. Mary* was a prisoner in *England*, and very probably the civil war, which her faction had raised in *Scotland*, very near, if not quite at an end. And this brings me to the 2d point which I undertook to make good, viz. that the 3 first books of *Buchanan*'s history could not be written before the year 1572, and most probably were so in 1573, or at farthest in the beginning of 1574. That the 3 first books could not be written before the year 1572 is a point perfectly clear, and the proof of it is so easy that it may be dispatched in very few words.

The authors of the critical and historical general dictionary tell us that the *commentarioli Britannicæ descriptionis fragmentum* written by *Humphrey Lhuyd* of *Denbigh*, the *Welshman*, which *Buchanan* has taken so much pains to refute in his first 3 books, came out in the year 1572. And they are in the right ; for I have that small piece of *Lhuyd*'s, which *Buchanan* has so largely and effectually confuted in his first 3 books, before me, and



e that it was printed *Coloniæ Agrippinæ apud Joannem*  
*Wirkmannum, MDLXXII. cum gratia et privilegio Cæsar.*  
*Majest.* Now as *Buchanan* could not answer a book  
 before he saw it, and could not see the book in que-  
 stion written by *Humphrey Lhuyd* before the year 1572,  
 in which year it first saw the light, nothing can be more  
 evident than that *Buchanan* could not write these books  
 in which the refutation of it is contained sooner than  
 the year 1572. Tho' I must not pretend to call this  
 demonstration, since Mr. *Ruddiman*, that mighty lord  
 of criticism and demonstration, seems to challenge that  
 sort of proof as peculiarly his own, even when applied to  
 every doubtful and disputable point, if not to such as  
 may be proved to be false, having censured a late vin-  
 dicator of *Buchanan* for using the mathematical style,  
 tho' he uses it himself in matters of genealogy. I say,  
 tho' I must not call the above mentioned proof by the  
 name of demonstration, yet I hope it will appear to be  
 as plain as that 2 and 2 make 4. That *Buchanan* very  
 probably wrote the 3 first books or the dissertation on  
 the *British* antiquities in the year 1573, we learn from  
 a letter, the 14th in *Ruddiman's* collection, written by  
*Daniel Rogers* an *English* gentleman of great virtue and  
 learning, employed by *Queen Elisabeth* in several fo-  
 reign embassies, between whom and *Buchanan* there ap-  
 pears to have been the strictest and most intimate friend-  
 ship, nothing short of that which was between *Cicero*  
 and *Atticus*. This letter is dated *Lond. August 30. 1576.*  
 in which we have these words. *Aveo etiam scire quid*  
*parturias. Ante triennium (aòs quo tempore nihil a te lite-*  
*rarum accepi) spem injecerat librum illum tuum videndi,*  
*quem de origine gentium Britannicarum scripsisti: quod si*  
*absolveris, ne quæso ejus desiderio nos ulterius fraudes.* " I  
 am very desirous to know what you have a mind to  
 publish to the world. Three years ago (since which  
 time I received no letter from you) you gave us  
 hopes



“ hopes of seeing that treatise of yours, which you have  
 “ written on the origin of the *British* nations : if you  
 “ have finished it, I beseech you do not any longer de-  
 “ prive us of the pleasure of having it.” *Buchanan*  
 wrote an answer to *Rogers*, dated *November 1st* the same  
 year 1576, which came to his hand about the end of  
 that month while he was in *Flanders* or in the north of  
*France* ; the contents of which we can only learn by  
*Rogers*’ next letter to *Buchanan* dated from the palace  
 of *Westminster* ultimo *Februarii* 1577, which *Ruddiman*  
 has inserted page 20 of his preface to *Buchanan*’s works  
 and which was sent by capt. *Cockburn*, who gave *Rogers*  
 a full account of the state of *Buchanan*’s affairs.

In it *Rogers* tells him he long’d exceedingly to see  
 his history, in which he wrote that he was wholly oc-  
 cupied ; and prays that God might grant him health to  
 finish what he had begun. He adds, that six years be-  
 fore, as he might learn from the *Theatrum* of *Abraham*  
*Ortelius*, he had written an essay on ancient *Britain*, and  
 likewise on the empire of the *Romans* in *Britain*, which  
 was the reason of his waiting, with the greatest impati-  
 ence, his judgment of the origin of the *British* nations.  
*Rectè enim Humfridum Fluidum perstringis, qui dum an-  
 tiquarium se præstare vult, futiles & aniles nugas mordicus  
 tuetur, nullis antiquitatis monumentis confirmatas.* “ For  
 “ you have reason to be severe on *Humphrey Lhuyd*,  
 “ who in setting up for an antiquary, obstinately main-  
 “ tains idle and old wives stories, unsupported by any  
 “ monuments of antiquity,” a character which by the  
 way may be justly applied to *Ruddiman*. From these  
 letters compared it is evident that *Buchanan* had a de-  
 sign at least of writing his dissertation on the *British* an-  
 tiquities, in which he takes *Lhuyd*’s performance to piec-  
 es in the year 1573, and very probable that he execut-  
 ed that design the same year, about the time that the  
 civil war raised in *Scotland* by the deposed queen’s facti-

came to an end ; and farther that he has designed and written that treatise on the origin of the *British* nations as an essay by itself, before he undertook to write the last 17 books, which properly constitute the history of *Scotland*. For had *Buchanan* designed to write the history of his nation at the time that he gave *Rogers* hopes of seeing the above mentioned dissertation contained in the 3 first books, it is altogether improbable that he would have concealed it from his dearest friend, with whom he seems to have had no reserves. For it appears from the letters that passed betwixt them, that *Buchanan* sent *Rogers* a MS. copy of the dialogue *de jure gentium*, also of the tragedy of *John the Baptist*, and a fragment of the poem *de Sphaera*, several years before they were printed ; from which fragment in MS. the Geneva edition of 1584 of the miscellany poems, if I am not mistaken, has been published, which *Ruddiman* not having consulted, has given very incorrectly. *Buchanan* likewise gives *Rogers* a particular account of these and his other poems, which it seems he has designed to dedicate to his friend. So that, as I have said, it is not easy to believe, but that had *Buchanan* designed to write his history, as soon as he wrote the dissertation on the *British* antiquities, he would have communicated his design to *Rogers*, and as little probable but that this is in the passage of the letter of 1576 above cited would have mentioned the other's having done so. And this renders Mr. *Innes*' opinion extremely probable that the first books were composed, as to the substance of them, before the history, and were only revised and augmented by the author, with new observations, after he had written his history, when these collections were reduced into the order in which we have them, with his additional observations, to serve for an introduction to his history. This is even confirmed by *Ruddiman*'s account of the MS. in the library of the college of *Edinburgh*.

dinburgh, who tells us that the whole paragraph *lib.*  
*cap.* 13. page 6. B C D, beginning with these words  
*Qui Britannos Gallorum colonos esse contendunt* down  
*cap.* 14. beginning *antiquissimum insulæ nomen creditur*  
*fuisse Albion, &c.* is wanting in the MS. as on the  
 contrary in the same *lib.* 1. *cap.* 49. page 21. A.  
 the printed copies there is a pretty particular description  
 of several of the Orkney islands a wanting, which is to be  
 found in the MS. after the words *ipsa (scil. Siapinsa)* *se-*  
*millia longa*, and which according to Ruddiman is  
 follows. *Mox ad occidentem, duæ insulæ parvæ, Gers-*  
*Vera; & Eglisa quatuor millia longa, in qua sepultus est*  
*dicitur D. Magnus. Post hanc continenti propior Russ-*  
*longa quatuor millia, & lata alicubi tria, frequens cultoribus*  
*Ultra eam ad occidentem parva insula est Broca. Supra has*  
*Septentriones jacet alius insularum tractus e quibus proxim-*  
*orientem posita est Stronza, et juxta eam Linga, in longum*  
*quinque, in latum duo M. P. protenta, compluresque H-*  
*mæ. Etha se porrigit in longum quinque, in latum duo mil-*  
*lia passuum, cui ad orientem adjacet Fara. Ultra eam inter*  
*Septentrionem excurrit Vestra, in multa parva se spargens*  
*promontoria. Supra Stronzam ad orientalem Ethæ plagam*  
*se exporrigit in Septentrionem Sanda, decem in longum mil-*  
*lia, quatuor lata, ubi latissima. Ea supra reliquas frugum*  
*est fertilis, sed ignis materia omni destituitur. Itaque ni-*  
*gra terra, cujus glebis ad ignem prope omnes nationes Sep-*  
*tentrionales utuntur, commeatus permutatione a vicinis E-*  
*thanis mercantur. Ultra Sandam est quam septentrionalen-*  
*Ranalsam dicunt, lata ac longa duo millia. Ea non aditur*  
*nisi adulta æstate, idque tranquillo mari.* And then after  
 a blank that might contain 4 or 5 lines, follows *Pa-*  
*pa Stronza distat ab Hethlandia 80 millia passuum, &c.*  
 But what were the reasons that induced Buchanan to  
 pass over in silence this larger description of the rest of  
 the Orkneys, says Ruddiman, is not so easy to determine.  
 He thinks it probable, that his chief reason for so doing,



was his thinking, as it really is not, the above description contained in the MS. to be no ways exact. In the life of Mr. *Knox*, prefixed to the *Edinburgh* folio edition of his history 1732, page 44, 45, the author of which died *November 24, 1572*, we are told that at the first general assembly after his death, which met at *Edinburgh March 6. 1573*, and which says Mr. *Hume* was very frequently and solemnly kept by the whole body of the country, the nobility, gentry, commissioners from burrows, as the custom had always been, Mr. *Richard Banantyne* his servant and *Amanuensis* presented a petition, bearing, that the author had left to the church and town of *Edinburgh* his history, containing an account of the beginning and progress of the reformation in *Scotland*, continued to the year 1564, that he had left scrolls, papers and minutes of things not digested into order, which would serve as materials to any of sufficient abilities that would apply themselves to make a history even to the day of his death ; but that the said scrolls were so tacked and mixed together, that if they should fall into other hands not accustomed with the same, they should altogether perish ; and therefore craving a reasonable pension, to enable him the better to attend upon the same, since without that he could not support the charge, nor spend so much time as would be necessary for putting these scrolls in order and preventing their being lost. Upon this the assembly requested the kirk of *Edinburgh* to appoint some learned men to assist *Richard Banantyne* in putting the said papers and materials in good form, and appoint him l. 40. to be paid of the crop 1572 : but neither in the records of the assembly, nor from any other authority, says the writer of *Knox's* life, do we find what was done in consequence of this recommendation. However I am apt to think, that not long after this *Buchanan's* friends (particularly the members of the assembly) have dealt with him to undertake the

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writing



writing of his history, using the arguments he mentions in the dedication, and that he has had the use of *Knox's* papers, having carried down his work near to the time of *Knox's* death. And thus I have proved that *Buchanan* wrote the three first books before the last 17, that he could not write the three first sooner than 1572, and most probably wrote them in 1573, as it will appear from what I am going to produce that it could not be later than 1574. Thus far I proceeded in the proof of the point I proposed at first, namely, that *Buchanan* did not undertake to write his history till some years after the earl of *Murray's* death, having no other materials or means of information to go upon than what *Mr. Ruddiman* had before him. But now I have learned some thing more certain as to the precise time of *Buchanan's* entering on that incomparable work, and am able to prove that he did not begin to write it, that is, the last 17 books till the month of *October* 1574. And this proof is taken from the MS. life of *Mr. James Melvil* son of *Richard Melvil* of *Baldow*, regent in the college of *Glasgow*, afterwards professor of divinity in the new college of *St. Andrews*, and at last minister at *Anstruther* or *Kilrynnie*. This worthy upright gentleman, after an account of many curious particulars of the life of his uncle *Mr. Andrew Melvil* during the ten years that he resided in foreign countries, tells us, that his uncle came home to his native country from *Geneva* through *France* and *England* in *July* 1574, and was no sooner come to *Edinburgh*, than the regent *James Douglas* earl of *Mortoun* sent to him *Mr. Geo. Buchanan*, *Mr. James Halliburton* colonel, and *Alexander Hay* soon after clerk of register, to deal with *Mr. Andrew* to be my lord regent's chaplain (which particular is also mentioned by *Calderwood*,) but he choosing rather to be a professor in some university, at the general assembly which was holden in *August* that year 1574, at the most earnest

earnest instance of Mr. *James Boid* lately made bishop of *Glasgow* and Mr. *Andrew Hay* superintendent of these parts, obtained of the assembly and some of his friends here present, that he should come and visit *Glasgow*, and see the beginning of a college there, and hear what conditions should be offered to him, that if he liked he should condescend to them ; (I keep the very words of his nephew Mr. *James*.) “ So upon their letters he took journey, accompanied with two of his brothers Mr. *James* and *Roger*, and Mr. *James Balfour* then minister at *Bervie* his cousin german, and came in to *Glasgow*, where he consented at the end of the vacance to enter and teach in the college as principal master, and thus agreeing he returned home again to *Baldowry*. At the time appointed about the end of *October*, he took journey accompanied with his brother *John*, and came to *Dundee* ; from that to *St. Johnstown* the first time I saw him, from that to *Stirling* where we remained two days, and saw the king, the sweetest sight in *Europe* that day, for strange and extraordinary gifts of engine, judgment, memory and language. I heard him discourse walking up and down in the old *Lady Marr's* hand, of knowledge and government, to my great marvel and astonishment. There Mr. *Andrew* conferred at length with Mr. *George Buchanan*, then entering to write the history of his country ; also with Mr. *Peter Young* and *Sanders* his brother, Mr. *Gilbert Moncreif* the king's mediciner with whom he had been acquainted in *Geneve*, also with Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* then schoolmaster there, who accompanied us of his kindness to *Glasgow*.

We came to *Glasgow* about the first of *Novr.* 1574, where we found Mr. *Peter Blackburn* a good man new come from *St. Andrews*, enter'd in the college and begun to teach conform to the order of the course of *St. Andrews*, but Mr. *Andrew* entering principal master, all was committed and submitted to him, &c.” I have given the pas-

sage concerning the time of *Buchanan's* beginning to write the history with all these particulars, the better to ascertain the fact, that it was no sooner than *Octr.* 1574 and to shew that there can be no mistake of figures here.

This is confirmed by a passage of the history itself *lib. 5. cap. 6.* under the 41st king, where the author describes a *Roman* work, which was a stone wall 8 foot thick and 12 high, with several castles or forts on it at proper distances, some of which looked like little towns built where *Severus'* wall was, which ended on the west at the place now called *Kirkpatrick* and began on the east at the monastery *Aberkernic*, as *Bede* writes; he adds *qua in regione ante 120 annos arx valida Duglassiorum fuit, Abercornum : monasterii vero nusquam ullum vestigium* "In which country 120 years ago was *Abercorn*, "strong castle of the *Douglasses*, but no vestige of "monastery any where." The castle of *Abercorn* was demolished in 1454 in the reign of *James II.* during the rebellion of the *Douglasses*, occasioned by that Prince killing their chief with his own hand in the castle of *Stirling*. See *Buchanan's* history *lib. 11.* from *cap. 38* to 44. page 212, 213, 214, 215, and *Boethius* and *Hume* in his history of the *Douglasses*. Add 120 to 1454, and you have 1574 the year in which *Buchanan* wrote the above passage of the 5th and began to write and finished the 4th book of his history. And now, sir, was it not a well contrived calumny, which *Ruddiman* has been at so much pains to propagate upon the authority of his many judicious and worthy men, whom he has not thought fit to name, except *Mr. Robert Gordon* of *Strathloch*, a most passionate cavalier, (whose words are, *Et haec omnia ut unum hominem Mæcenatem suum stabiliret*;) that *Buchanan* wrote his history on design to raise the earl of *Murray* to the throne, when that nobleman was dead more than 4 years before he began to write it; and the most hopeful project for a wise man to be engaged in, to



write history in order to advance one to an earthly crown, who, the author was persuaded, was so long before possessed of a crown of glory that fadeth not away?

I might have taken a much shorter way to prove that *Buchanan* wrote the three first books of his history before the last 17, by arguing *ad hominem*, from a note of *Ruddiman*'s, by which it evidently appears that *Buchanan* must have written the three first books before the last 17 of the history. It is that on *lib. 14. cap. 52. page 276 E*, where *Buchanan* speaking of the death of *Margaret de Valois* king *James V*'s first wife, which happened *July 7th 1537*, and which occasioned the deepest grief among all ranks, except the popish clergy; he adds an opinion or conjecture of his own, that the custom of wearing mourning apparel began first in *Scotland* at that time; which was not very common at the time he was writing this passage, tho' 40 years had intervened. Some, says *Ruddiman*, conclude from this passage, and not without reason, that *Buchanan* had brought down his history thus far in the year 1577, *adeoque reliquis sex libris annos fere quinque impendisse, cum anno demum 1582 ultimam ei manum imposuerit*, "and consequently that he spent about 5 years on the remaining six books, since it was only in the year 1582 that he put his last hand to it." Now if *Buchanan* spent these last years of his life on the 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20th books, he had no time left to write the 1st, 2d, and 3d books, having died *Sept. 28th 1582*, and the history having been put to the press most probably in the spring of that year.

The dedication of the history proves it to have been undertaken after the author had the charge of king *James VI*'s education committed to him, consequently after the earl of *Murray*'s death. For the earl of *Murray* died *Jan. 23d 1570*; and we have seen *Ruddiman* himself acknowledging that the act of privy council by

which *Buchanan* is called from his mastership of *St. Leonard's* college to attend king *James's* education passed after the earl of *Murray's* death; because the act bears expressly that the priory of *St. Andrews* vaiked at that time, destitute of a prior and commendator; which could not have been said, if the earl of *Murray* was then alive, since he possessed the rights and revenues belonging to that priory till his death. The instruction of his pupil *James VI.* some considerable time after the charge of his education was committed to him, that is, when by an incurable distemper, meaning the gout, he was in a great measure laid aside from acquitting himself of that office, was none of the least of his motives, or that which gave the last impulse to *Buchanan's* writing the history of Scotland.

*Non mediocriter etiam me illud impellebat quod meam sic operam tibi nec indebitam, nec ingratham fore existimares.*

*Absurdum enim ac pudendum videbatur, te, qui in ista ætacula omnium prope nationum res gestas perlegeris, domi quodam modo peregrinari. Præterea cum partes ingenii tui excolendas mihi commissas per valetudinem incurabilem obire non possem, proximum existimavi, id genus scriptionis esse, quæ ad animum compendata est, quo (scil. genere scriptionis) hanc cessationis culpam, quoad possem, delerem, statui fidos ex historia monita res ad te mittere, quorum consilio in deliberationibus uti, & in re gerenda imitari virtutem queas.*

"It was none of the least of my motives to write the history of our nation, that you might think my pains bestowed on such a subject was what you had a claim to, and would not be unacceptable to you. For it seemed an absurd and shameful thing for you, who in such tender years have read over the histories of almost all nations, and have a great many of them by heart, to be in a manner a stranger at home. Besides, as by reason of an incurable disease, I was unable to discharge the office of improving your genius committed to me,

me, I reckoned the next best remedy for supplying that defect to the best of my power, was to apply my self to that sort of writing which is fit for mending the heart, and making one wiser and better : so I resolved to send you faithful monitors from history, that you may follow their counsel in your deliberations, and imitate their virtue in the management of your affairs." The first of these sentences *Ruddiman* has corrupted by turning *existimares* into *existimam* upon Mr. *Andrew Melvil's* authority, which yet he has not followed by turning *sic* into *hic*. The last of these sentences he has mispointed putting a point or full stop after *comparata est*, turning the next word the relative pronoun *quo* into the conjunction *quò* and foisting in *igitur* immediately after it, and boasting that this emendation is preferable to that proposed by Mr. *Melvin*, viz. putting a point after *delegerem* and interpolating *igitur* after *statui*, *statui igitur fidos* &c. not knowing that an ellipsis of *et* or *igitur* is common in the latin writers. He has likewise corrupted two other passages of this dedication, short as it is, of which I shall take notice afterwards. It is pleasant to see our mighty critick and chronologer pretending to persuade us from this very dedication, that *Buchanan* set about writing his history some years before 1568, tho' he is extremely cautious, as well as wavering and uncertain in his way of reasoning. He says *Buchanan* returned home to his own country in 1563, that in the dedication of his history he acquaints his pupil *James 6th* that when upon his return he was setting about a review of, and putting in order his other works, his friends suddenly exhorted him to lay aside those other performances of his, and apply himself to the writing a history of his own nation. These things *Ruddiman* thinks, bid fair to shew that he set about that work some years before the 1568. " But " be that as it will," adds he, still uncertain, even after



ter he had told us that he had altered his conjecture  
*Buchanan's* beginning to write his history in 1566  
 " But now when I consider the thing better, I have  
 " some reason to believe that he set about it, or at least  
 " laid in materials for it, much sooner than that year.  
 See how cautious he is ; I have some reason to believe  
 that he set about it, or at least laid in materials for  
 writing, and this I believe after considering the thing  
 better. First he told us as his opinion, that *Buchanan's*  
 history was undertaken not long after 1569 or 1570  
 next that it was so in 1568 : but as this did not so well  
 answer the purpose of calumniating the author and the  
 earl of *Murray*, he has some reason to believe that it  
 was much sooner ; or, if this happens to be disproved  
 he can shelter himself with a qualified assertion, " at  
 " least he laid in materials for it" : which he might be  
 said to be doing when a boy at school, learning his *Lat-  
 in* grammar ; for when *Ruddiman* is caught, he can  
 make as poor evasions. In the dedication *Buchanan* speaks  
 of himself as a poet, as an historian, and as tutor to the  
 king. As he was revising his poems, after his last re-  
 turn to *Scotland*, without fixing on any particular time,  
 he tells us that his friends perswaded him to apply him-  
 self to write history, to the doing of which he was fin-  
 ally determined by the motive of instructing his pupils  
 after he had for some time had the care of his education.  
 This makes it plain, that he must have begun his  
 history sometime after the earl of *Murray's* death. If  
*Ruddiman* pretends to argue from the author's revising  
 his poems after 1563 that he set about the writing of  
 history before *Murray's* death ; by the like way of ar-  
 guing I could prove that he did not set about it till some  
 years after the time that we are certain he did not only  
 begin but even near finish it. For, as *Ruddiman* ob-  
 serves, the *Baptistes* was not printed till 1576. And by  
 comparing *Buchanan's* letter to *Peter Daniel* dated in

66 and prefixed to *Mamert Patiffon's* edition of the  
egies, pastorals, and *Hendecasyllabi* in 1579, the 3d in  
*Ruddiman's* collection, with *Peter Daniel's* letter to  
*Buchanan*, the 11th in the same collection, *Ruddiman*  
thinks there is reason to infer that the *Iambics*, epigrams  
and lyrics were not reduced into order before the year  
1579, in which the dialogue *de jure regni* and *Buchan-*  
*'s* account of his own life were first printed, and the  
story brought near to an end. See his preface to  
*Buchanan's* works page 7. and page 2. where he tells  
us, that *Buchanan* having altered his paraphrase of the  
Psalms in many places, there can be no doubt but those  
editions that came out latest in the author's life-time  
were the most correct, and therefore he follows those  
principally which were printed a little before the year  
1582, and in his list of the editions of that work men-  
tions two in 1580 and one in 1581.

The next calumny against *Buchanan*, that he hated  
the earl of *Morton*, *Ruddiman* has borrowed from sir  
*James Melvil*, whom nevertheless, in his notes on  
*Buchanan's* life, he represents as probably aggravat-  
ing matters in his character of *Buchanan*, they being  
of opposite parties. I am sorry I should be obliged to  
contradict the testimony of so worthy a gentleman  
as sir *James*; but his partiality in this matter is so  
very evident, that it is not possible not to take notice  
of it.

I shall first set down *Melvil's* character of *Buchanan*,  
that part of it where he charges him with being the  
earl of *Morton's* mortal enemy; next compare both  
their accounts of *Morton*, and see whether from thence  
it does not appear that *Buchanan* loved, and sir *James*  
hated and not meanly hated him.

“ He became the earl of *Morton's* great enemy, says  
“ sir *James*, for that a nag of his chanced to be taken  
“ from his servant during the civil troubles, and was  
“ bought

"bought by the regent, who had no will to part with  
 "the said horse, he was so sure-footed and so easy, that  
 "albeit Mr. *George* had oftentimes required him again  
 "he could not get him. And therefore tho' he had  
 "been the regent's great friend before, he became his  
 "mortal enemy, and from that time forth spoke evil  
 "him in all places, and at all occasions. *Drumwharfe*  
 "became also the regent's great enemy, and so did  
 "they all who were about his majesty." A little after  
 it is added, "That *Morton* was envied by many, and  
 "hated of every man, and especially by those who  
 "were in *Stirling* about the king." And lastly sir *James*  
 tells us, "the regent being in this manner brought to  
 "disgrace with his majesty, when he was upon the  
 "height of the wheel, the earls of *Argyle* and *Archie*  
 "were secretly practised, and drawn to *Stirling* by  
 "*Drumwharfe* with the consent of *Alexander Erskine*  
 "master of *Mar* and Mr. *George Buchanan*, by whose  
 "advice and counsel his majesty was easily moved to  
 "depose the regent from his office; who yielded easily  
 "lier thereto than any man would have believed, and  
 "gainst the opinion of his friends."

Let us now examine whether *Buchanan* hated the  
 earl of *Morton* to such a degree as to become his mortal  
 enemy, and from the time that that nobleman refused  
 to restore him his horse that had been plundered from  
 him in the civil war, that is between 1570 and 1573.  
*Buchanan*, as we have proved already, did not begin to  
 write his history till after the civil troubles were ended;  
 he was come the length of writing the 14th book, chap.  
 52. in the year 1577, as *Ruddiman* acknowledges; he  
 has frequent occasion to speak of *Morton* in the four last  
 books, viz. the 17, 18, 19, and 20th, which have been  
 written about and after the time that *Morton* demitted  
 his regency; or at least after the king's assuming the  
 government,



ernment, which according to *Ruddiman* in his pre-  
 ce to Mr. *Anderson's diplomata*, was 15 February 1578;  
 in the same *Ruddiman's* note on *Buchanan's epistolæ*  
 on the 8th of March 1579; and in his animadver-  
 sions on the late vindication of *Buchanan*, page 41. we  
 are told, that upon a more strict search into the publick  
 records, he finds that king *James* took the administra-  
 tion of the government into his own hands on the 8th  
 of March 1577, according to the old *Scottish*, and the  
 present *English* computation, but according to that now  
 in use with us, 1578, i. e. when that king (who was  
 born 19th June 1566), wanted three months and 11  
 days of his being 12 years of age. Such escapes are  
 greatly magnified in others, tho' when they are proved  
 to be his own, they are as much diminished. *Spots-*  
*wood* says, the earl of *Morton's* offer to demit the regen-  
 cy was accepted by the king in a meeting of the nobi-  
 lity at *Stirling*, March 10, that March 11th the king's  
 acceptance was published at *Stirling*, and the next day  
 proclaimed at *Edinburgh*. And with him agrees Mr.  
*David Hume of Godscroft*, (history of the *Douglasses*,  
 page 324, 325.) who tells us that *Morton* was chosen  
 to be regent the 24th of Novr. 1572, and that his of-  
 fice lasted the space of five years and three months, till  
 the 12th of March 1577, which was the time of his  
 commission. If *Buchanan* conceived such a mortal hatred  
 against *Morton* as sir *James Melvil*, and *Ruddiman* af-  
 firm him, would have us to believe, it must have appear-  
 ed in the 4 last books of the history which were written  
 after the provocation given by *Morton*, and about, or  
 after the time that he demitted the regency. Now no-  
 thing of this but the direct contrary is to be seen in the  
 last books of *Buchanan's* history, in which alone he  
 had occasion to speak of *Morton*; for throughout the  
 last, and part of the 17th book, tho' no nobleman is  
 more frequently mentioned than *Morton*, yet his conduct  
 is

is always described as truly noble and generous, valiant, publick-spirited and disinterested, as that man who acted all along for the reformed interest and for the cause of liberty. In particular we are told, that *Morton* was a principal man, and fought valiantly on the earl of *Murray's* side against *Huntly*, at the battle of *Corrichie*; that he conspired the death of Signor *De Witt*, the sidler, whom the queen had raised to the highest degree of favour; who was designing to restore popery and to ruin such of the nobility as were most zealous of the reformation; that he headed the party of the nobility that rose in arms to revenge the king's murder against the queen and *Bothwell*, the principal murderer; that he had the command of the van of the army at *Carberry hill*, and assisted at the coronation of *James VI.* for whom he took the coronation oath; that when a fleet was fitting out to seize *Bothwell*, who was practising piracy in the *Orkneys* and isles beyond the *Hebrides*, and the publick treasury was so exhausted as to want money for that purpose, *Morton* generously lent of his own, supporting the burden of the public necessity at his own private expence, lib. 19. cap. 2. in tanta egestate publica, ut ad eam ornandam pecunia deesset, accepta munus est ab *Jacobo Duglassio Mortonio*, qui tum impendio privato publicæ necessitatis onus sustinuit: that he was one of the king's generals against the queen in *Langsidefield*, where he exposed himself and his friends to great danger; that he accompanied *Murray* into *England*, and afterwards went ambassador to queen *Elizabeth*, to justify the deposing of queen *Mary*; that he fought often and valiantly with the deposed queen's faction; and particularly one time having been confined to his bed at *Leith* by a colic, and awakened by them, he routed them and put them to flight; and lastly, in the surprize at *Stirling*, where the earl of *Lennox* was slain, *Morton* being taken prisoner, had, by a reverse of fortune, the

ck to take those prisoners that before had taken him-  
re not these signs of a *Vatinian* hatred conceived a-  
inst *Morton* by *Buchanan* ? Or rather, on the contra-  
y, are they not proofs of the greatest esteem and affec-  
on ?

Let us now hear what account Sir *James Melvil* gives  
*Morton*. He taxes him with covetousness and am-  
tion, with pride and disdain : he says he was crafty,  
arful and slow. He owns he held the country in an  
stablished state, and under great obedience, better than  
or many years before or since ; “ But the reason was,  
there was not another earl of *Morton* to stir up the  
factious subjects, as he used to do, against the rest of  
the regents ; which made him so proud and disdain-  
ful, that he despised the rest of the nobility. And  
using no man’s counsel but his own, he became un-  
grateful to all his old friends and servants. And be-  
ing, under pretext of justice, used to commit divers  
wrongs and extortions, he caused to begin a process  
against the laird of *Fintry*, &c. Thus as he had  
lost the favour of *England*, so he did, by such ways,  
the hearts of all *Scotland*, but only of *George Auchin-  
leck* and *Alexander Jardan*. Sir *James*, his brother  
*Walter*, and the laird of *Grange* had been long fami-  
liar with him, and had assisted him in all his troubles :  
but when he was regent, they would, with their  
wonted freedom, reprove, admonish, and tell him  
his faults ; whereby they lost his favour : those who  
flattered him in all his proceedings, and stooped ve-  
ry low to him, and called him *Your Grace* at every  
word, had good success.” Sir *James* says, “ that  
the earl of *Mar* regent designed to convene the  
council in order to bring the two parties, (the king’s  
and deposed queen’s) to consent to an agreement ;  
but before the appointed council-day, he died, after  
an entertainment given him by *Morton*.” When he

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comes



comes to speak of *Morton's* death, he owns he died resolutely, but adds, " that he had ended more perfectly " if he had declared and confessed his worldly practices " and fetches to nourish the civil troubles, partly " the devotion of *England*, and partly for his own particular profit, during the government of the first three " regents, which occasioned great blood-shedding " that commonly cries to heaven for vengeance." In another place ; " the earl of *Morton* had appointed for " men to slay *Grange*, at the entry of the regent's (the " earl of *Murray's*) lodging, without the regent's " knowledge. — After *Morton* was made regent, an agreement was brought on between him and *Grange* " and others in the castle, to which they were very " hardly persuaded, for the evil opinion which was " conceived of him, and the hurtful marks they supposed " ed by proofs and assurances that he would shoot at " being by nature covetous, and too great with *England's* " land, and ever jealous that the king would be his rival " in ; concerning which a lady, who was his whore " had shewn him the answers of the oracles." In his character of *Grange*, whom he makes a perfect hero, says sir *James*, " he was much envied by those who " were of a vile and unworthy nature, of whom many " have made tragical ends for their too great avarice " and ambition, as shortly after did the earl *Morton* " *Morton* when regent, bent his whole study how to " gather riches, and how to suck out substance both " from *England* and *Scotland*. He served his own turn " with *England*, as they did with all the world; whereas " they were like to have any trouble among themselves " or with their neighbours ; then he compelled them " to send him money, which they were necessitated to " do, tho' sore against their heart, with a hidden desire " spite and secret hatred at his slowness on the one " part, and covetousness on the other."

Would

Would one not think, that sir *James*, in saying that *Buchanan* became *Morton's* mortal enemy, speaking of him in all places and on all occasions, meant to describe, not *Buchanan*, but himself, whose nephew, *William Kirkaldie of Grange*, *Morton* sacrificed to the resentment of the citizens of *Edinburgh*, whom he had treated with great cruelty from the castle during the time of his rebellion ; for which sir *James* could never forgive *Morton*, who had also caused the council send the earl of *Buchan* to take sir *James* prisoner, during the regency of *Matthew Stewart* earl of *Lennox* ; tho' it plainly appears *Buchanan* did forgive *Morton* the detaining of his horse that was so sure-footed and so easy, and a very proper piece of furniture for an old man diseased of the gout ?

*Le Clerc* observes, that, if what sir *James* says be true, *Buchanan* was no doubt somewhat to blame, but that the earl of *Morton* was still more so ; since it is probable he had his quarry full of horses, and that *Buchanan* had but one. “ In the earl of *Morton's* conduct, says he, there was dishonesty and contempt for a man of merit, with whom he should have kept fair ; and indeed *Melvil* gives us a very bad idea of that lord,” and I add, which would abundantly justify *Buchanan's* resentment ; tho' all that seems to have been true in this matter is no more than this, that *Buchanan* being an old man, and very much afflicted with the gout, would be apt to complain of the injury done him by *Morton*, in detaining so easy and sure-footed a nag from him. And as for his joining with the party that were for depriving *Morton* of his regency, we see, according to *Melvil*, there was but too much reason for his so doing ; tho', I am apt to think, it was not so much out of hatred to *Morton*, as that he might see, before he left the stage of this world, what part his pupil would act, after he assumed the government into his own hands, and what effects

effects the great care and pains that his tutor had taken about his education, which had raised such high expectations in all protestant countries, would produce.

The last calumny against *Buchanan*, of which I promised to take notice at present, and which seems to be purely an invention of *Ruddiman's*, is, that he did not continue his history through the earl of *Morton's* regency, out of hatred to that nobleman. If *Dr. Mackenzie* were to be credited, this calumny would appear at first sight to be without any manner of foundation; for he tells us, that the history comes down to 1581 which was the year in which *Morton* was unjustly put to death. But whoever looks into the history, will see that it comes no farther than 1572. We have already seen what truth there is in *Melvil's* story of *Buchanan's* hatred of *Morton*, and that, if the same *Melvil's* character of *Morton* were just, it would have been an evidence rather of *Buchanan's* affection than of his hatred, not to have written the history of that regency. But I am going to shew from the letters which passed between *Buchanan* and the learned men of his time, and from the history itself, that the author carried it down as far as his time, and health, and business could possibly allow, and that it is surprising he should have been able to continue it so far down as we see he has.

I have proved already, that as he could not have formed his design sooner than 1572, and actually did form it, as is most probable, in 1573, or at furthest 1574, so he began to write the last 17 books in 1574. In *Daniel Rogers's* letter to him, dated the last of February 1577, we are told, that his letter to *Rogers*, dated November 1st 1576, bore, that he was wholly occupied in writing his history. By his letter to *Tycho Brahe* (dated *Stirling* September 6th 1576,) the famous *Daniel*

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\* In the treatise which *Tycho* wrote on the comet in 1574, he said that in virtue of that star there should arise an astronomer



tronomer, who about two years before had sent  
 in a present of his book *de nova stella*, on the new star,  
 that most remarkable comet, which appeared in 1572  
 after the *Bartholomew* massacre, which continued for 18  
 months, and did not disappear till the spring of the year  
 1574 a little before the death of *Charles IX.* of *France* ;  
 of which not only *Tycho Brahe*, but *Mr. de Thou*, *Keker-*  
*an* and others have made mention. In the said letter  
*Tycho*, *Buchanan* excuses himself for not writing him  
 an answer sooner." " They who know me, says he,  
 are not ignorant, that the last two years immediate-  
 ly preceeding, I have been continually afflicted with  
 very grievous distempers, and had not one free hour  
 almost for writing ; so that I am forced, as to discon-  
 tinue many pieces of less consequence, so to leave the  
 five books *de sphæra* in the midst, and to lay aside all  
 thoughts of writing poems for the future." *Neque*  
*iam eos omnes qui me non ignorant clam est, quam proximo*  
*biennio morbis gravissimis assidue sum confectatus, nullam*  
*hinc horam ad scribendum vacuam habuerim : adeo ut cum*  
*multa alia leviora sum coactus intermittere, tum quinque li-*  
*ros de sphæra jam dimidiatos omittere, ac spem scribendi*  
*arminis in posterum penitus abjicere.* In a letter to *Mr.*  
*Randolf* squire master of posts to queen *Elizabeth*, dated  
*Stirling August 25th 1577*, which discovers the author's  
 intimacy with his friend, his greatness of mind and pie-  
 ty, mixed with a deal of humour, *Buchanan* tells him,  
 " as for the present, I am occupied in writing of our  
 history, being assured to content few and to displease  
 many there through. As to the end of it, if ye get  
 it not ere this winter be past, lippin (look) not for it,  
 nor none other writings from me. The rest of my

owards the north in *Finland* a prince that should shake  
 Germany, and should disappear at last in 1632. This is  
 precisely *Gustavus* king of *Sweden*, says *Guy Patin*, *Patini-*  
*ana*, page 7.

" occupation is with the gout, which holds me but  
 " both day and night. And whereas ye say ye have  
 " not long to live, I trust to God to go before you, al-  
 " beit I be on foot and ye ride the post ;" &c. The  
 letter written in *English* is inserted by the industrious Mr  
*Strype* in the 2d volume of his annals page 509 and by  
 Mr. *Ruddiman* in his preface page 19th having been com-  
 municated to him by Mr. *Ralph Thoresbie* fellow of the  
 royal society ; of which I have altered nothing but the  
 syllabication. It appears that the author had no world-  
 ly interest to promote by writing his history, and that  
 notwithstanding his bad state of health, he had made a  
 very considerable progress in his work ; and if he is in  
 earnest when he desires his friend not to expect it, if he  
 got it not before the winter were past, it would seem  
 he had not at that time designed to carry it down be-  
 yond the 14th book ; for, as we have observed already,  
*Ruddiman* acknowledges that the author had brought it  
 down as far as the death of queen *Magdalene*, which is  
 near the end of the 14th book, in the year 1577. What  
 he says of his being confident that he should displease  
 many and content few through writing his history, has  
 been the fate of all such historians as had the courage  
 and honesty to tell the truth without hatred or favour,  
 and puts me in mind of what the great *Thuanus* wrote  
 to his friend *Christopher du Puy* on the subject of his  
 history, in a letter, dated July 21st 1606. " 'Tis a great  
 " unhappiness that now a-days a man must either make  
 " shipwreck of his conscience, or displease those whom  
 " every one desires to have for friends, and that herein  
 " there is no medium to be found. But there is a pow-  
 " er greater than any we see, that will one day do jus-  
 " tice to all. 'Tis to him that the good must aspire ;  
 " and place all their glory and hope in that resolution."  
 There is another noble passage on the same subject in  
 a letter of the same illustrious historian to *Robert Schil-*  
*der* ;

by canon of *Arras*, dated *Paris* 22d July 1614, which much to the same purpose with that truly golden passage in *Seneca*, epist. 79. "Whoever, says he, labours for the public, must, if he will acquit himself well of what he has undertaken, forget his own private interest, and prefer the judgment of posterity to the hatred and envy of the present age. — God and time will do me justice." —

*Ruddiman*, in his note on the account of the death of *Magdalene de Valois* first wife of *James* the V. allots the five last years of *Buchanan's* life for writing the last 5 books of his history; and so has left him no time at all either to write the three first books, which he had affirmed once and again were written last of all, and as little for continuing the history through the earl of *Morton's* regency, or printing what he had written. That the 10th book of the history has not been written before the year 1577, or rather a year or two or three after it, seems plain from the account of *Bothwell's* flight into *Denmark*, his being there taken into arrest, and soon after upon his being discovered by the *Scottish* merchants, put into a vile and loathsome prison, falling into a frenzy which kept him about ten years, and making an ignominious and desperate end, such as his wicked and flagitious life had deserved lib. 19. cap. 2. page 376. *Cacere post decennium ad sordes aliasque miseras accedente mentia, vita turpiter acta dignum habuit exitum.* This is told not only by *Spotswood* but also by *de Thou*, who says the place of *Bothwell's* imprisonment was *Dracholm*. Now *Bothwell* was pursued by *Kircaldy* of *Grange* in the end of 1567 (or beginning of 1568) after the parliament held by the earl of *Murray* in *December* that year: consequently *Bothwell's* death happened in 1577 or 1578 or later, and is related by *Buchanan* as a fact that was past some time before.



To return to the letters that passed betwixt *Buchanan* and his friends : sir *Thomas Randolph* in a letter to him dated *March 15th 1579*, expresses his great satisfaction in the little treatise *de jure regni* lately published, and his most earnest desire to see his history, “ before, say  
 “ he, mine eyes be clean shut up that are now become  
 “ for age very dim. What maketh you to doubt  
 “ let it come forth, a spectacle into the world no less  
 “ famous than *Apelles’s* table was, and as void of con-  
 “ trolment as his work was, how curious soever the  
 “ fouter would seem to be.” It had been well for  
*Ruddiman* that he had attended as he ought to the pro-  
 verb, *ne futor ultra crepidam*, to the rise of which this  
 worthy *English* knight here makes an allusion. By *Buchanan’s*  
 letter to *Rodolph Gualtier* minister of *Zurich*  
 dated *24th July 1579*, it appears, that for forty days and  
 more he had been absent from court on account of his  
 ill health. The same year *August 5th*, *Daniel Rogers*  
 writes *Buchanan* a letter from the palace of *Greenwich*  
 wherein he tells him he was extremely pleased to un-  
 derstand by *James Murray*, king *James’s* ambassador  
 to queen *Elizabeth*, that, tho’ his health of body was  
 none of the best, yet his greatness of mind still continu-  
 ed the same, and his parts as quick and lively as before  
*te quamvis corpore minus commode valeres, animo tamen eff-*  
*constanti, ac ingenio maxime vegeto.* Some of the ambassa-  
 dor’s retinue had affirmed to *Rogers*, that *Buchanan*  
 had finished the history of his own nation, which *Rogers*  
 was so much the more desirous to see, because *John*  
*Leslie* bishop of *Ross* had that year printed his history of  
*Scotland* : “ so that, says he, I have an extreme desire  
 “ to read and compare yours and his both together.”  
 He concludes with the poet’s wish to *Buchanan* of a  
 sound mind in a sound body, that he might as long as  
 possible be an ornament to the common wealth and to  
 his friends and admirers. I have rendered the verb

*extexo, te gentis tuæ historiam pertexuisse*, to finish, tho'  
 also signifies to go on with a subject begun. In the  
 former sense it was not true, as appears from *Buchanan's*  
 next letter to *Rogers*, dated *Edinburgh November 9th*  
 1779, which is pretty long, and discovers the author's  
 exact knowledge of the state of the affairs of *Britain*,  
*France* and *Spain*, and in which one is at a loss whether  
 to admire most his piety, sense or modesty. "For ma-  
 ny years backward, says he, *England* did not stand  
 so much by its own strength as by the discords of the  
*French* and *Spaniards*: now that both are enraged,  
 what remains but that we lift up our heart, our mind  
 and the hope of salvation, not unto the hills, as it is  
 in the 121 Psalm, but unto the *Lord*, who will not  
 slumber nor sleep, when he keepeth *Israel*?" Then,  
 after agreeing to *Rogers's* proposal of printing his dia-  
 logue in *England* and an account of most of his poems,  
 which, had his friends permitted, he would have buried  
 in perpetual oblivion; he adds, *astronomica non tam abjeci*  
*quam extorqueri inuitus tuli: neque enim aut nunc libet nu-*  
*ri aut, si maxime vellem, per ætatem licet.* *Accessit e-*  
*storiae scribendæ labor, in ætate integra permolestus, nunc*  
*vero in hac meditatione mortis, inter mortalitatis metum &*  
*desinendi pudorem, non potest non lentus esse & ingratus;*  
*quando nec cessare licet nec progredi lubet.* "I have not  
 so much thrown aside the *astronomics*," (meaning  
 his poem *de Sphæra*) "as suffered them to be forced  
 from me against my will: for neither do I now in-  
 cline to descend to trifles, nor, were I ever so wil-  
 ling, would my age permit me. Add to this the la-  
 bour of writing history, which is very difficult even  
 in the bloom of life; but now whilst I am meditating  
 on death, between the fear of being by it prevented  
 from finishing what I have begun, and the shame of  
 giving over, it cannot but be slow and irksome; see-  
 ing I may not stop, and list not to go forward." In  
 the

the beginning of the year 1579 he published the dialog *de jure regni*, which he had revised and enlarged as we learn from Dr. *Bulkeley's* letter to him, and the same year the short account of his own life, at the desire of his friends, particularly of sir *Thomas Randolph*; where in he tells us he was going on the 74th year of his age for it must have been before the beginning of *February* 1580; seeing, as *Ruddiman* has observed, he was at that time 74 years compleat, having been born about the beginning of *February* 1506. *Edward Bulkeley* D. D. and minister at *Sbrevsbury*, his birth place, a zealous protestant, who published a piece of *Nic. de Clemange* which shews many of the corruptions of popery, wrote *Buchanan* a letter, dated *Chester*, *November* 28th 1581. In it he tells him that ten years before he had been in the service of *Henry Sidney* lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, which time he began a correspondence with him by letters; that *Francis Bromley* marshal or governor of *Berwick*, son of *George Bromley* lord president or governor of *Wales* and nephew of the lord high chancellor of *England*, had given him a full account concerning *Buchanan*, and particularly that, tho' he was alive, his health was much broken, and that he scarce crept out of his bed or chamber. *Ex quo intellexi, te vivere quidem, sed infirma valetudine frui, ac vix è lecto aut cubiculo tuo reperiri. Audio te in historia tua conscribenda diu desudasse, quam omnes pii & docti avidissime expectant.* "I hear, you have long laboured in writing your history, which all men of learning and piety are longing for with the greatest earnestness." He heartily prays, that God, of his infinite goodness, would prolong his life, and grant him health to bring that history and all his other writings to perfection, and *Bulkeley* at length to see it. *Hu. bert Languet*, from *Delft*, 20 *February*, 1581, is very anxious to know when *Buchanan* was to publish his history. The same year, *March* 16, *Buchanan* writes a most admirable



mirable letter to *Elias Vinet* of *Bourdeaux*. "Being  
 entered, says he, on my 75th year, I sometimes recol-  
 lect through what labours and troubles I have sailed  
 by whatever men use to look upon as pleasant, and  
 have at last struck upon that rock, beyond which, as  
 it is expressed with the greatest truth in the 90th  
*Psalm*, there is nothing but labour and sorrow." Af-  
 telling *Vinet*, that he was able, tho' nothing young-  
 (as he supposed) than himself, to assist his countrymen  
 with his advice and services, and to profit the following  
 by his learned writings. He adds, *Ego verò literis*  
*studium valedixi : nunc id unum satago, ut quam mini-*  
*cum strepitu, ex inæqualium meorum, hoc est mortuus è*  
*eorum contubernio demigrem.* "For my part, it is a  
 pretty while since I have bid adieu to letters ; and am  
 now wholly taken up about this one thing, which is,  
 to remove with as little noise as possible from the  
 company of those that are not my cotemporaries, that  
 is, as one dead from the society of the living." With  
 these words *Thuanus* was so much charmed, that he  
 printed them on his memory, and tells us, in the ac-  
 count of his own life, under the year 1582, that *Vinet*  
 received letters every year from *Buchanan*, by Scotch  
 merchants who came to buy *Gascoen* wine at *Bourdeaux*.  
 These *Vinet* shewed to *de Thou*, and particularly this last,  
 which he gives this account in the fore-cited passage,  
 that it was writ with a trembling hand, but in a noble  
 style, and that in it the author complained not so much  
 of the inconveniencies of old age, as of the irksomeness  
 of a longer life ; that he said he had left the court, and  
 was retired from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*, adding these  
 words in conclusion, *interea hoc unum satago, &c.* On  
 which passage *Bayle*, a great promoter of scepticism  
 and infidelity, an advocate for the despotic power of  
 princes, a tool of the *French* court, and an enemy to the  
 revolution, and therefore no great friend to *Buchan-*  
 an,

an, has this remark or rather sneer ; that “ *Buchanan* “ greatest enemies cannot deny but that he was in “ life, once at least, a philosopher : for such sentiments “ as these, would not be disowned, either by the *Stoics* “ or by the *Brachmans*, unless perhaps in regard “ some accessories.” The meaning of these last words I own I am at a loss to find out, but cannot help observing that either *Bayle* himself or his *English* translator has not justly expressed *Buchanan*’s sentiment ; for *inequales Buchanan* plainly means, not those that were not like himself, but those that were younger, or had entered upon the stage of life later than himself, as *æquales* in the same letter he evidently understands such as were equal to him in years. From this letter it is that *Ruddiman* gathers that the author in 1581 being broken with age and sickness, resigned all his employments and betook himself to a private life, or rather prepared himself wholly for a pleasant death.

The last letter of *Buchanan*’s writing that we have extant, is addressed to *Theodore de Beze*, and dated *Edinburgh July 15th 1581*, recommending in the warmest manner *Jerome Grollot* a young gentleman of *Orleans* whose father, probably the *bailli* or sheriff of that city had been destined to the butchery by the *Guises*, together with the princes of the blood, the prince of *Condé* and the king of *Navarre*, and the chief protestants of *France*, immediately before the death of king *Francis II.* and *Grollot* the son had lost the father, and his patrimony, and ran a risk himself during the universal fury that was in *France*, by which I suppose the *Bartholomew massacre* is to be understood : and had retired into *Scotland* till the violence of that tempest should assuage a little. “ Altho’, says *Buchanan*, I be so much occupied about “ sundry affairs and in such a bad state of health, as “ have no leisure left for the common offices of life, yet “ *Jerome Grollot*’s departure shook off all my excuses. H

adds, he had great obligations to the father, the son  
 and revered him as a father ; so that without incur-  
 ing the charge of ingratitude, he could not omit to  
 give notice of the good offices of the one, and the pleas-  
 ant conversation of the other, and *Beza's* uninterrupted  
 kindness to himself. " Altho' I had not written," con-  
 cludes he, " I would not have wanted just excuses to  
 those that know the state of my affairs. But the  
 justest of all, is, that all my senses dying before hand,  
 of the picture of the man I once was, that which still  
 remains, may testify, not that I am living, but that I  
 have lived ; especially as for the future I have no  
 hopes, either of making new acquaintance, or of  
 cultivating the old.—— And since I cannot keep  
 up to my former manner of life, by the interchang-  
 ing of good offices, I shall lay aside the exercises  
 which for some time past I have not been able to go  
 through, and indulge to silence." *Ille autem longe*  
*stiffima, quod omnibus sensibus praeorientibus, ex imagi-*  
*superioris hominis, quod mihi superest, non me vivere, sed*  
*visisse testari possit. Quod ad me attinet, quando tueri su-*  
*rioris vitae rationem non possum, officiorum vicissitudine,*  
*missis laboribus quibus jamdudum non sufficio, silentio indul-*  
*geo.* Since therefore *Buchanan* had not finished his histo-  
 ry in November 1579, and in 1577 had only brought it the  
 length of the 14th book ; and since in 1580 and 1581  
 he was so much oppressed with the weight of age and  
 infirmities, it is easy to judge what sense or truth is in  
*Ruddiman's* assertion, that tho' he lived ten years after  
 1572, his history coming no farther than the end of  
 that year, yet out of hatred to the earl of *Morton*, he  
 would not continue it through his regency ; and whe-  
 ther in the above-mentioned situation of the author's  
 body and mind, during the two last years of his life, any  
 thing could reasonably be expected from him but to  
 revise and correct what he had composed before ? Hav-



ving begun to write the three first in 1573 or 1574  
 supposing the 4th and 5th books to have been written  
 in 1574, the next 9 to have been written in 1575  
 1576, 1577, and the last 6 in 1578, 1579, and 1580  
 which is so far from being an unreasonable supposition  
 that it comes very near the truth of fact; there remain-  
 ed scarce a year for his revising the whole. And if *Ru-*  
*diman's* observation, which we have page 11 and  
 of his animadversions on the late vindication of *Buch-*  
*anan*, were just, the printing of the history would take  
 most part of the last year of the author's life; that  
 from the end of *September* 1581 to the end of *September*  
 1582; for he thinks four weeks would not have been  
 sufficient for printing the 3 last books and the dedica-  
 tion, and confounds the date of the dedication with the  
 time of its being printed; tho', as will soon appear,  
 was written about a month before it went to the press.  
 His words are, "it was on the 29th of *August* 1582  
 " not three days before the beginning of *September*  
 " 1582, that *Buchanan* dated the dedication of his his-  
 " tory. But it is highly improbable that the printer  
 " had then carried on the work no further than the 17th  
 " book, as there were yet three long books of it to be  
 " printed before the dedication, which is prefixed to  
 " the whole, could come to the press, and which  
 " dated, as I said, not three full days before that *Sep-*  
 " *tember*; and as printing was but little cultivated  
 " *Scotland* at that time, it is not likely that these three  
 " last books could be printed off in so short a space,  
 that is from the beginning of *September* to about a month  
 after the author's death, which happened on *Friday Sep-*  
*tember* 28th a little after five in the morning, as *Rud-*  
*man* tells us in his notes on his life, page 10 and 11  
 where we are likewise told that the author outlived the  
 publication of his history about a month. The three  
 last books indeed in the first edition fill up about 19

set, but in the *Edinburgh* edition 1727 *forma* 12ma  
ly four. Now we may easily suppose that a sheet per-  
fect was nothing extraordinary. And as to printing  
ing little cultivated at that time in *Scotland*, whoever  
looks at the first edition, and compares it with *Ruddi-*  
man's own, will be tempted to give the preference to the  
first, even as to the printer's part.

*Ruddiman* in his notes on the history, has another  
observation as ill-founded as the other, viz. that for  
want of *Greek* types, the *Greek* words were printed in  
roman characters : and yet the dialogue *de jure regni*,  
first edition, printed in 1580, two years before the histo-  
ry in the same city of *Edinburgh*, has the *Greek* words  
in *Greek* characters.

To conclude this article, I shall insert a passage from  
the life, not the diary, of Mr. *James Melvil* in its na-  
tive dress, to cut off all *Ruddiman's* cavils against the  
maner of it, by which it will appear what was the  
constitution of the court, the principal source of the  
troubles and calamities that afterwards befel the king  
himself, his posterity and three kingdoms, and of the  
ruin of his family at last, at the time it was a printing ;  
and that *Buchanan* carried down his history as far as his  
health and time and business would allow him. " About  
the year 1578 arrived *Monsieur d'Obignie* from *France*,  
with instructions and devylls from the house of *Guise*,  
and with many *French* fashions and toys ; and in ef-  
fect with a plain course of papistry to subvert the  
state of the kirk now planted both with true doctrine  
and discipline. He brought with him one *Monsieur*  
*Mombirseau* a subtle spirit, a merry fellow, very able  
in body, and most meet in all respects for bewitching  
the youth of a prince. They within few days infi-  
nuate themselves so in favour of the young king, that  
they guided all, brought in by *Morton's* mislikers, but  
to the wrack both of him and them. Under their

“ wings crop in crafty fellows, who made the reformation of religion and all the good service done to the king before to be but turbulent and treasonable dealing, &c.”

Under the year 1582. “ At that time it was a pleasure to see so well a brought up prince, till his childhood was past, to be so miserably corrupted in the entrance of his springal age, both with sinister and false information of all proceedings in his minority, and with evil and most dangerous grounds and principles of the government of the church and common-wealth. Then was he made to think worst of the best men that ever served in this church and country, to think the whole manner of reformation of religion to have been done by a tyrannical faction, turbulently and treasonably; to suspect the noblemen and whole ministry, that stood for the cause of religion and the crown, against his mother’s faction; yea, to take course against them, and put at them as his unfriends. Among the rest, captain *James Stewart*, afterwards earl of *Arran*, put the opinion of absolute power in his majesty’s head. In like manner *Mr. Patrick Dunsen*, bishop of *St. Andrews*, a great councillor in these days, among many other evil grounds incited this, that a christian king should be the chief government of the church, and behoved to have his shops under him to hold all in order, conform to antiquity and most flourishing estate of the christian church, under the best emperor *Constantine*; and that the discipline of the church of *Scotland* could not stand with a free kingdom and monarchy such as was his majesty’s in *Scotland*, &c.

“ But notwithstanding of this constitution of court by a remarkable providence of God, came forth the chronicle of *Mr. George Buchanan*, printed with privilege, and the book of the policy of the kirk concluded in assembly. E “ The



“ That *September* in time of vacance, my uncle Mr. *Andrew* (principal of the new college not my brother as *Ruddiman* falsly imagined) Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* (provost of *Kirkhaugh*) and I (professor of theblogy in the university of St. *Andrews*,) hearing that Mr. *Geo. Buchanan* was weak, and his history under the press, passed over to *Edinburgh* anes errand to visite him, and to see the wark. When we came to his chamber, we fand him sitting in his chair, teaching his young man that served him in his chamber to spell a b a b e b e b, &c. After salutation. Mr. *Andrew* sayes, *I see, sir, you are not idle. Better this, quoth he, nor steiling sheep, or sitting idle, whilk is als ill.* Thereafter, he shewed us the epistle dedicatory to the king ; the whilk when Mr. *Andrew* had read he tauld him that it was obscure in some places, and wanted certain words to perfect the sentence. Sayes he, *I may do na mair, for thinking on another matter. What is that ?* says Mr. *Andrew ? To die,* quoth he. *But I leave that and manie ma things to you to help.”* In the margin ; he (meaning Mr. *Andrew Melvil*) was telling him also of *Blackwood*’s answer to his buik *de jure regni*.

“ We went from him to the printer’s warkhouse, whom we fand at the end of the 17th book of his chronicle, at a place whilk we thought very hard for the time, whilk might be an occasion of staying the hail wark, anent the burial of *Davis*. Therefor, staying the printer from proceeding, we came to Mr. *George* again, and found him bedfast by his custome ; and asking him how he did ? *Even going the way of weil-fare,* says he. Mr. *Thomas* his cousin shows him of the hardness of that place of his storie, that the king would be offended with it, and it might stay all the wark. *Tell me, man,* says he, *giff I have tauld the truth ?* *Yes,* says Mr. *Thomas, sir, I think sa. I will bide his fead and all his kin’s then,* quoth

" he. *Pray to God for me, and let him direct all.*

" be the printing of his chronicle was ended, that main

" learned, wise and godly man ended this mortall life

Now supposing this visit to have been paid to *Buchanan*, on *Monday, September 3d*; from that to his death *September 28*, were very near four weeks; and supposing that a sheet was printed off every week, (or as much as is contained in a sheet of the last edition) which is an unreasonable supposition, here was sufficient time for printing off the three last books; and allowing that the history was begun to be printed in the spring of the year, or a little sooner, three quarters of a year was sufficient time for printing the whole.

I shall at present make but a remark or two on the forecited passage from *Mr. Melvil's MS.* 1. That *Buchanan's* humility, kindness and active turn of mind appears from his descending to teach the young man that served him to spell, when he was incapable of any studies that required great application. 2. *Mr. Andrew Melvil's* censure on the dedication as obscure, and wanting some words to perfect the sentence, is without foundation, as I shall show afterwards. 3. That here is sufficient, if there were nothing else, to refute *Ruddiman's* and *Soga's* old wife's tale of *Buchanan's* repenting on his death bed of what he had written on queen *Mary Stewart*, if it deserved a serious refutation.

And thus I have gone through a few of the many calumnies invented or propagated by *Ruddiman* and his many grave and judicious and worthy authors, to give you some specimen of his talent at slander. If you enquire to what cause *Ruddiman's* numerous calumnies are to be ascribed? I shall content myself at present with the solution given by *Guy Patin, Patiniana*, page 126. " Most men lye through weakness, through ignorance, or through interest. The greatest men are often self conceited, and by this means so many lies are to be seen in their writings."

*Magn*

*Magni sæpe viri mendacia magna loquuntur.*

## CHAP. II.

Buchanan's character as an author, more particularly as an historian, drawn by some of the best hands, both popish and protestant. Mr. Ruddiman's account of his morals, with remarks upon it.

Know not how Ruddiman could take it in his head to assert, as he does, *animadvers. page. 4.* that the highest preferment that Buchanan arrived at, while abroad, was to be under-master of a grammar school at *Bordeaux*, after he had told us himself in his notes on Buchanan's life, that he was a regent in the college of *St. Barbe* and cardinal *le Moine* of the university of *Paris*, a professor in the university of *Crimbra* in *Portugal*, and preceptor to *Gilbert Kennedy* earl of *Cassilis* and *Tillem de Cossé* the marshal *de Brissac's* son; in which last relation, if *Brantome* is to be credited, his way of living might have been full as grand as when he was preceptor to the king of *Scotland*; for that marshal, who had a great esteem for Buchanan, when general of the *French* bands in *Piedmont*, kept a court little less splendid than that of the master the *French* king. The college of *Guyenne* or university of *Bordeaux*, of which Buchanan was a professor, was one of the most famous and flourishing in *France*, in which there would have been 2500 scholars at one time, and where not only the *Greek* and *Latin* were taught, but also *Mathematics*, *Logic*, *Physics*, *Rhetoric*, &c. *Moreri*, *voyage de France*, &c. Possibly Ruddiman has been misled by the term *sebola*, which Buchanan uses, when he speaks of the college or university of *Bordeaux*. It is for his being a professor in the college de *Boncourt* or *Boncourt* of the university of *Paris*, of which *Petr Galandius* was principal, at the time *Nicholas Nancel* was a regent.



regent in the college *de Prèle*, of the same university that is, about the year 1553, *Ruddiman* has down-right ignorance to plead for his excuse; for he could say nothing of *Buchanan's* employment at that time, any farther than that he probably resided at *Paris*, or at a great distance from it, tho' he had *Nancel's* letter, the last in his collection, dated at *Tours*, March 15th 1589 before him, which informs us of these particulars *Cujus* (dicendi scil. facundiæ) *specimen frequens & nobis jam tum edidisti; cum inde ab annis circiter triginta, tu Latetia in Becodiano profiteraris, ego eodem tempore in Præleo* (ubi regii tum juvenes *Stuarti* vestrates discebant) *per Ramo antesignano, longè ea ætate eloquentissimo & disertissimo Romuli nepotum, militarem doceremque.* — *Ruddiman*, not understanding the meaning of *Præleo* or *Præleo*, and meeting with the verb *militarem* in the same sentence, has turned it into *prælio*. *Nancel* in his life of *Ramus* tells us, that the latter used to call the college *de Prèle* *regnum Prælleum*. The same *Nancel*, who had been about twenty years in it, thus describes it (pag. 17, 18.) *Hoc Parisiense gymnasium ad Carmelitatum situm, haud procul à platea dicta Malbertina, fundatorem quendam suum habuit hominem prædivitem advocatum et procuratorem regium, nomine Raoldum de Prællis, ex agro Laudunensi in Picardiâ ortum.* “ This *Parisian* college “ situate near the white friars, not far from the place “ *Maubert*, had for founder a very rich man, king's advocate or solicitor, called *Raoul de Prællis*, a native of “ the *Laonnois* in *Picardy*.” *De Thou* calls it sometimes *schola Prælea* from the name of its founder, and sometimes *Ramea* from the name of its principal.

I have not taken notice of *Buchanan's* being professor at *Toulouse*, because the fact is not certain; tho' *Nathan Chytræus* affirms that it appears from his poems; but in which of them he has not told us. Indeed in the history, lib. 1. cap. 27. describing the dropping cave at *Slain*

*Buchan*, he says, when he was at *Toulouse*, about the year of our Lord 1544, he was informed by credible persons, that there was a cave perfectly resembling this the *Pyrenies* hard by. But possibly nothing more is to be understood by this, but that *Buchanan* had stopped sometime at *Toulouse* in his way to the university of *Coin* in *Portugal*. But be it how it will, *Ruddiman* observes very well, *animad. page. 72.* that "neither the eminency nor lowness of station is to be regarded in this matter; seeing the road of virtue, probity, honesty and veracity lies equally patent to all ranks of people, and is more frequently trod by persons of meaner fortunes, than by those that move in the highest sphere of worldly greatness. And that it is equally true both with respect to the virtue and happiness of those of low life, what is said by the poet."

—— *Licet sub paupere tacto*  
*Regis & regium vita præcurrere amicos.*

So that, tho' it were ever so true, as it is most notoriously false, that *Buchanan*, during his absence from his native country, was in no higher station than that of under-master of a grammar school at *Bourdenux*, it could be no argument against his being a very good man and a very good historian, especially as at the time of his writing, he had the best access to the publick records, being not only tutor to the king, but \* director

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\* In the general assembly which met in *August 1574*, he is designed keeper of the privy seal. The register, itself, bears, "for reviewing and fighting of the history of *Job* compiled by Mr. *Patrick Adamson* in *Latin* verse, the present assembly hath willed their loved brethren, the right hon. Mr. *George Buchanan* keeper of the privy seal, Mr. *Peter Young* Pedagogue to our sovereign lord, Mr. *Andrew Melvin*, Mr. *James Lowson* minister at *Edinburgh*, to take travail in perusing the said book; and, if the same be found by them agreeable to the

of the chancery, and lord privy seal, with the salaries and perquisites belonging to these honourable offices, the second of which, as *Ruddiman* tells us, *animadversion* pag. 30. persons of the highest rank do not now think it below them to accept of; both which were bestowed upon him by his great patrons, the earls of *Murray* and *Morton*, who, if we believe *Ruddiman*, thought they could not heap too many favours upon him. So that *Ruddiman* has here committed the same fault for which he is so angry at *Oldmixon*, who says, "the president *de Thou* was as much superior to *Camden*, as the first magistrate in *France* is to the lowest schoolmaster in *England*."

"truth of God's word, to authorize the same by the testimony of their hand and subscription." That *Buchanan* was some time before keeper of the privy seal appears from a charter of the lands of *Kippis* granted by *James VI.* to *James Boyd*, *sir Robert Sibbald*, great grandfather by the mother's side, with consent of *James* earl of *Morton*, regent; to which among others, *Mr. George Buchanan* is a witness, designed privy counsellor to the king, pensioner of *Croft* and keeper of the privy seal. The charter is dated at *Holyroodhouse* 15th February 1573, of the king's reign the 7th year. That *Buchanan* was made director of the chancery before this time, is plain from *sir John Scot*'s account of him: and that both these high and honourable offices were the reward of his merit, or conferred for his good service, the same *sir John* informs us.

*Buchanan* long before this time was in high reputation abroad in the learned and christian world; and in no less esteem in his native country, upon his last return to it, that is in 1563; for he was not only a member of the general assembly that sat at *Edinburgh* in December that year, and appointed, together with some noblemen, officers of the crown and others, to revise the book of discipline, but in the parliament that met in the same place in June

And



And this brings me to the character which that illustrious president has given of *Buchanan* his brother, sui temporis lib. 76. ad annum 1582. *Georgius Buchananus*, vir viri felicitate & scribendi facultate, quod ejus scripta ad eam eternitatem viditura vel satente invidia testantur, non ætate incomparabilis, in *Levinia* *Scotiae* provincia ad unum annum natus, sed adoptione nostras, qualis *Antonius* *peanus*, summus & ipse *Buchanani* amicus, dici & existere volebat. "George Buchanan an incomparable man in our age, whether we consider the beauty of his genius, or regard the talent he had at fine writing, as his works testify, which shall pass to the remotest posterity, even by the confession of his greatest ene-

same year, was commissioned and impowered, together with *James* earl of *Murray*, *Henry* bishop of *Ros* president of the college of justice, *William* *Maitland* of *Lesbourn* secretary to the queen, *Mr. James* *McGill* of *Winkelour* nether clerk of register, sir *John* *Bellenden* of *Edinburgh* justice clerk, *Mr. John* *Spens* of *Condrie* queen's advocate, *Mr. John* *Winram* prior of *Portsmouth* and *John* *Skene* of *Dun*, to visit the colleges of the kingdom, particularly those of *St. Andrews*, to enquire into the yearly rents of the said colleges, and consider what would be requisite to be bestowed on men of knowledge and understanding capable of teaching the sciences, particularly the languages and humanity, according to the institution of the said colleges, in which the instruction of youth had been in a great measure neglected, and the patrimony of the foundations made in the colleges wasted, and not applied to the uses for which it was originally intended, that is, the entertainment and instruction of youth; and the above-mentioned honourable persons were to report their judgment and opinion to the next parliament. See the acts of the parliament holden at *Edinburgh* June 4th 1563, cap. 24. entituled, and provision to be made for the instruction of the youth, in the collection printed in 1566, commonly called the *black acts*.

mies,

mies, was born in *Linnox* a province of *Scotland*  
 the water of *Blane*, but was a naturalized French  
 as *Antony Govea* a *Portuguese*, who was a very  
 mate friend of *Buchanan's*, would have himself to  
 reckoned and called." Tho' it does not appear  
*Buchanan* was so explicit on this head as his friend  
*ven*, yet the politest *Roman-catholic French* writers,  
 only of the past, but also of the present age, *Rollin*  
 particular, have ranked him among the chief glories  
 their university of *Paris*. After a short account of  
 life in foreign parts, *de Thou* tells us, that during  
 civil wars of *France*, he left that kingdom, in which  
 had been educated and brought up, and returned to  
 antient country, where he openly embraced the pro  
 tant doctrine, and at last, after queen *Mary* was de  
 ed, was made preceptor to her son *James VI*. Th  
 follows his character as an historian.

*In senili otio patriam historiam aggressus est; quam  
 ta puritate, prudentia & acumine scripsit, quamvis inter  
 libertate genii innata contra Regium fastigium acerbior,  
 ea scriptio non hominem in pulvere literario versatum,  
 in media hominum luce, & in tractandis reipublicæ negotiis  
 tota vita exercitatum redoleat: adeo ingenii felicitas &  
 nimi magnitudo omnia obscuræ & humilis fortunæ impe  
 menta ab eo removerant, ut propterea non minus recte  
 maximis rebus judicare & scribere prudenter posset.  
 Jane memini Petrum Ronsardum, virum acerrimi judicii  
 qui licet in dispari fortuna constitutus tota vita scholasticis  
 otio oblectatus fuerat, cum de Buchanan, Adriano Turnebo  
 Antonio Goveano & M. Antonio Mureto, quibuscum amicitia  
 confunctus fuerat, verba faceret, dicere solitum,  
 los homines nihil pædagogicæ præter togam & pileum habere  
 se; & tamen de vulgo pædagogorum sic censere, nanque  
 incorrigibilis ineptiæ ex pædagogica contractæ character  
 vel longissimi ævi curriculo deleri posse.*

Cum autem morti proximus esset Buchananus, a rege alim-  
 rogatus, ut, quæ de Mariâ parente nimis liberè scripse-  
 t, revocaret, & infamiam ejus nomini scriptis suis inust-  
 in insigni aliquo testimonio elueret; nihil aliud respondit,  
 am brevi fore ut ipsius desiderio abundè satisfaceret. Re-  
 titis dein vicibus per fidos eadem de re interpellatus, hoc  
 ultimo responso regi satisfecit: se, quæ ex animi sententiâ  
 scripserat, revocare quidem non posse; cæterum ubi  
 spiraverit, in regis potestate futurum, ut de scriptis illius  
 arbitrio suo statueret: tantum quid in eâ re acturus  
 set, pro prudentiâ suâ ante maturè consuleret, sciretque  
 reges cum solutâ potestate à Deo constitutos nihil non posse;  
 veritatem, quæ à Deo vires sumit, quantum Deus ho-  
 minibus major est, tantum potentiâ adversus reges ipsos præ-  
 cellere.

“ During the peaceable retirement which he enjoyed  
 in his old age, he applied himself to write the history  
 of his native country, which undertaking he execut-  
 ed with so much purity, spirit and judgment, tho’, ac-  
 cording to the liberty which is natural to the genius  
 of his country, he is sometimes somewhat severe on  
 crowned heads, that that work seems to be the pro-  
 duction, not of a man who had passed his days in the  
 dust of schools, but of a minister, in the view of all  
 men, who had been employed all his life in manag-  
 ing the most difficult and important affairs of state;  
 so far had the happiness of his genius, and the great-  
 ness of his mind removed from him all the impedi-  
 ments of a mean and low fortune, that on that ac-  
 count he was not hindred from penetrating into the  
 highest matters, and judging and writing of them  
 with as much accuracy and discernment as those in  
 high life, and on the public stage of the world. And  
 truly I remember that *Peter Ronfard*, who was a man  
 extremely judicious, and who, tho’ in different (that  
 is, opulent) circumstances, had all his life entertained



“ himself with scholar-like amusements, when he would  
 “ have been discoursing of *Buchanan*, *Adrian Turneb*  
 “ and *Antony Gevca*, who all were his intimate friends  
 “ used to say, that these great men had nothing of the  
 “ pedant but the gown and the bonnet ; and yet, as to  
 “ the generality of pedagogues, he declared his opinion  
 “ that the occupations of the school imprinted on them  
 “ a character of incorrigible pedantry, which could  
 “ never be effaced, even in the course of a very long  
 “ life.

“ Now when *Buchanan* lay a dying, he was desired by  
 “ the king his pupil, to retract what he had writ too  
 “ freely of his mother *Mary*, and by some signal decla-  
 “ ration to wipe off the stain with which he had ble-  
 “ mished her character in his writings : to which he  
 “ returned no other answer, but that the king’s desire  
 “ should in a little time be abundantly satisfied. Being  
 “ afterwards importuned on the same subject over and  
 “ over again by means of confidants, he satisfied the  
 “ king with this final answer : that, for his part, he  
 “ could not retract what he had written agreeably to  
 “ truth and the sentiments of his heart ; however,  
 “ when he was dead and gone, it would be in the  
 “ king’s power to dispose of his writings as he pleased :  
 “ only he advised him maturely to deliberate before  
 “ hand, as became a wise man, what he was to do in  
 “ that matter ; and assured him, that tho’ kings cloath-  
 “ ed by God with sovereign power might do any things,  
 “ yet truth, which derives its force from God, is as  
 “ much stronger than kings themselves, in proportion  
 “ as God is greater than men.”

“ The way, says *Bayle*, “ that *Thuanus* has taken  
 “ to praise *George Buchanan* is admirable : nothing  
 “ could better give a great idea of this *Scotsman*’s parts.  
 “ His history of *Scotland*, says he, does not seem to be  
 “ the work of a man who taught a school, but that of

a person employed all his life-time in the most important affairs of state. The meanness of his condition and fortune did not hinder *Buchanan* from judging well of the greatest matters, and writing of them with much prudence. He was one of those extraordinary men who have the happiness not to become pedants among the drudgeries of the school." And because the *Latin* of *Thuanus* expresses this more nobly and amply, therefore he sets it down.

As to the last part of the account given by that noble historian of *Buchanan's* being desired by *James VI.* to retract what he had wrote to the disadvantage of his mother queen *Mary Stewart*, and *Buchanan's* plainly refusing it, *Bayle*, and after him, *Ruddiman* labours to render it suspected. It was first published in the *Thuanus restitutus*, a small piece printed at *Amsterdam* in 1663. In the preface to the reader we are told that many passages of *Thuanus* were either corrupted or wholly expunged by such as they were odious to; that a manuscript copy of the passages then published, had lately fallen into the printer's hands, and also another copy, which it was certain was writ out from *de Thou's* autograph or original; and that the proprietor of both these, out of regard to the public good, had allowed them to be published. In a letter of *Bayle's* dated *Rotterdam* 23d of *Novr.* 1699 addressed to *Shaftsbury*, whom *Bayle* calls *Ashley*, writ about the time that his father died, we have the following particulars.

"Mr. *de Wicquefort*, so famous for his fine works, and for his disgrace with their high mightinesses, of whom he held the place that Mr. *Rou* had after him, and kept to his death, is the author of *Thuanus restitutus*. It is not only a very confused, but also a very imperfect and defective collection. The history of the council of *Trent*, which is wanting in all the editions of Mr. *de Thou's* history prior to those of 1620,

“ and even in some of the posterior ones, is not insert-  
 “ ed in it, which for that reason, *Heidegger* has caused  
 “ reprint at the end of his *anatomy of the council of*  
 “ *Trent*. Neither is the passage concerning *Isidorus*  
 “ *Clarior* mentioned by *Colomiés* in the 16th page of  
 “ his *Biblioth. Choisie* when speaking of the 18 first  
 “ books of *Mr. de Thou’s* history printed by *Patissier*  
 “ and this would make me think that the author of  
 “ *Thuanus reſtitutus* had no regard to that edition, which  
 “ yet is one of the best we have of that excellent histo-  
 “ rian, and properly the only one that ought always to  
 “ be joined to the body of his histories, of what edition  
 “ soever ; because, says *Colomiés*, out of certain  
 “ passages, which are not to be found in the other edi-  
 “ tions, there might be made a much larger, more ex-  
 “ act and methodical *Thuanus reſtitutus* than that which  
 “ we have. It were to be wished that some one would  
 “ undertake it ”

Here *Bayle* does not in the least insinuate that any one  
 passage of the *Thuanus reſtitutus* was not genuine ; he  
 only complains that the collection is imperfect, and  
 does not contain passages enough of that noble histo-  
 rian. Yet see what the same *Bayle* in his dictionary on  
 the article *Buchanan* has advanced, after owning that  
 there is ground to doubt the repentance which the an-  
 nalist of queen *Elizabeth* attributes to *Buchanan*, and se-  
 lecting down several passages of *Camden*, “ who, says he,  
 “ would not look upon this testimony of *Camden* as so  
 “ solid ? Yet great abatements must be made for two rea-  
 “ sons ; one is, that it is reported that his manuscript  
 “ was corrected to king *James’s* mind and fancy. The  
 “ other is taken from a marginal note which *Mr. Vail-  
 “ lant* had read. Let us hear him speak.” “ There  
 “ are in the king’s library the five volumes of the pre-  
 “ sident *Thuanus’s* history, in the margins whereof the  
 “ youngest of *Messieurs du Puy* had written with his  
 “ own



own hand the most curious facts that his brother and he had judged fit to be retrenched from it when it was printed. I have read in the additions to the fourth volume, that when *Buchanan* was ready to expire, *James VI.* king of *Scotland*, whose preceptor he had been, made him a visit, and advised him, for the discharge of his conscience, to retract what he had wrote to the disadvantage of his mother, queen *Mary Stuart*, and that *Buchanan* plainly refused it." (*Varillas*' preface of the fifth volume of his *histoire de l'herésie*). He touches the same fact in the body of the book, but reports it otherwise. "In the original, says he, (*id. liv. 28 pag. 171*) of *Thuanus*' history, in the place where the death of *Buchanan* is spoken of, there is written with that illustrious president's own hand, that *James VI.* king of *Scotland*, whose preceptor *Buchanan* had been, honoured him with a visit when he was at the extremity, and pressed him to retract what he had said against the queen his mother; that *Buchanan* answered, that his conscience did not reproach him on that head, and that he had written the truth." "Between such contradictory testimonies," says *Bayle*, "that of *Camden* and that in *Thuanus*'s margins, can any one have a reasonable certainty of *Buchanan*'s last dispositions? Not in the least: one of these testimonies weakens the other: but we must allow, that the first is without comparison stronger than the last; that is printed, the other is but a manuscript: the last, according to the preface of Mr. *Varillas*, is only in a copy of *Thuanus*, but, according to the body of the book, it is in the original of *Thuanus*: according to the preface, it is of Mr. *de Puy* the younger's hand; according to the body of the book, it is of *Thuanus*'s own hand. These variations and these shufflings, maintain the preference that *Camden* deserves. Add to this, that if *Thuanus* approved

" that *Messieurs du Puy* should retrench that part  
 " his history, it is a sign that he gave no full credit to  
 " it; for his zeal for the memory of *Mary Stewart*  
 " did not hinder his letting a hundred things to be  
 " printed, which he had copied from *Buchanan*. King  
 " *James* reproached *Thuanus*'s son so sharply for it, that  
 " he threw him into a fit of sickness of three months.

Here *Bayle*, besides indulging his sceptical humour  
 discovers his talent at perplexing and darkening the  
 plainest matters, exposing himself to the ridicule of every  
 attentive reader. He finds several contradictions in  
*Varillas*' account of what he had seen in the MS. of *de Thou*'s  
 history preserved in the *French* king's library, which no one but  
 himself or one of the like temper and designs would have  
 discovered. Is there any inconsistency in saying, that the  
 author writ the passage in question concerning *Buchanan* in the  
 body of the 4th volume, and that his friend *du Puy* writ the  
 same passage on the margin as fit to be retrenched? Does  
*Varillas* speak of two different MSS. of *de Thou*'s history in the king's  
 library; or rather does he not speak both in his preface  
 and in the body of his book, of but one and the same?  
 But the most pleasant argument for preferring *Camden*'s  
 authority to that of *Thuanus*, is, that the former is printed,  
 the latter but a manuscript: yet if that argument were  
 good for any thing, the force of it is quite taken away  
 by the latter's being printed in the *Thuanus restitutus*.  
 The supposition of *Thuanus*' approving of *Messieurs du Puy*  
 retrenching that part of his history is absolutely false  
 and without foundation, and destroyed by what *Bayle*  
 himself adds of *de Thou*'s suffering many things  
 concerning *Mary Stewart* to be printed which he had  
 copied from *Buchanan*. If *Varillas* meant that *du Puy*  
 was for retrenching the passage concerning *Buchanan*'s  
 refusing to retract what he had written concerning that  
 princess, it says not so much as *M. de Peirese* writes in

etter to *Camden*, dated 14th *October* 1620, viz. that  
*de Thou's* history ran the risk of being suppressed,  
 and it not been that he entrusted a copy of it to Mr.  
*Lingelsheim*; because his executors testamentary, tutors  
 his children, designed to commit it to the flames for  
 private interests; at least it appears it was not safe for  
*Puteanus* and *Rigaltius* to attempt to print it in *France*,  
 even after they had retrenched several passages of it. See  
*Huckley's* edition and his letters to Dr. *Mead* on that  
 subject, which render it probable that tho' *Puteanus* and  
*Rigaltius* lent their assistance to *Lingelsheim* in the editi-  
 on which he printed at *Geneva*, yet they ordered it so,  
 that they should not appear to have had any hand in it.  
*Ruddiman* in his notes on *Buchanan's* life, inclines to  
 believe what *Camden* says of his repentance, 1. Because  
*Camden* might have been informed of it by king *James*  
 himself, or by others who were eye-witnesses: whereas  
 the unknown author of *Thuanus reſtitutus* brings no  
 voucher for what he writes; and further, because *Varil-*  
*las* is an historian of no credit contradicts himself. In his  
 last piece, viz. the animadversions on the late vindication  
 of *Buchanan*, pag. 6. *Ruddiman* forgetting the first of  
 his reasons, substitutes *Varillas* instead of the publisher  
 of *Thuanus Reſtitutus*, (as he makes *Varillas* and *de*  
*Thou's* testimony but one and the same) having it seems,  
 not known at first that it was the Dutch historian, Mr.  
*Vicquefort*, that published the *Thuanus reſtitutus*; and  
 says that he brings no voucher for what he writes; tho'  
 he tells us what he had seen with his own eyes, and so  
 needed not to produce a voucher. And for his being  
 an historian of no credit, *Ruddiman* tells us animad. pag.  
 1. that it is the same *Varillas* that has said all the ill  
 things of *Buchanan*, that *Garasse*, *Sandæus*, and other  
 popish writers had said of him before, and that bishop  
*Burnet* has writ two treatises of reflexions on the gross  
 and innumerable errors that author is guilty of in his his-  
 tories.



tories. In this *Ruddiman* is perfectly right, and upon the supposition of *Varillas* having never spoke or written one word of truth, *Ruddiman*'s cause must suffer infinitely more than ours, seeing we have no need of his testimony in the present case; for the passage in question *Ruddiman* himself does not venture to affirm not to have been written by *de Thou*, nor will any one who has consulted *Buckley*'s edition of that noble historian, by which we are assured that the place mentioned by *Varillas* is to be found in the MS. sent to *Lingelsheim* in Germany, and in that committed to the care and custody of the twin brothers *de Ste. Marthe, du Puy* and *Rigault*, the author's executors testamentary. *Varillas*, as well as *Ruddiman*, tho' he were the father of lies himself, might be allowed to speak the truth on some occasions, especially when it makes against himself.

It is not *de Thou* only that speaks of *Buchanan*'s refusing to retract or suppress what he had written of queen *Mary Stuart*; but Mr. *James Melvil*, in the account of his own life, in the passage already quoted, and sir *John Scot of Scottistarvet* in his *Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*, from 1550 to 1650, whose account of *Buchanan* is as follows, and shews the foundation of that report which was spread in Germany, that he was put to death by the king his pupil.

“ Mr. *George Buchanan*, instructor in learning to king *James* in his youth, is so renowned by his works extant to the world in prose and verse, that it were superfluous to speak any thing of him in the catalogue of statesmen. For reward of his good service, he got first the office of director of the chancery, and then he was made keeper of the privy-seal in his old age. But of both these places he reaped but little or no advantage. He left neither lands nor sums of money to his friends. He was never married. He was in so great disgust with the state before

he died, that they caused summon him before them sitting in council, for some passages in his history too plain of the king's mother and grandmother ; and he had undoubtedly run a great hazard of his life, if the Lord had not freed him of the miseries of this world betwixt the citation and the day of compearance, *whereof he seemed to have some presage and fore-knowledge ;* (these words are omitted by *Ruddiman*) for he told the macer that summoned him, he was to compear before an higher judge ; which fell out accordingly ; for he died 28th of September 1582. His chronicle was prohibited by act of parliament, which could not be hindred, seeing it has been many times reprinted in *Germany*, and is extant in all the famous libraries in *Europe*."

Dr. *Mackenzie* has this very passage from *Scotstarvet* concerning *Buchanan's* history, and adds a story which he had heard from the earl of *Gromarty*, who had it from his grandfather, the lord *Inverlyle*, who was *Buchanan's* scholar at the same time with king *James*. When *Buchanan* was on his death-bed they told him that the king was highly incensed against him for writing his book *de jure regni* and his history ; he told them that he was not very much concerned about that, for he was shortly going to a place, where very few kings were." This agrees perfectly with the tradition of his having expressed himself thus, "I am going to a place where king's flesh is venison ; and with what *Bayle* heard a *Scotch* lord say, that when *Buchanan* was asked on his death-bed, whether he did not repent of what he had written against the authority of kings (rather tyrants) and in particular against the honour of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, he answered, I am going to a place where there are not many kings."

Yet Dr. *Mackenzie*, just as judicious and consistent a writer as his intimate friend *Ruddiman*, in another place

place confirms *Camden's* story of *Buchanan's* repentance of what he had said against queen *Mary*, by a letter *Sage's* to Mr. *Archbald Campbell*, dated *October 17, 1700* and published some years after *Sage's* death ; which letter the publisher of *Sage's* life had importuned him to write, making mention, that about twenty eight years before he had it averred to him for a certain truth, of an antient lady, the lady *Rafyth* in *Fife*, a woman of very bright parts, and very good (*i. e.* cavalier) principles, a daughter of the house of *Buchanan*. *Sage* doubted of the truth of *Buchanan's* repentance, tho' he had read it in *Strada*, till he had this lady's word for it ; for she had oftner than once heard it in her younger years from *David Buchanan*, a very aged man, who was maintained in her father's family, and who was present in Mr. *Buchanan's* bed-chamber, and an ear-witness to that confession when he made it.

*Ruddiman* lays no small or rather the greatest stress upon this old wife's fable. It would be a mispending of time to go about to refute it at any length in a serious manner ; since no man of sound judgment, notwithstanding but an old wife can possibly oppose and prefer it to the authorities which have been adduced. The best of it is, *Ruddiman, animadv. page. 10.* affirms that whoever this *David Buchanan* was, it is of small importance for overturning the testimony given by him ; whereas every man that believes rationally, or assents to a fact upon the testimony of another, ought to be satisfied both about the capacity and honesty of the witness. If *David Buchanan* that published *Knox's* history, and wrote the *MS. de claris doctrinâ Scotis* be the person meant ; he would ask *Ruddiman* how came he to be at so much pains to inculcate the tale in question on a young girl, and to say nothing of it in his notes on *Knox*, where he had several fair opportunities for so doing, and chiefly in the character of the great *Buchanan* his kinsman, and of his



history which *Ruddiman* has given us from his MS ?  
*David Buchanan* was of *George's* principles in  
 matters of religion and policy, with which he had tinc-  
 ed *James Stewart* duke of *Lennox* his pupil, as Mr.  
*Gordon* parson of *Rothemay* informs us in his MS.  
 story, under the year 1637, which MS. is in *Ruddi-*  
*'s* possession ; so the tale could hardly be expected  
 have come from him. If it was another poor mean-  
 inged parasite or sycophant, maintained in the family  
 of the lady *Raffyth's* father that told her the tale in her  
 younger years which she remembered so perfectly when  
 she grew old, it is no ways to be regarded. But as e-  
 very romance is supposed to have some foundation in  
 truth, it is possible that she might have heard of the story  
 of the great *Buchanan's* repentance as recorded in *Cam-*  
*'s* annals, and at the same time of its being a fiction ;  
 that she had not the sense or memory or honesty to  
 report it justly to *Sage*, supposing that neither he nor  
 the author nor publisher of his life were defective in a-  
 ny of these respects.

*Dr. Mackenzie* tells us, that *le Clerc* is at a great deal  
 pains to prove that the story of *Buchanan's* repenting  
 what he had said against queen *Mary* is false ; “ but  
 adds the Dr. since all his arguments are founded u-  
 pon mere conjecture, and wrong accounts of matters  
 of fact, I shall not trouble the reader with them.”  
*Ruddiman* is so wise as to take no notice at all of *le*  
*'s* arguments, which are perfectly unanswerable ;  
 and even children, where they cannot read, skip over.  
 It would be too long to repeat what *le Clerc*, who  
 supposes all that goes under *Camden's* name to have been  
 written by him, has said, I shall take a shorter way,  
 referring to his preface to his annals and his letters  
 to *Tuanus*, by which it plainly appears that all we find  
 in his annals relating to *Scottish* affairs, contrary to the  
 accounts given by *de Thou* and *Buchanan*, was neither  
 proposed by him, nor by him believed to be true. In

In the preface, which is highly applauded by *Ram*, *Camden* tells us he designed by his last will to bequeath his annals to *James Augustus Thuanus*, who had begun the history of his own time, *summâ fidei* & *maximâ laude*, “with the highest reputation for candour & moderation.” *Ecce autem, hoc consilium, nescio quâ sorte, mihi præceptum, & magna pars eorum ante aliquot annos ad eum transmissa, dum adhuc primis lineamentis adhibiti, & vix inchoati jacerent, lituris & lacunis deformis segmentis hinc inde assutis, mendis, ut tumultuante caligantes, & à librario pessimè accepti.* Ex his ille in sua historia undecimo, & duodecimo, paucula demendo, retando, addendo, sed recto sanè cum judicio, interpolata reliquit. Cum autem ille, pro suscepti operis ratione (universalem enim sui temporis historiam aggressus) pauca Anglica & Hibernica decerpserit, plurima quæ nostros cognoscere vult, & forsitan intersit, prætermiserit.

“But behold! this design of his was prevented. He knew not what fate, and a great part of the annals were sent over to *de Thou* some years before, when he had made but the first rude draught of them, disfigured with blots and blanks, strangely patched and botched in many places, abounding with scapes of the pen, and very ill handled by the copyist.” These *de Thou* by retrenching, altering and adding, had polished and interwoven with true judgment in the 11 and 12 (or rather, as *Buckley* shews, in the tenth and eleventh) tomes of *Drouart*’s edition in 12mo of his history, and according to the nature of the work he had undertaken, which was an universal history of his own time, he culled out some passages relating to *English* and *Irish* affairs, and “passed over a great many (meaning the Scottish affairs) which our folks, says *Camden*, take a pleasure to know, and in which perhaps they have an interest.” In *Camden*’s letter to *de Thou*, dated *Wesminster* 10th August 1612, written three years before

part of the annals was printed, he calls them the memoirs of *Monsieur Cotton*, and tells *Thuanus* that, before he had taken the first rude draught of them, the earl of *Northampton*, desired him to put them into the hands of *sir Robert Cotton*, to be by him communicated to the king, who was very anxious to peruse them. *Cæterum nam ad tuas manus limati pervenissent; in exemplari quo nuper vidi plurima observavi manca, mutila, hiulca, verbulum quædam librarii audacia immutata. Quid de his fiet tu à Rege edoctus optimè nosti, totos scio in tuum oraculum non transferes, & multa credo omittes, quæ nostros regem juvet & fortasse intersit.* This is to the same effect, and the last words the very same as those in the preface. He concludes, *sed hæc tibi soli & sigalioni*, injoining *de Thou* secrecy. "But this under the rose, this 'twixt you and I, let no body be the wiser." It is evident from *Casaubon's* letters that king *James* had himself revised, amended, and affirmed for true, all that was sent by him to *Thuanus*, and as certain by other documents, that *de Thou* paid very little regard to these memoirs in so far as they related to *Scottish* affairs, and that king *James* dissatisfied with his taking such liberty of judgment with the memoirs he had furnished him, commanded *Hamden's* papers suddenly out of his hands, and so prevented his project of printing in *Germany* his history of queen *Elisabeth*, without his name, and dedicating it to *Thuanus*.

*Ruddiman* is of opinion, that the reproaches thrown upon queen *Mary*, tho' they had been true, ought not to have been committed to history: but this opinion is refuted by *Bayle*, whose words are, "*Buchanan* must not be censured for printing the history of *Mary*; for if he advanced nothing but the truth, he would have been very much to blame in suppressing it. This would have been sacrificing living innocency to a crime punished with death; it would have been sparr-

G

"ring



“ ring the memory of a guilty queen at the expense  
 “ of two nations.” *Ruddiman* would have *Buchanan*  
 have been ignorant of the first law of history, which,  
 according to *Cicero de oratore, lib. 2.* is, “ not to dare  
 “ any thing that is false, and to dare say every thing  
 “ that is true.” *Cicero* supposes this law to be known  
 by every body. \*

*Ruddiman, animadver. pag. 12, 13.* objects to *James Melvil's* account, who was an eye and ear witness  
 and to that of *sir John Scot*, that *Buchanan* run no risk  
 from the king's fury and hatred, because king *James*  
 at that time was in the hands of the *Ruthven* lords, who  
 were *Buchanan's* friends. “ The lords, says *sir John*  
 “ *Melvil*, who were joined together for the reformation  
 “ on of the state, being rid of *Lennox* and *Arran*,  
 “ tired themselves from the court to their houses, that  
 “ his majesty should not think himself any way depri-  
 “ ved of his liberty by them ; for they had got some in-  
 “ telligence of his inward grief for his taking and im-  
 “ prisoning.” *Spotswood* says, “ the king was surpris-  
 “ ed by them at *Ruthven* 23d of *August* 1582, that a day  
 “ or two after *Lennox*, who remained in *Dalkeith*, for

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\* *Mr. Calderwood*, in his MS. gives us a pretty curious  
 account of an interview which the commissioners named  
 by the general assembly, *May* 1592, to wait upon the king  
 had with his majesty. “ The king was hot against the  
 “ ministers for speaking so freely in their pulpits against  
 “ him and his nobility, and defending *Mr. Knox*, the good  
 “ regent, and *Mr. George Buchanan*, who said the king  
 “ could not be defended but by traitors and seditious  
 “ theologues. They replied soundly and coldly. In the  
 “ afternoon, *Mr. Andrew Melvil* was so earnest in defence  
 “ of those worthy men, that the chancellor said that was  
 “ not his errand he came for. *Mr. Andrew* said he would  
 “ take no discharge at his hand, nor at the hand of any  
 “ subject, except his majesty. The king found fault with  
 “ *Mr. Buchanan's* book *de jure regni*, and with several others  
 “ some

some noblemen to court, to whom when the king cried out that he was captive, the *Ruthven* lords prayed his majesty not to say so, for that he should not be denied to go whither he pleased, only they would not permit the duke of *Lennox* and earl of *Ar-  
ran* to mislead him any longer, and oppress both church and kingdom as they had done ; that a proclamation was issued out by the king, dated at *Perth* 28th of *August* approving what the *Ruthven* lords had done as good service ; that *Lennox* in the mean time was gathering great forces, when the king signified his pleasure to him, that he should leave the kingdom before the 20th of *September* ; that when he retired to *Dumbritton*, there was a great resort of noblemen, barons and others to him, and that notwithstanding of the earnestness of the *Ruthven* lords for his going out of the country, it was put off till the midst of *December*." *Calderwood* tells us that "*Lennox* not thinking himself safe in *Dalkeith* was allowed to stay in *Edinburgh*, whither he came accompanied with 64 horse, and left his bishop (*Montgomery*) in *Dal-*

ther things in those worthy men. Mr. *Andrew* answered, those men set the crown upon his majesty's head. The king said, it came to him by succession, and not by any man. The other replied, they were the instruments and executioners, and whosoever informed him sinistrously of those men, were neither true to him nor the common-weal. The king said, *Knox* called his mother a whore, and allowed the slaughter of *Davis* in her presence. Mr. *Patrick Galloway* said, if a king or queen be a murderer, why should they not be called so ?" — See Dr. *Abercrombie* at the beginning of his life of king *James III.* vol 2. the copy of which was revised, and in some very material places corrected by his learned, judicious and indefatigable friend Mr. *Rud-  
man*, who also oversaw the press." If it be true, says he, that thirty three of *James VI's* progenitors were bloody,  
G 2 " *keith*."

"*keith.*" All this considered, there is no difficulty believing, not that the king in person made *Buchanan* a visit on his death-bed, as *Varillas* has understood *Thou's* words, which do not necessarily imply so much but that he teased him by means of trustees or confidants to retract what he had said about queen *Mary*; and the separating *Lennox* and *Arran* from the king's company was what the *Ruthven* lords chiefly designed by their enterprize, it may be very questionable whether they would have so far interested themselves in *Buchanan* as to have offered to screen him from the king's resentment, or hinder his process from having been made. The 17th book of his history which contains the account of queen *Mary's* familiarities with *Rizzio* being printed about the beginning of *September*, the news of which would soon fly from *Edinburgh* to *Perth*, where the court then was; and before the 28th of *September*, the day of the author's death, there would be sufficient time for tampering with him, and importuning him again and again to retract, and for summoning him before the privy council for his refusal.

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- "*cruel, greedy, lecherous, vicious, tyrannical, foolish, usurper*  
 " &c. it is no slander to call them such; for slander, I  
 " humbly conceive, implies an untruth or falsehood, and  
 " *ne quid falsi dicere audeat*, is a maxim all authors should  
 " observe: but it is a maxim not at all inconsistent with  
 " that other, *ne quid veri non audeat*."

Mr. *Ruddiman*, in his answer to Mr. *Logan*, prays God to forgive him for saying that neither Mr. *George Buchanan* nor Mr. *Alexander Henderson* did repent of what they had done, the one to *Q. Mary*, and the other to king *Charles I.* and that they needed no repentance for doing that which was lawful and right. Sure, Mr. *Ruddiman*, in such moods, has need of some body to pray over him the poet's wish,

—————*Dii te, Damascippe, Deaque*  
*Donent tonsore.*—————



De Thou passes the following just censure on those  
 pish writers who extol queen *Mary* as a saint and a  
 martyr, and would have her innocent of the death of  
 the king her husband, and forced by her enemies to  
 make a scandalous marriage with *Bothwell* his murder-  
 er; *nae illi meo judicio imprudenter faciunt, dum bonam cau-*  
*sa, hoc est, majorum religionem, veritate ipsa satis vali-*  
*de, alienis praesidiis, hoc est, tam impudentibus mendaciis,*  
*sustentantur.* “ In truth such writers, in my judgment, act  
 unwisely, in propping a good cause, that is, the re-  
 ligion of our ancestors (meaning the popish or Ro-  
 man catholic) sufficiently fortified by the truth itself,  
 by foreign supports, that is, by such impudent lies.”  
 Accordingly we find other writers of the *Romish* com-  
 munion who are most eminent for their candour and lear-  
 ning, to be of *de Thou's* sentiments; particularly *Pe-*  
*re du Puy* in his *histoire des Favoris, Adriani* the histori-  
 an of *Florence*, the Abbot *Pignerol*, *Guy Patin* and *Gab-*  
*riel Naudé*. *Guy Patin* *Regius* professor of medicine in the  
 University of *Paris*, speaks always in raptures of *Buch-*  
*anan*, calling him the king of poets, and ranking him a-  
 mong the most celebrated historians. Lett. 494 July  
 1669. “ Give me *Titus Livius*, and *Cornelius Tac-*  
*itus* with *Sueton*, and for the moderns the illustrious  
*Mr. de Thou*, *Guichardin* and *Buchanan*. Let us make  
 the number seven of them entire, and add *Fra-Pao-*  
*lo's* history of the council of *Trent*.” And that part  
 of *Buchanan's* history which provokes *Ruddiman* and his  
 party to rage, not only pleased *Patin*, a great judge, for  
 the learned and elegant but also for the free manner, or  
 the author's courage and honesty in telling the truth.  
 Lett. 133. *Paris Jan*, ult. 1659. *Marie Stuart*, *Rein-*  
*de Ecosse* avoit un secretaire Italien, nommé *David Rits*, le  
 quel par Son Mari *Jacques* cinquieme en devint jaloux, & le  
 poignarder en sa presence, & devant sa Femme, d'où pro-  
 vint leur mauvais menage, & leur malheur à tous deux.

Buchanan de rebus scotorum *én a écrit toutel' histoire de l'Écosses* ment & élégamment : les princes sont malheureux en leurs familles aussi bien que les particuliers, & aussi le méritent-ils comme les autres, car ils font quelque fois bien des fautes.

" Mary Stewart queen of Scotland, had an Italian secretary named David Rits, the king her husband James V." (it should be Henry, for James V. was the queen's father) " grew jealous of him, and caused stab him in his presence, and before his wife ; this was the occasion of their living in very ill terms, and of both their misfortunes. Buchanan de rebus Scotorum has writ the whole story of it in a learned and elegant manner. Princes are unhappy in their families as well as private persons, and truly they deserve it as well as others ; for sometimes they commit great faults.

Gabriel Naudé bibliothecar to Cardinal Mazarin speaking of the spirit of party which makes men give good or bad characters of others from affection or hatred ; *Ainsi tous les dévots disent toute sorte de bien de Marie Stuart Reine d'Ecosse dont la conduite néanmoins n'étoit pas selon les Regles. J'ai vu à Rome les lettres qu'elle écrivoit au Comte de Bothwell Subactori suo. Pour moi je veux croire d'elle comme tres vrai ce qu'ont écrit M. de Thou & Buchanan.* Naudæana edit. 2d. printed at Amsterdam in 1703 page 98, 99. " Thus all the bigots speak all manner of good of Mary Stewart queen of Scotland, whose conduct however was not regular.

" ——— I have seen at Rome the letters which she wrote to the earl of Bathwell her gallant. For myself I am willing to believe as most true what M. de Thou and Buchanan have written of her." Subactori conveys a very coarse idea. I have rendered it by the soft term of Gallant.

The next character of Buchanan I shall adduce, is that given by Dr. Gilbert Burnet in his history of the reformation

formation of the church of *England* vol. 1: book 3 page . After an account of *Buchanan's* having run the utmost hazard of his life for the satyrs he had written against Gray Friars at command of *James V.* who notwithstanding left the author to the mercy of the clergy, of going beyond sea, living many years in that exile, being forced to teach a school most part of the time ; yet, adds the doctor, the greatness of his mind was not oppressed with that mean employment. In his writings there appears, not only all the beauty and graces of the *Latin* tongue, but a vigour of mind and quickness of thought, far beyond *Bembo*, or the other *Italians*, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the *Roman* stile. It was but a feeble imitation of *Tully* in them ; but his stile is so natural and nervous, and his reflexions on things are so solid (besides his immortal poems in which he shews how well he could imitate all the *Roman* poets, in their several ways of writing, that he who compares them will be often tempted to prefer the copy to the original) that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors." To this testimony I shall take the liberty to add another from the same author in his pastoral care, page 182, where he recommends to the clergy the study of the classic authors. " The books that we learn at schools are generally laid aside, with this prejudice, that they were the labours as well as the sorrows of our childhood and education : but they are among the best of books. The *Greek* and *Roman* authors have a spirit in them, a force both of thought and expression, that later ages have not been able to imitate, *Buchanan* only excepted ; in whom, more particularly in his psalms, there is a beauty and life, an exactness as well as a liberty, that cannot be imitated, and scarce enough commended."

Mr.



Mr. *Ruddiman* himself says, it is generally agreed that excepting one or two of the *Greek* and *Latin* writers (whom yet he does not name) we shall not in any age find any equal, far less superiour to *Buchanan*, for his exquisite judgment, the wonderful contexture of all the parts of his history, the style every where suited to the subject, grave, majestic, uniform, smooth, harmonious, sweet, imitable, delectable. He proceeds to observe that *Nicholas Rapin* the *Jesuit*'s character of *Buchanan* as a servile imitator of *Livy*, is malicious and invidious and founded, not on truth, but on that *Vatinian* hatred which most of the papists and particularly the disciples of *Loyola* bear him. He did indeed imitate *Livy*, says *Ruddiman*. "But what for a man was *Livy*? The prince of Roman history, than whom he had none more excellent to imitate. But he did not imitate *Livy* only, but others also, *Sallust*, *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, &c. from whom he borrowed the most apposite phrases, and various ways of speaking, not in a servile manner, but with wonderful artifice, and a success altogether extraordinary, out of them all did so temper his style and convert all to his own use, that every where they appear not to have been fetched from others, but to have arisen from himself, and to have been peculiarly his own." *Ruddiman* goes on. "At this rate not *Buchanan* only, but *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Livy* himself, and others without number, shall deserve to be called *servum pecus*, a servile herd. It is certain that \* *Wicquefort* (on Ambassadors, tom. 2. pag. 229.) is so far from thinking *Buchanan* a servile imitator of

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\* Mr. *Wicquefort*'s words are these; *l' on peut dire avec verité, que T. Live n' a pas si bien reussy en son histoire Romaine que Buchanan en celle d' Escosse.* "It may be said in sincerity, without any compliment, that *Titus Livius* has not succeeded so well in his *Roman* history, as *Buchanan* has done in the history of *Scotland*." And *Livy*

*Livy*, that he makes no scruple to prefer him to *Livy*. And if *Rapin* here means the style or way of writing, *Buchanan* will be found to resemble *Cæsar* rather than *Livy* which is not so much my sentiment as that of others" (meaning *Andrew Fletcher* of *Sal-* a great judge in such matters) "tho' *le Clerc* is of opinion that *Buchanan* had *Sallust* and *Livy* principally in his eye, and has joined the brevity and conciseness of the former with the plainness, easiness and elegance of the latter. Nay *Rapin* in another place, more favourable, assigns to our *Buchanan* the place next after *Thucydide*, *Xenophon*, *Sallust*, *Cæsar*, *Livy*, whose histories, for the noble, grave, pure, plain and unaffected style, will for ever please." Therefore setting aside *Rapin*'s malicious and invidious asure, *Ruddiman* thinks it a settled point, and past all dispute, that "if we regard eloquence, and all the qualities requisite in an orator, no one, not only since the restauration of learning, but since the times of *Cæsar* and *Livy* in any part of the world, has undertaken the office of an historian, so well furnished as to parts and capacity as *Buchanan*, or sustained the character with equal dignity."

In this character of *Buchanan*, *Ruddiman* to me seems have had in his eye, 1. *Gabriel Naudé*'s character of *Offat*'s letters (*bibliographia politica*) as being commended with the greatest gravity and the most consummate advantages of old age, and with the most extensive knowledge of important facts and sentiments, never bold nor soft, *semper æquales, semper lectoris animum de-*

whoever impartially compares the two historians together, will not condemn Mr. *Wicquefort*, a most accurate writer, according to sir *George Mackenzie*, as guilty of exaggeration. In another place, he recommends *Buchanan*'s history, as one of those which an ambassador ought to peruse.

*mulcentes,*

*mulcentes, detinentesque jucundissima rerum ac rationum  
rietate*; "but always of a piece, always entertaining  
"and engaging the mind of the reader with the  
"agreeable variety of things and reasonings." *Ruddi-  
man's words are, parem ubique rebus verborum gravitatem  
majestatemque, & æquabili semper tenore fluentem, atque  
nimisabili prorsus suavitate lectoris aures demulcentem orationem.*

2dly, Mr. *James Crawford's* character of *Buchanan*, in his history of the house of *Esté*, as quoted by *Dr. Mackenzie*. "Buchanan not only excelled  
"that went before him in his own country, but  
"scarcely had his equal in that learned age in which  
"he lived. He spent the first flame and rage of his  
"fancy in poetry; in which he did imitate *Virgil*  
"heroics, *Ovid* in elegiacs, *Lucretius* in philosophy  
"Seneca in tragedy, *Martial* in epigrams, *Horace*  
"Juvenal in satyrs. He copied after these great ma-  
"sters so perfectly, that nothing ever approached near  
"er the original: and his immortal paraphrase on the  
"psalms does shew, that neither the constraint of a  
"limited matter, the darkness of expression, nor the fre-  
"quent return of the same or the like phrases could  
"confine or exhaust that vast genius. At last in his  
"old age, when his thoughts were purified by long re-  
"flexion and business, and a true judgment came  
"the room of one of the richest fancies that ever was  
"he wrote our history with such beauty of style, easi-  
"ness of expression, and exactness in all its parts, that  
"no service or honour could have been done the nation  
"on like it." This is as much as could be expected  
from a professed adversary.

3dly, and lastly, *Ruddiman* seems to have had in his  
eye *Buchanan's* character as a poet drawn by *le Clerc*  
*Bibl. Chois. tom. 8. pag. 129.* and quoted by *Ruddiman*  
"In his poems one sees throughout a deal of invention  
"on



on, a style pure, neat, clean, exact, clear, elegant, and as lofty as the subject requires. Besides, the tour of them is so easy and happy, that the finest and most beautiful passages seem to have cost the author nothing. Those who have read the ancient poets, discover every where that he had them by heart, and he imitates them so happily, that one would think he never utters but his own expressions and sentiments, even when one knows that he had some passage of the ancients in his mind."

To shew that *le Clerc's* character of *Buchanan* as a poet, is justly applicable to him as an historian, I shall produce a passage or two where he has certainly had *Livy* in his eye, the first is *lib. 8. cap. 16. pag. 136*. *Cum nihil minus ab initio mihi fuisset propositum, ut à continente rerum explicatione diverticula quærerem, non potui mihi temperare quin Richardi Græstoni, nuper historiam rerum Anglicarum edidit, effrenam mandendi libidinem ostenderem: Liv. lib. 9. cap. 17. Nihil minus quæsitum à principio hujus operis videri potest, ut plus justo ab rerum ordine declinarem, varietatibus distinguendo opera: Et legentibus velut diverticula adma, Et requiem animo meo quærerem: tamen tanti regis lucis mentio, quibus sæpe tacitis cogitationibus volutavi, eos evocat in medium: ut quærere libeat, quinam tantus Romanis rebus, si cum Alexandro (magno scilicet) fore bellatum, futurus fuerit. In both these passages the authors are apologizing for a digression, and it is obvious that *Buchanan* has had *Livy* in his eye, and yet borrows nothing from him but these words, *nihil minus quam ut diverticula quærerem.**

The other passage is *lib. 10. cap. 40. pag. 190. E.* where speaking of *James IV's* laudable endeavours for restoring the ancient discipline, and of his preferring only men of virtue and learning to church benefices, he adds that if the princes that came after him had followed this method,

method, there would not have been so great corruption among the clergy, as there were at the time of the formation. *Quam rationem si qui secuti sunt regis fuissent certè ad hæc tempora perventum non fuisset quibus nec populus sacerdotum vitia, nec sacerdotes vitiorum media pati possent.* “ We should not have come “ these times, in which neither could the people bear “ the vices of the church men, nor the church men “ remedies of their own vices.” *Livy* in his preface *labente deinde paulatim disciplina, velut desidentes præcepta mores sequatur animo : deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sunt ire cœperint præcipites, donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus perventum.* “ Again let him consider distinctly, how, our discipline “ failing and giving way by degrees, our manners sunk “ down as it were at first with a gentle motion : then “ how they slid more and more, and shortly after began “ gan to tumble head-long ; till we were come “ these times, in which we can neither bear our diseases “ pers nor their cures.” *Ruddiman* proposes to correct *Buchanan*, by turning *possent* into *possunt*, because *Livy* has it so ; not attending that this alteration would make *Buchanan*’s words neither sense nor grammar ; he is speaking of the time past, and *Ruddiman* would have him speak in the present tense : by the same reason we should turn *perventum non fuisset* into *perventum est*.

What has been said is abundantly sufficient to show that *Buchanan*’s greatest enemies cannot refuse him the praise of a fine genius and a fine writer, and to justify the pains I have taken in restoring the true readings of the text of his works, which *Ruddiman* in so many places has altered and corrupted.

The following passage of the authors of the great historical, geographical and poetical dictionary printed at London in 1694, contains a vindication of his moral character. “ This great man hath had many enemies

on the account of his dialogue *de jure regni*, and the freedom that he used in his history. But his esteem, both as a poet and historian, sets him above the reach of all cavils. The purity of his stile, both in prose and in verse, renders him rival to *Tully* and *Maro*. \* On the title page of his *Psalms* 'tis allowed, in most of the universities in *Europe*, that he should be called *poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps*. What the learned *Scaliger* and *Beza* write of him is sufficient to stop the mouths of them who carp at him, either upon the account of his religion or country. And the very perusal of his works is enough to justify him to the learned. As to his piety and morals, at least after his being converted from popery, they were never questioned by any unprejudiced person. As for the truth of his history so much decried by *Camden*, its being dedicated to king *James VI*, approved by those who were concerned in the affairs mentioned in its latter part, and confirmed by *Knox* and *Calderwood*'s histories, and the testimony of Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, and all the firm and sincere protestants in

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\* Mr. *Ninian Campbell*, a native of *Cowall*, professor of science in the college of *Saumur* about the year 1628, a poem subjoined to his *apologia critica*, which he dedicates to Mr. *Mark Duncan*, another learned *Scotsman*, principal of the said college, has the following lines in praise of *Buchanan*, in which he calls him *Maro Levinus*.

*Hinc in astra ferar meatus,  
Dulcis gloriola memor solique  
Natalis, numeros canam perennes;  
Aut quales cecinit Maro Latinus;  
Aut quales cecinit Maro Levinus;  
Ille magniloque parens Camæna,  
Ut hic lacteola parens loquela  
Noster Georgius ille Buchanianus,  
Sæcorum decus eruditiorum,  
Et quot sunt hominum venustiorum,*



“ his time, who could not but have known those falsehoods  
 “ he is charged with, had they been true, are all, together  
 “ ther with his own privity to the intrigues of that time  
 “ which he was commissioned to unfold before queen  
 “ *Elizabeth*, and with which her majesty declared her  
 “ satisfaction, more than sufficient to ballance the credit  
 “ dit of what was said or done against him by those of  
 “ the *Guilian* faction, or licked up by others from them.

But let us hear *Ruddiman*'s description of *Buchanan*'s  
 moral character in the end of his notes on *Buchanan*'s  
 life, where he tells us, that after *Buchanan*'s last return  
 to his native country and embracing the reformed religion,  
 he cultivated all manner of virtues, and especially  
 piety towards God, as is evident not only from his own  
 writings, but also from the testimony of those who en-  
 joyed his daily conversation. Nay, sir *James Melville*  
 himself, tho' otherwise severe on *Buchanan*, testifies that  
 he was religious, and in his conversation recited moral  
 maxims short and instructive, of which he had great store.  
*unde & à neglecto corporis habitu, stoicum eum philosophum*  
 “ appellat, for which reason, and on account of his being  
 “ ing careless in dress, he calls him *Stoic* a philosopher.  
 As to credulity and a revengeful temper, with which  
*James* reproaches *Buchanan*, tho' *Ruddiman* will neither  
 pretend to refute or assert this, as coming from a grave  
 and cotemporary writer, yet he is inclined to believe  
 that these faults have been aggravated by *Melville*, who  
 was of a different or opposite party. And *Ruddiman*  
 thinks what *Thomas Smith* and others have written to be  
 more probable, viz. that *Buchanan*, after he was made  
 the king's preceptor, at least in the end of his life,  
 grew somewhat peevish in his temper, which was not to  
 be attributed to his natural disposition, but to continual  
 distempers, and the other calamities incident to old  
 age, which usually sowre even excellent men, and render  
 them uneasy not only to themselves, but also to their  
 friends.

And here, continues *Ruddiman*, the popish writers, especially the *Jesuitical* tribe, bear down upon *Buchanan* with all their sails, and with that boundless licence of under and railing for which they are so eminent. *Gerbrard*, *Garasse* and *Sandæus*, call him an apostate monk, a *Bacchic* buffoon, an atheistical poet, and say, that he was a notorious debauchee, excessively given to wine and venery, and that having contracted a dropsy by his drunkenness, no advices of the physicians could persuade him to abstain, and that swilling down *Gascoigne* wine which he had ordered to be set before him, *he vomited up his red soul*. Some of them write, that in time of Lent, instead of the Lord's supper he ate the paschal lamb after the manner and custom of the *Jews*; others that he preferred *Pliny* to the holy scriptures, and that being commanded at the point of death to say the Lord's prayer, he expired rehearsing the first elegy of *Propertius*, instead of it. "But these, adds *Ruddiman*, are most arrant lies, absolutely void of any foundation, rather worthy of being treated with indignation, than of being refuted. For what shall one do with these men, who putting no manner of difference between truth and falsehood, have no regard either to what they say themselves, or to what others think of them, provided they revile and slander? That *Buchanan* never was a monk is plain, both from his own writings, and from his manner of life; and that he was a man of piety and a sincere worshipper of God, this alone is a proof, if there were no other, that, by an unprecedented example, he was chosen moderator of the general assembly which sat down at *Edinburgh*, 25th *June* 1567, being at that time master of *St. Leonard's* college, and in no holy orders." But *Ruddiman*, weary of insisting longer on these calumnies, refers us for a vindication of *Buchanan* to *Bayle's* Dictionary; or, if that is not sufficient, to his own

immortal writings, particularly to his divine work the psalter, " which when one has perused with attention and seriousness, let him then, if it be possible, be induced to think, that they are the productions of a drunkard, of one impious and void of all religion; nay rather, if I am not sadly deceived, he will; " *Nathan Chytræus* judging of the workman by his work; pronounce *Buchanan* one of the best and most innocent of men, and altogether worthy of living forever in the memory of men on account of his most extraordinary learning and gravity; " *vir optimus innocentissimus, immortalique hominum memoria propè doctrinam & gravitatem planè eximiam omnino dignissimus*. That these are *Ruddiman*'s words he cannot deny, tho' upon his being justly reproached with giving inconsistent characters of *Buchanan*, in his notes on his life, within the compass of two leaves, he has recanted them, and thought fit, *animadv. page. 36* to tell us (a very poor evasion!) That at the time of writing the notes on *Buchanan*'s life he had a better opinion of him than he now has. And yet at the time of writing these notes, he had perused all *Buchanan*'s writings, by which according to him, we ought to judge of the character of their author: so that he has been sadly deceived himself, and sadly deceived others. For *animadv. pag. 10* he calls *Buchanan* the most outrageous calumniator that ever put pen to paper, and affirms that he has filled the six last books of his history with a train of the most arrant calumnies, falsehoods and lies, that the like, he verily believes, are not to be found in any history whatever. It is not *Buchanan* only but all that are of his principles that *Ruddiman* has charged plentifully with slanders and heaps of lies. In which it was no great mastery for him to be so liberal: since of these he wanted no store. But if we shall be able clearly and plainly to vouch every thing that we have spoken, then we doubt



but he will take all these lies home again, and be-  
 low them freely amongst his fellows. In the notes on  
 the 17. 18. and 19 books of *Buchanan's* history and in  
 the preface to his works *Ruddiman* has in effect said the  
 same thing that he now does, upon no better authority  
 than that of *Morgan Philips*, *David Crawford*, and o-  
 ther most impudent forgers, of whom even the sober  
 writers among the *Roman Catholics* themselves are  
 much ashamed. — But possibly *Ruddiman* who in  
 most of his pieces designs himself A. M. i. e. as I take  
 him, master of arts, has used some art in concealing the  
 design of these notes of his on the history, till the copies  
 were distributing among the subscribers, that he might  
 keep fair with the whiggish part of them and so play his  
 game with both hands. For the author of the M. S.  
 Latin preface to an intended new edition of *Buchanan's*  
 works gives us the following narrative. “ *Buchanan*,  
 the brightest light of his country, and the credit of  
 his history being so ignominiously abused, a great  
 part of those who wished well to the present *British*  
 constitution, which was openly struck at through the  
 sides of this famous writer, were highly offended: in  
 respect they had been assured that no notes were to  
 be added to the history, but such as concerned the  
 asserting of the true reading of the text, and the cor-  
 recting of some chronological escapes. In this hope,  
 they had given the editor all the advice and assistance  
 they possibly could. And that while the work was  
 carrying on they might not be undeceived, I have  
 it from good hands, that he dissembled the design of  
 his censorian preface and political notes; and there-  
 fore did not subjoin the notes to the text in a conti-  
 nued series, which was the easier way, and which he  
 has followed himself in publishing the author's life,  
 but cast them all together to the end of the history,  
 that they might not be known to any but his com-

" plices, before the affair was finished." What confirms this observation, is, that the 2d. vol. of Dr. *Abercrombie's* martial achievements, of which *Ruddiman* makes great use in his notes, was printed by *Freebairn* the same year with his edition of *Buchanan*, that is in 1715.

But leaving this, I shall offer a few remarks on *Ruddiman's* character of *Buchanan* in the notes on his life, which will shew, that tho' it is just in the main, yet *Ruddiman* has fallen into several blunders.

1. He says sir *James Melvil* calls *Buchanan* a Stoic philosopher, not only because he recited in his conversation moral reflexions short and instructive, but because he was careless in dress. Sir *James's* words are, "The king had four principal masters, Mr. *George Buchanan*, Mr. *Peter Young*, the Abbots of *Cambuskeneth* and *Dryburgh*, descended from the house of *Erskine*. My lady *Marr* was wise and sharp, and held the king in great awe; and so did Mr. *George Buchanan*. Mr. *Peter Young* was more gentle, and was loath to offend the king at any time, carrying himself warily, as a man who had mind of his own weal, by keeping of his majestie's favour; but Mr. *George* was a Stoic philosopher, who looked not far before him. — *George Buchanan étoit un vrai Stoicien, qui alloit tous jours son grand chemin & qui ne se mettoit point en peine de l'avenir.* *George Buchanan* acted candidly, without artifice or finesse, and did not trouble his head about the future," as the *French* translation of *Melvil's* memoirs published in 1694 rightly expresses the author's meaning." i. e. *Buchanan* always did his duty without regarding his own private interest, and was as eminent for his contempt of the world as for other great and good qualities, *contemptis opibus, sprete popularibus auris, Ventosæque fugax ambitionis*, "one that despised riches, honours and popular applause," which is

*Joseph*

*Joseph Scaliger's* character of him, and which *Ruddiman*  
*er* *Robert Sibbald* acknowledges to be just. Herein  
*Buchanan* differed from his colleague *Mr. Peter Young*  
*Seaton*, and in one of his letters to *Gualtier* of *Zurich*  
 confirms *Mr. James's* character of *Mr. Young*, *qui molles*  
*etus & tempora observabit*, as of one who could watch  
 the most seasonable times of address; of which complai-  
 nce *Mr. Peter* reaped very considerable fruits; for he  
 was counsellor and almoner as well as preceptor to king  
*James VI*, was by him employed on several important  
 embassies, and created knight in 1604, about which  
 time he had an annual pension of *L. 300 Sterl.* settled  
 on him for life by the same king, who also educated in  
 the court and kept in his service six of his sons; as ap-  
 pears by a letter of his to the king in 1611, which he  
 tells the 67th of his age and 42d of his service: in which  
 letter he owns, if ever subject was obliged to a sovereign  
 he was, and that next to God he owed him most. So  
 that nothing can be plainer than that *Mr. James Melvil*  
 calling *Buchanan* a *Stoic* philosopher could not mean  
 negligence in dress, but his greatness of mind in despi-  
 sing the things of this world. Yet see how *Ruddiman*,  
 censuring the late vindicator of *Buchanan*, passes a  
 sentence on himself, *animadv. page. 36.* "Sir *James's*  
 epithet of *Stoic* philosopher this author has above, not  
 over justly, applied to *Buchanan's* dress; for that was  
 far from being true of the *Stoics* in general, and could  
 only be said of that sect, or sub-division of them,  
 who were called *Cynicks*, as *Diogenes*, *Antisthenes* and  
 others, who oft times philosophised naked, or without  
 any dress at all. I hope *Buchanan* was none of these."  
 By the way I cannot help taking notice that the fa-  
 lous story told to *Dr. M'Kenzie* by *Cromartie* is ef-  
 fectually refuted by *Mr. James Melvil's* character of my  
 father *Marr* as wise and sharp and keeping the king in great  
 awe; for *Buchanan*, who had for the greatest part of  
 his



his time been used to the politest and best bred company, would never have given such an unmannerly reply to that noble woman, as the doctor or his informer put in his mouth; nor would she have spoke in such terms as the same worthy *Doctor* says she did. Farther *Buchanan's* keeping his pupil in awe, which, considering his timid nature, would not be a matter of very great difficulty, is confirmed by a passage of *Francis Osborn's* advice to his son, page 35. "King *James* used to say of a person in high place about him, that he ever trembled at his approach, it minded him so of his pedagogue."

2. I remark that *Ruddiman* is inconsistent in telling us that sir *James Melvil* in charging *Buchanan* with credulity and a revengeful temper has exaggerated matters, and in his notes, positively affirming *Melvil's* charge of credulity to be well grounded. As to that part of *Melvil's* character of *Buchanan*, that he was extremely revengeful against any man that had offended him, tho' it were true, as we have already seen it is not, it can never be adduced to discredit his history of that queen; since according to *Ruddiman* she was so far from having offended him, that he was highly obliged by her in many instances; tho', bating his imagination, he can give us but one real instance of her bounty, namely "that in the very next year after his return to his own country, that is *October* 9th 1564, she settled upon him a yearly pension of no less than *L. 500 Scots*, a sum that in those days would have gone further than five times so much would do now." But this favour is greatly diminished by what *Ruddiman* tells us in the same animadv. page. 62. that "queen *Mary* complied thoroughly with the political advice of her popish friends in *France*, to temporise, and to repose most upon those of the reformed religion, of which, says he, we need no other proof but this, that from her

" return

return out of *France* anno 1561 to near the time of her marriage with lord *Darnly*, anno 1565, she was directed in all her counsels by those of that religion, and particularly by her base brother the earl of *Murray*, who was at the head of her affairs during that whole time." So that *Buchanan* has owed his being made a pensionary of the abbey of *Corragwell* more to the earl of *Murray* than to his sister the queen. A 3d remark is, that Dr. *Smith*, as all the high flyers, being an enemy to *Buchanan*, and adducing no proof of his being of a fullen, morose and crabbed temper in his old age, his testimony is no ways to be regarded ; especially when contradicted by the accounts preserved in *Buchanan's* letters, and in the life of Mr. *James Melville*, which have been already quoted, and by *Calderwood's* character of him ; from which it is evident that he retained his greatness of mind and his facetious and pleasant temper to the last, without being any ways pettish or peevish. " His learning and skill in philosophy, humanity, poesy and the politicks," says *Calderwood* in his MS. " is so well known to all the learned in *Europe*, that I need not blow the trumpet to sound his praise, seeing the most learned in *Europe* have done it. *Beza*, *Joseph Scaliger*, *Sturmius*, and many more. He was a man of austere countenance, but merry and quick in conference and answers to any question. This vein left him not when he was near to his departure out of this life. For when Mr. *Davidson* came to visit him, he professed his confidence in the blood of Christ for salvation. Among other speeches he had, he said, the *masse* is a ridiculous thing, and if it were turned into *English*, it might be perceived how ridiculous it was. As for example, when the priest saith *Dominus vobiscum*, the Lord be with you : the people might answer, *whither will ye go, in an ill hour ?*

4thly, I observe a blunder in *Ruddiman's* account of *Buchanan's* being chosen moderator of the general assembly 1567, and saying that he was a meer lay-man chosen by an unprecedented example; for he was at that time principal of *St. Leonard's* college, and consequently a doctor and professor of divinity, of which we have undoubted proofs. 1. From the records of that college concerning the qualifications, office, election, &c. of its principal master, excerpts of which were taken for me, at the desire of the Rev. principal *Tullideph* of *St. Andrews*, by Mr. *Laurence Adamson*, a curious gentleman, keeper of the library there, from a genuine copy of the original papers compared with a transumpt of these papers.

From the charter erecting *St. Leonard's* college dated 20th August 1512, by the prior and convent.

*Primum, ut Dei cultus partim augmentetur---unum magistrum & directorem principalem, canonicum capituli nostri, quatuor capellanos, & de illis duos regentes, quorum unus animarum curam gerat. Viginti scholares omnes grammaticalibus sufficienter imbutos ad ceteras artes liberales capeffendas. Et sex in artibus bene eruditos ad theologicam studendam aptos, continuo studio, & lectura vehementer operam insistentes sub principali magistro regendos, fieri, sustentari, diligenti cura, & præcipue paterna pietate donec eos infirmari contigerit (prout in statutis continetur) misericordie foveri, volumus, statuimus & ordinamus, &c.*

From the old statutes of *St. Leonard's* college. *Magistro principali, capellanis & regentibus caput studentium. Volumus etiam ex fratrum nostrorum collegio (or hospitio) viz. ex capitulo Sti Andreae per Priorem ejusdem, perpetuo futuris temporibus, unum aliquem canonicum, virum grave, prudentem, & doctum, in sacris literis doctorem licentiatum aut Bachalaureum, seu alium quemvis eruditum capitulo Sti Andreae canonicum, eligi & nominari, ac dicto nostro pauperum collegio præfici, loci magistrum principalem*



uncupari. — Ipse verò omnibus feriis quartis & sabbatis Presbyteris, Regentibus, & aliis quibuscunque interesse debentibus lectionem in sacris literis, aut in speculativa theologia, scite & mature docebit. From these excerpts compared with a transumpt of the original papers in an old chartulary belonging to St. Leonard's college, and found to agree by Mr. Adamson, except that for Collegio the transumpt has Hospitio wrote above Collegio there scored ; from these extracts I say, it is plain that the principal of St. Leonard's college by the foundation charter of the old statutes must be a Dr. licentiate or bachelor in divinity or a canon, have students of divinity under his care, and read public lectures of divinity twice a week. And that Buchanan taught divinity is plain from Calderwood's MS. where we are told, that "after his return to Scotland he was professor in St. Leonard's college, and gave proof of his skill in theology in the exercise of prophesying, when it fell to him by course." His being chosen moderator of the assembly 1567 was therefore so far from being an unprecedented or uncommon instance, that there was nothing more ordinary ; for Messieurs Andr. Melvil, Thomas Beaton, Alexander Arbuthnot and several others, who were principals or heads of colleges and divinity professors, were frequently moderators of assemblies. And that this was perfectly agreeable to the constitution of the church of Scotland, may be seen from the 5th chap. of the book of the policy of the kirk, as we find it in Calderwood under the year 1578, and in Calderwood under the year 1581, where the office of doctors is described.

Another thing that may be learned from the above extracts from the charters of St. Leonard's college, is, that Buchanan has owed his place of master of that college, not to queen Mary, as Ruddiman falsely asserts, but to her brother the earl of Murray, who was Prior of St. Andrews

*Andrews* at that time and who had the sole power chusing the principal of *St. Leonard's*. As *Buchanan* himself, so all that have succeeded him in that office have been Drs. or professors of divinity.

I wonder how *Ruddiman* in the characters of *Buchanan's* history would have omitted that of his pupil *James VI*, for whom he pretends to have so great a veneration, having given us a good many from persons of far less dignity and of the same sentiments, such as *Dempster*, *Johnston*, &c. It is thus in the *Latin* of *Basilicon Doron*, or the royal gift. *Historiam leges, non libellum Buchananani & Knoxi libellos famosos, quos qui ad tua usque tempora adservavit, sentiat ille legum mearum pœnas. Etenim una hac in re non dissuadeo, quin Pythagoreus fias, sed seditiosas horum scriptorum animas in illos credas transire, qui horum libros recondunt, vel opiniones defendunt.* "You shall read history but not the defamatory libels of *Buchanan* and *Knox*; and if any one keeps them to your time, let him feel the pains of my laws: for that point I would have you a *Pythagorist*, to think that the very spirits of these archbellowses of rebellion have made transiion in them that hoard their books, or maintain their opinions," on which passage *John le Clerc* has made solid and just reflexions, "The *Buchanans* and the *Knoxes* says he, would have been strangely multiplied after their death, both in *England* and on this side the sea, if all those who have their books, and are of their sentiments, were to pass for *Buchanans* and *Knoxes*. Nay it may be said without a jest, that it had been greatly to be wished for king *James VI*, that he had profited of his master's lessons. He would not have had such troublesome differences with his parliaments; and if his son (*Charles I.*) had well studied *Buchanan's* works, and given into his sentiments, he would not have lost his head upon a scaffold. Perhaps too his grandfather

*James*

(Ja. VII.) who bore his name, if he had been bred to these same notions, had died peaceably on the throne. Had they been all persuaded, that they were the protectors, and not the masters of the laws of their kingdom, they would no doubt have passed their life more happily. If in monarchical states the princes were republicans, their subjects would all become royalists, because of the confidence which they would have in their king. Never have princes more authority than when they believe, and make it appear they are convinced, that they have not a right to enlarge it to infinite ; and never do people obey better, than when they are persuaded of the moderation of their princes. King James VI. had therefore done much more wisely to have advised his son to read *Buchanan* and to applaud such opinions.”\*

I shall conclude this chapter with observing that *Ruddiman* quotes Mr. *Thomas Smeton*'s character of *Buchanan* which runs in general terms, and omits that in pag. 44. his answer to *Archibald Hamilton*'s virulent dialogue, written after he had apostatiz'd to popery, which I have set down, the rather that the spirit of *Hamilton*, *Geneard*, *Garasse*, *Sandæus*, &c. seems to have made a transition into *Ruddiman*. *Qui seculi nostri decus, qui antiquæ virtutis & pietatis exemplar ; qui summæ eruditiois miraculum, qui doctorum & doctrinarum omnium principem & parentem Georgium, inquam, Buchananum, &*

\* On the title page of a copy of the *Jephthes* of *Isaac Leveir*'s edition 1621, which I have seen, the following lines are written by some learned hand.

*Clarus in historiæ campo clarusque poesi,*

*Nomen ad æternos fers, Buchanane, dies.*

*Scotia luce persusa celebrior audit :*

*Rex disciplina gaudet honore tue.*

*Maximus es meritis : quid patria rexve rependet ?*

*Quando tuis meritis hic sit & illa mincr.*



*eximios Dei servos, tam petulanter, tam protervè, tam contumeliosè inſectatur, & rabido dente Georgium Buchanani mordere, ſuppreſſo nomine, conatur ; cujus eximiam pietatem, eruditionem, prudentiam, ab æqualibus tantopere laudatam, quandiu mundi hæc machina conſiſtet, grata poſteritas prædicabit.* “ George Buchanan, the glory of our age, the pattern of antient virtue and piety, a miracle of profound learning, the prince and father of the learned and of learning of all kinds ; whose eminent piety, erudition and wiſdom, ſo highly extolled by his cotemporaries, ſhall be thankfully acknowledged and proclaimed by after-ages, ſo long as the frame of this world ſtands undiſſolved.”

## C H A P. III.

*Of the firſt edition of Buchanan's hiſtory, of which Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot, principal of the king's college of Aberdeen, had the care and overſight, and of the foreign editions that followed it. Of the fair manuſcript of the hiſtory preſerved in the library of the college of Edinburgh. Of the materials from which Mr. Ruddiman drew his notes, and by which he was aſſiſted in his edition. Canons of criticiſm ſpeculative and practical.*

“ *C*Um poſt viginti quatuor annorum peregrinationem, &c. “ Having at laſt returned to my native country after a twenty four years abſence from it, I made it my buſineſs, to gather up, in order to a reviſal, my papers (*meaning his poems*) which through the iniquity of the preceeding times had been ſcattered aſunder, and many ways ill handled. For partly thro' their being publiſhed too haſtily by my friends, which was owing to their exceeding great regard for me, “ and

and partly thro' the printer's taking too great liberty, and assuming the character of critics on the works of another, upon examination I found a good many passages altered according to the suggestions of every one's fancy, and some foully corrupted." These are the first words of *Buchanan's* dedication of his history, from which, as well as from several passages of his letters, it appears that having a great reverence for the public and a regard for his own reputation as an author, nothing gave him more pain than that his works should be printed incorrectly. Being of this humour, it is easy to conceive, that he would pitch upon a proper hand for supervising the edition of his history. Accordingly we find that Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnot* principal of the king's college of *Aberdeen* was the gentleman he employed for that purpose, of whom Mr. *James Melvil* in the account of his own life makes most honourable mention in several places. "After the assembly at *Edinburgh* in August 1575 we" (meaning himself and his uncle Mr. *Andrew Melvil*) "past to *Angus* in company with Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnot*, a man of singular gifts of learning, wisdom, godliness and sweetness of nature, then principal of the college of *Aberdeen*, whom with Mr. *Andrew* communicate ardent the hail order of his college in doctrine and discipline, and agreed as thereafter was set down in the new reformation of the said college of *Glasgow* and *Aberdeen*" About the year 1578. "The ministers of *Edinburgh* had knowledge, uprightness and zeal. They dwelt very commodiously together as in a college, with a wonderful consent in variety of gifts. There lodged in the house of *John Durie* at the general assemblies in *Edinburgh* for common, Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, Mr. *Thomas Smeton*, Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnot*, three of the learnedest men in *Europe*." &c. And when it comes to the year 1583 in which Mr. *Arbuthnot* died,

died, having survived *Buchanan* but about a year. "The  
 says he, " was a dark and heavy winter to the kirk  
 " *Scotland* eclipsed and bereft of three great lights,  
 " Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnet* in the beginning thereof  
 " Mr. *Thomas Smeton* the midst (of which sort I was  
 " not if there were many, scarce in all christendom for  
 " all sort of learning and godliness) and in the end  
 " the winter Mr. *William Clark* my predecessor." Arch-  
 bishop *Spotswood* in his history of the church of *Scotland*  
 book 6 under the year 1584, confirms *Melvil's* charac-  
 ter of Mr. *Arbuthnet* " a gentleman born of the house  
 " of *Arbuthnet* in *Mernis*, being trained up in the study  
 " of letters, and having his course of philosophy in the  
 " same college with Mr. *Lawson*, went to *France* at  
 " the age of 23 years; there applying himself to the  
 " laws, he lived five years an auditor of that great doc-  
 " tor *Cujacius*, and being made licentiate, returned to  
 " *Scotland* in the year 1566, of purpose to follow that  
 " calling; but God otherwise disposing, in the year  
 " 1569 he was made principal of the college of *Alber-  
 " deen*, where by his diligent teaching and dexterous  
 " government, he not only revived the study of good  
 " letters, but gained many from the superstitions  
 " whereunto they were given. He was greatly loved  
 " of all men, hated of none, and in such account for  
 " his moderation with the chief men of these parts,  
 " that without his advice they could almost do nothing  
 " which put him in a great favour, whereof he did  
 " often complain: pleasant and jocund in conversation,  
 " and in all sciences expert; a good poet, mathematici-  
 " cian, philosopher, theologian, lawyer, and in medicine  
 " skilful, so as in every subject he could promptly dis-  
 " course, and to good purpose." He was therefore in  
 every way equal to the task of supervising the printing of  
*Buchanan's* history, and probably had the assistance of  
 the great author himself while the greatest part of his  
 work



work was under the press ; for by Mr. *Melvil's* account, he seems not to have been confined to his bed till the printer was come to the end of the 17th book ; and no doubt Mr. *Arbuthnot* would have recourse to the author, whenever any difficulty occurred. And in fact it appears that he executed his trust with great care ; for we have not many books more correctly printed than the first edition of *Buchanan's* history at *Edinburgh* in 1782 in folio. Yet *Ruddiman* would have us to believe that it is very incorrect, and asserts that it is full of typographical errors ; tho' far the greatest part of these imaginary errors are real beauties, of which *Ruddiman* had no taste.

It deserves to be remarked, that some copies of the first edition, that is, as I take it, those that have been set off latest, are more correct than others. For I have observed about a dozen of typographical errors mended in some copies, which remain in others, and which are not marked among the *errata* at the end of the history. To *Ruddiman* not attending, has belied the first edition in several instances : as *lib. 1. cap. 7. page 4. a 8.* he says the MS. the *Edinburgh, Geneva* and *Franckfort* editions have *musis iratus natus* : yet all the copies of the first edition which I have consulted have *musis iratis, ib. p. 23. pag. 10. a 8.* *Accedit ad hæc, quod in antiquis monumentis nusquam comperimus summam rei Picticæ non cameloduni fuisse, sed Abrenethii & regiam, & primatis scopi sedem, quæ postea ad Fanum Andreæ translata est.* He says the MS. and all the editions read *non Cameloduni*, which has no meaning, or one directly contrary to what *Buchanan* intended. In two copies of the first edition which I have seen, the *non* is wanting ; and yet I take *non Cameloduni* to be the true reading. For there are several instances of the *Latin* writers using two negatives, to make the negation stronger, in imitation of the *Greeks*. *Ruddiman* observes that here and above,

*Buchanan* is impugning *Beethius*' opinion, who not only places the *Camelodunum* of the antients on the bank of *Carron*, but affirms that it was likewise the place where the *Pictish* kings had their residence. And because *Ruddiman*, in his own conceit, is a genius superior to *Buchanan*, he tells us the words above cited would connect better with what goes before, and all would be clearer to the reader, if either before page 9. c. 1. he had said, *Qui verò hic Camelodunum, eandemque regiam Pictorum fuisse fabulantur, iidem, &c.* or rather here pag. 10. a. 7. *Accedit ad hæc, quod non levius ii errant, qui Camelodunum regni Pictorum caput constituent; in antiquis enim monumentis nusquam comperimus, &c.* or shorter thus. — *Summam rei Picticæ Cameloduni fuisse, quod iidem scriptores affirmant, sed Abrenethii, &c.* Yet here as in many other places, *Ruddiman* is so thick-sculled as to mistake the design of *Buchanan*'s words, which is abundantly plain, viz. to prove that the *Camelodunum* of the antients was not situate on the water of *Carron*, where was the little town which *Bede* calls *Guidi* at the corner of *Severus*' wall, and that the antient monument on the same water about two miles below *Dunipace* was not a temple of *Claudius Cæsar*. Having proved both these points by very clear and convincing arguments, he adduces as an adminicular proof of the first of the two points that we no where find in any antient records that the *Pictish* kings kept their court at *Camelodunum*, or that it was the metropolis of their kingdom, but that not only their palace but also the chief bishop's see was at *Abernethy*, which was afterwards translated to *St. Andrews*. So that *Ruddiman* has here confounded the first point which *Buchanan* undertook to make good with the last argument adduced in proof of it, and the last proof with the thing to be proved. To go on with the instances in which he has belied the first edition of the history: lib. 1. cap. 23. page 10. c. 9. *Ultra Sterlinen*

*um est Levinia, (i. e. ager Levinianus) à Renfroano  
fectura Glotta, à Glasguensi Keluino amne divisus, —*  
says the MS. and all the editions read it so, except  
Melvin's copy of the first edition, which has *divisa*; yet  
one of my copies of the first edition, which is not the  
one with Melvin's, reads *divisa*. But another of my  
copies, which is more correct, has *divisus*, the true read-  
ing; the construction here, as in several other places,  
being moulded according to the sense. *ib. cap. 26. page*  
*c. 8. Hanc citeriorem*, meaning new *Aberdeen*. He  
says the MS. and first edition have it so, but that the *Ge-*  
*neva, Frankfort and Elzevir* of 1644 read *citeriorum*.  
Here the first edition is belied to its advantage; for in  
three copies of it, which I have consulted, the reading  
is *citeriorum*. The last instance I shall adduce is *lib. 15.*  
*p. 59. page 301. c. 9. alia via instituisse*. So, says  
the modern editions have it, but the MS. and first  
edition *alia via instituisse*. Yet all the copies of the first  
edition which I have looked into, read *instituisse*.

In the account of the foreign editions that followed  
the first, he tells us *præf. pag. 9.* that a 2d edition in  
folio was printed in 1583, which bears no place nor  
printer's name, tho' most probably it was at *Geneva*;  
that the next edition after the 2d was that of *Frankfort*  
1594; (yet I have a copy of the *Frankfort* edition 1584  
in my possession) that after several editions at *Frankfort*,  
it passed to the *Dutch*: but as the 2d edition has been  
taken from the first, and all the following foreign editi-  
ons from the second, (which we are to take upon his  
word) little help could be expected from them towards  
an accurate edition of the history. He owns the fo-  
reign editors have corrected many of the typographical  
errors of the first, for the most part so gross as to be ob-  
vious at first sight to any reader that is ever so little at-  
tentive; but he adds, that from men absolute strangers  
to the affairs, places and customs of *Scotland*, and desti-  
tute



tute of all other helps, no deep researches were to be expected. *Sed neque semper iis feliciter cessit locorum corruptorum emendatio. Interdum enim à vero deerrant interdum parti sinceræ intempestivam medicinam fecerunt sæpius vero (quod necopinantibus solet contingere) dum tera vulnera sanare satagunt, haud pauca de suo novavuln-  
cutiunt.* “ But they have not always succeeded well in the  
“ correcting of corrupted passages. For sometimes they  
“ have wandered from the truth ; sometimes they have  
“ applied unseasonable medicine to the part that was  
“ uncorrupted ; and oftener (which usually happens to  
“ such as are heedless and inattentive) whilst they are  
“ busy about healing old wounds, they make not a few  
“ new ones themselves.” If for *interdum* and *sæpius*  
he had put *ubique passim* and *sæpissimè*, the description  
would have hit himself most exactly. He goes on  
“ Nor have I said this out of a design to disparage any  
“ one (*but only to exalt myself*) as well knowing, that in  
“ this matter there is not only requisite a more than ordi-  
“ nary learning and industry, but also the knowledge  
“ of *Scottish* affairs acquired by long experience, which  
“ it would be unreasonable to demand of a foreigner.  
“ The most renowned *le Clerc* being well aware of this,  
“ in his most accurate dissertation on *Buchanan’s* writ-  
“ ings, wishes that a new edition of his history were  
“ undertaken by some *Scotsman*, more than ordinarily  
“ conversant in the records of his own nation.” And to  
*whom is this character more justly applicable than to my-  
self ; seeing throughout this preface it appears, that never  
man was better acquainted with these records than I am?*  
yet he omits one qualification mentioned by *le Clerc* ;  
*viz. the being skilled (habile) in the latin tongue ; which*  
omission may be looked upon as ominous.

In his account of the fair manuscript of *Buchanan’s*  
history preserved in the library of the college of *Edin-  
burgh*, which was gifted to it by *John Nicol* the college  
porter

ter in 1671, as appears from these words written upon the MS. *ex dono Joannis Nicol janitoris, an. 1671*, Ruddiman conjectures it to have been written by Buchanan's amanuensis, and tells us that by means of it he has corrected the printed books in places without number. I will here give one notable instance, instead of the many that are to be produced afterwards, of his judicious and perverse use of that manuscript. *lib. 2. cap. 24. pag. 33. a 11.* where the author observes as a surprising thing that, after a course of so many ages, when the languages of the neighbouring nations, the islanders of *Britain*, were mixed and corrupted, and to a great measure changed by so many foreigners, *Angles, Danes, Normans, &c.* coming in among them, the *Britains*, the antient inhabitants, should differ not much in the whole of their language, as in the idiom and dialect; and that if any one of them were hearing a person of the other nation, that is a *Welshman* a *Scots* highlander, or a *Scots* highlander a *Welshman*, speaking in the *British*, that is the *Gaelic* or *Welsh* language, he should discover the sound of his own tongue, and understand very many of the words, tho' not the whole speech. *si quis ex eis (Britannis scil,) alterius nationis Britannicæ hominem audiat loquentem, sonum tamen suæ linguæ agnoscat, & plurimā verba capiet, quanquam sermonem universum non intelligat.* So Ruddiman owns all the printed books have it; but upon the authority of the MS. he reads *Britannicæ, alterius nationis Britannicæ hominem loquentem*, "a man of another *British* nation speaking," not in the *British* only, but even in the *Greek, Latin, Danish, Sclavonian, Coptic, Chinese* or other languages: and so by this alteration he has made this passage both nonsense and tautology. Had our critick but attended to what he himself has said of the MS. he might have made another use of it than he has done. For lamenting that he wants the latter part of the 15th and the whole of the

the five following books, which he thinks were not at the time finished by the author, to support this his opinion he observes that in a great many places of the 14th and of what is extant of the 15th book, which breaks off at the beginning of *cap. 65. pag. 302. d 11.* and ends with these words, *primum velut futura tyrannidis fuit praegium inulta caedes Gulielmi Gbrichtonii Sancharii, hominis primarii*, tho' the same matters of fact are contained yet they are expressed in words much differing from the printed copies; because, he supposes, the author had not then put his last hand to these two books; as he has been observed with respect to the description of some of the *Orkney* islands about the end of the first book. He might have extended his observation farther, even to all the 14th and particularly to *lib. 2. cap. 9. pag. 26 a 4.* where two sentences, beginning *horum adeo mendaciorum* and ending with *genere Græcos fuisse*, which we have in the printed books, are wanting in the MS. in which the readings in the other books differ from those of the first edition particularly *lib. 7. cap. 26. pag. 119 c 2. Cum ad Sparganum constitissent- etsi maris aestu--ipse tamen primus--pergit. Verum a suis retentus Alexandro Carroni, &c.* the MS. has it, leaving out *rex a suis retentus* in the former and *ut dixi* in the latter sentence; which reading tho' *Ruddiman* thinks better, yet he has not followed it. And from these and most other passages where the MS. and printed copies differ, it plainly appears that the MS. has been but a first or second draught of the work, which the author has corrected, and embellished with a good many graces and beauties, of which *Ruddiman* has spoiled it through want of judgment and want of taste.

As another proof that the author had not put his last hand to the history, when the MS. copy was written *Ruddiman* observes that that book which in all the printed copies is numbered the 4th, is in it numbered the 11th and so forward; the 3 first books which look like an

introduction



duction to the history of *Scotland*, rather than a part of it, being thrown out of that reckoning. And adds he, has occasioned the censure of *Rapin*, *le Grand* and *Straloch*, who have given it as their opinion, not altogether without reason, that the three first books of the history should either have been wholly left or separated from the rest, or lastly confined within narrower bounds. For *Straloch's* censure he refers to page 11. where we find the direct contrary of what *Ruddiman* says here. *Tribus primis historiae suae libris criticatorem agit, non historicum; & præter jejunam re-nostri descriptionem (quam tamen desultoria levitate intervehitur) doctis viris nihil præstare videtur, in re quæria non satis instructus.* "In the three first books of the history he acts the railer, not the historian; and, bating a slender and superficial description of our kingdom, in which he leaps from one thing to another, he seems to learned men to perform nothing, not being sufficiently versed in our antiquities." This is visibly the language of one blinded with passion and prejudice. That prodigy of learning, as *Ruddiman* calls him, and great antiquary, *James Usher* archbishop of *Armagh*, *epist. de Brit eccles. primordiis*, c 16. quoted by *Ruddiman inter testimonia* page 23. gives this character of *Buchanan*, that no man ever searched more carefully and thoroughly into the antiquities of his country than he did. *Quò nemo diligentius antiquitates patrias est persequutus.* *Rapin* the Jesuit speaks with less passion than *Straloch*. "*Buchanan's* long citations in the third book do not please all the world, any more than the particular account he gives of the origin of the nation of which he speaks." *Le Clerc* says, "the three first books are a work *hors d'œuvre*, without the clear, as it were, a stair-case without the body of the building, and which, I believe, have given many a disgust at reading that history, tho' most worthy to be read; because

" cause

“ cause they contain such matters as concern few  
 “ the *Scots*, and appear tedious to other nations.”  
*Scots* having an interest in these matters sufficiently  
 tifies *Buchanan's* treating of them in the history of  
*land*. *Le Clerc* in another place, after an account of  
 question whether the *Scots* and *Picts* came into *Br*  
 before the time of *Vespasian*, which has been so war  
 debated between the *Scots* and *English*; “ the people  
 this side the sea,” says he, “ take so little concern  
 “ these researches and disputes, that, as I have  
 “ *Buchanan's* two first books have disgusted many  
 “ reading his history. It had been better that he  
 “ put things of this sort at the end in a work by it  
 “ as well as the 3d book, which is a bare collection  
 “ what the ancients said of great *Britain*.” One w  
 think nothing could be more natural than to prefi  
 dissertation on the *British* antiquities, an essay on  
 origin of the *British* nations, and a geographical desc  
 tion of *Scotland*, to the history of that nation. In  
 shape the preliminary books have been highly appla  
 ed by *Thomas Innes*, one of the author's most malicio  
 adversaries. But I shall leave this digression, into wh  
*Ruddiman* has led me, with observing that neither *Steu*  
*loch*, nor *Rapin*, nor *le Clerc* say that the three first bo  
 should have been altogether left out, which is *Ru*  
*man's* assertion, but either that they are too long, or  
 short, or should have been cast to the end, to prevent  
 the disgust of foreigners.

Mr. *Ruddiman* in his preface from page 14. to  
 besides those of other nations, brings in a whole troop  
 of writers of our own, and at their head a most formi  
 dable triumvirate of *Mackenzies*, viz. earl *George*,  
*George*, and Dr. *George*, and three mighty champions  
 bringing up the rear, viz. *David Crawford*, *George M*  
*Kenzie*, *Patrick Abercrombie*, besides those that were un  
 printed, as furnishing him large materials for his not

the history, and enabling him to give us a correct  
 on of it. And who would not be afraid to see such  
 army come against him ? However, be of good  
 ar, gentle reader : all this is but a camifado ; these  
 but vizards, they are no faces. They are brought  
 ke mummers for a shew, and say nothing or what's  
 to nothing against *Buchanan*. What Mr. *Ruddi-*  
 wanted in weight, he would needs make up in tale,  
 ating the three last giants in the second muster roll,  
 he had called over their names in the first ; and so  
 h this only as a flourish before the fight : and as a  
 am blown up with wind and weather carrieth along  
 h it much froth and filth, by the very rage and drift  
 he water : just so Mr. *Ruddiman* in this place flow-  
 and wandering over the banks with *copia verborum*,  
 the violence and force of his talk carries a great deal  
 error and untruth before him. I wonder that he e-  
 could have the confidence to allege some of the au-  
 rities, and thus openly to mock the world ; but most  
 all I wonder that he would ever hazard his cause on  
 se witnesses, who, as he himself very well knoweth,  
 l speak against him. What I mean to say particular-  
 is, that he should have alledged sir *James Melvil's*  
 hority on the subject of *Queen Mary*, page 17. as  
 posite to *Buchanan's*, when every one that compares  
 m must see a perfect agreement as to the principal  
 ts. Indeed in his preface, page 18. he says the cer-  
 n and undoubted truth of these things will not be ful-  
 discovered till that day in which *God will bring to*  
*the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest*  
*counsels of the hearts*, 1 Cor. iv. 5. *Certam autem ac in-*  
*nitabilem harum rerum veritatem, illa demum dies plene*  
*manifestabit qua Deus in lucem proferet occulta tenebrarum,*  
*animorum consilia patefaciet.* But it seems *Ruddiman*  
 ce that time and before the day of the revelation of  
 things, has had visions and revelations on this sub-  
 K ject,



ject ; for *animadu.* pag. 36, 37. he pretends it can be demonstrated that the letters that were given out be written by the queen to *Bothwell*, were all hatched and contrived by *Murray*, *Morton*, &c. and that he has but too much ground to think *Buchanan* himself was engaged in the plot, and that he knew that a great many of those things which he relates of that unfortunate queen were false ; “ particularly that he was privy to the forging of those abominable letters.” For the last particular never entered into the head of the most furious popish bigots that have written in defence of that queen.

But leaving this subject, in which I am not so directly concerned at present, let us come to what concerns the text of *Buchanan's* history, in correcting of which *Ruddiman* says he was principally assisted by the notes of Mr. *Thomas Crawford* professor of philosophy in the college of *Edinburgh*, in the last century, a man thoroughly versed in the affairs of *Scotland*, and who has illustrated *Buchanan's* history by two little books : the first intituled *nomenclatura*, being an explanation of the proper names of men and places in our mother tongue, which *Christopher Irvine* published in 1682 with considerable additions, or rather *poisoned trash*, of his own. In his other piece written likewise in *English*, he explains and corrects *Buchanan's* text by a perpetual series of notes. “ Far the greatest part of these indexes “ is spent in reckoning up the genealogies of noble families, a thing no less pleasant than profitable to his countrymen, and the more so, that *Buchanan* himself “ had too much neglected it for fear, I suppose, of spoiling the beauty of his style.” *Buchanan*, as *Major Boethius* before him, minded more the general history of the country, their proper business, than the descent or beginning of particular families ; tho' even these, as far as connected with the history have not been neglected.

eted by *Buchanan*. But how the beauty of his style  
 old have been spoiled by such accounts, any more than  
 the many proper names he has occasion to mention  
 the history, is not easy to find out. This imagination is  
 a piece with another of *Ruddiman's*, pref. pag. 11.  
 that the vigour of *Buchanan's* body and mind being  
 decayed through age and sickness, it was not to be ex-  
 pected that he should be able duly to search and com-  
 pare together the many antient, musty, barbarous histo-  
 ries and records of the nation, very grating to his polite  
 ears that had till that time been accusom'd to the best  
 authors. For that this is a supposition evidently contra-  
 ry to fact, every one will discover that is capable to read  
 the history, and has but a tolerable acquaintance with the  
 publick records, and that, *Boethius* excepted, he had no  
 materials in *Latin*, but such as were written in a bar-  
 barous style, as *Fordon*, *Major* and the monastery books.  
 To possess us with the belief, that he has improved  
*Buchanan* into all possible perfection, *Ruddiman* assures  
 us that he has corrected a very great number of errors  
 which have crept into the context through the careless-  
 ness of the copyist or printer, or even the author him-  
 self, who, it is not unreasonable to believe, has not been  
 always sufficiently on his guard; for which emendations  
 he owns himself beholden to Mr. *Thomas Crawford*,  
 who, adds he “ seldom calls the truth of matters of  
 fact in question; nor does he ever, as he ought to  
 have done, confirm his opinion by the testimony of a-  
 ny writer or record publick or private: whence it has  
 come to pass, that tho' we have discovered this most  
 accurate gentleman to have swerved from the truth in  
 few places, yet we thought it no ways safe, in a mat-  
 ter of so great importance, to rely upon his sole au-  
 thority; but on the contrary, as far as we were able,  
 have diligently searched all histories and other records  
 that we could come at from any quarter, that we

“ might either reach, or confirm to the best of our  
 “ power, the truth of things lurking and lying hid.”

Mr. *Crawford* was undoubtedly a man of learning, sense and candor, well seen in the histories of other nations, as well as of our own, and happy enough in his conjectures of some typographical errors in *Buchanan's* history : but in most of his emendations he discovered himself not to have been a perfect master of the niceties and elegancies of the *Latin* tongue ; and 'tis hard to say whether *Ruddiman's* want of taste in following him, or want of attention in not following him where he thought he was in the right, or vanity in following his own caprice without authority as well as without reason, be most discernible. Besides the two pieces above mentioned, Mr. *Crawford* wrote a history of the college of *Edinburgh*, still in MS. a copy of which was in the possession of the late Mr. *John Ker* professor of humanity in that college. I have a course of philosophy, properly a commentary on *Aristotle*, dictated by him, and written out by *Robert Pringle* one of his scholars, in 1641 and 1642. It appears by a MS. copy of his notes on *Buchanan*, which I have likewise in my possession, that he has lived to a great age ; for he died in 1663, and mentions some events as happening in his own time, which have been little later than *Buchanan's*.

Mr. *Ruddiman* made also some use of Mr. *Andrew Melvin's* notes on *Buchanan's* history, written with his own hand on a copy of the first edition of the history communicated by Mr. *William Scot* professor of Greek in the college of *Edinburgh* ; tho' to speak the truth, says *Ruddiman*, “ after you pass the 1st and 2d books these  
 “ notes are generally nothing but the contents marked  
 “ for helping the memory, and a few epigrams in some  
 “ places. The same *Melvin's Scotia*, prefixed to  
 “ *Blaeu's Theatrum*, was likewise perused, which is  
 “ nothing else but a paraphrase in *Latin* verse of *Buchanan's*  
 “ *chanan's*



*Buchanan's* geographical description of the kingdom, in which I found very little for my purpose." We all shew that Mr. *Melvin's* corrections of *Buchanan's* text, which are indeed but few, are far from being just, and that where *Ruddiman* has followed him he has likewise gone wrong. For tho' *Melvin* was a man of very considerable learning as well as zeal for the liberties of the church, and no mean *Latin* poet, yet he had done well not to have attempted to mend *Buchanan's* writings, who, it may be said without disparaging the other, was much superior to him in point of learning.

After an account of the many helps he had, of his employing his parts, learning and industry to the utmost, and calling in the assistance of many others, eminent for their learning and skill in antiquity, where difficulties occurred, in order that his edition might be the most correct of any, and worthy of the great *Buchanan*, *Ruddiman* comes in the end of his preface, notwithstanding, to bespeak the gentle reader's favour, and earnestly begs he may not be too severe in censuring, but rather pardon any mistakes he may have fallen into, which he flatters himself, are neither many nor gross. For my part, if these mistakes were either few or slender or involuntary, if *Ruddiman* were not disposed to magnify and solemnize the veriest trifles and to give no quarter to others for their involuntary escapes, no one would be more ready to excuse him than I: but as he has so strangely disfigured *Buchanan*, that in many places we can scarce know him, I have been induced to enter into such a minute examination of particulars, to repress this editor's vanity and arrogance, and chiefly to rescue so valuable an author out of the claws of such a harpy, who can hardly touch him in any part without defiling him.

Had *Ruddiman* duly attended to the following rules of criticism which lye scattered in his preface and notes

and in his MS. reply to the notes of *Peter Burman* the *Dutchman* (of which I have a copy,) and which because he has not followed, I have therefore called speculative, he could not have failed to have given us an edition of the history at least, above all censure or exception.

*Canons of criticism, speculative.*

I. Whoever pretends to publish a correct edition of *Buchanan's* history, ought chiefly to follow the first edition (the *dux & cynosura* of all the rest) and the MS. in the library of the college of *Edinburgh*, the authority of both being very great and near equal. *Pref.* pag. 4. and notes on *lib.* 5. pag. 73. A 7. *lib.* 10. p. 188. C 2. *lib.* 11. p. 214. B 1. *lib.* 13. p. 243.

II. The MS. first edition, and that of *Geneva*, where they differ from later editions, ought to be followed in the minutest things, and even tho' we know no authority from the *Roman* authors to confirm the reading in question. Notes on *lib.* 5. p. 80 E 5 and 88. A 2. *lib.* 7. p. 112. E 1. *lib.* 14. p. 272. B 3. and more especially *lib.* 12. p. 235. C 9. and pag. 236. B 8. where such editors as have departed from the oldest editions and the MS. are accused of *importuna diligentia* being exact or careful out of season or without reason; and *lib.* 13. p. 247. B 7. where the later editions which read *inter reges* for *reges inter* as it is in the MS. and first edition, (*à quarum fide nisi gravi caussa postulante nusquam discedendum*) from whose authority we ought never to depart without a weighty reason, are charged with *preposteram diligentiam*.

III. Where the MS. and printed books differ, the authority of the latter is preferable, because the MS. is only a first or second draught, and because what is to be found in all the editions has probably been written by *Buchanan* when he put the last hand to his work. See *Pref.* pag. 9. and note on *lib.* 6. cap. 41. p. 105. E 5. *ex occulto loco funiculo, qui intentus erat remisso sagittis ejacularetur*

ularetur ; where *Ruddiman* observes that the MS. is *locus*, and *Burman* thinks it should, and that *Burman* wrote so after the example of the antients, particularly of *Ter. Eun.* 4. 7. *ut tu illos procul hinc ex occulto leres.* But *Ruddiman* is not persuaded that the word is here improper, *quod cum omnes editi habeant, verisimile est à Buchananì manu esse* ; and that on design, lest it should seem to be joined with *funiculo*, which immediately follows.

IV. The reading of all the editions ought to be retained, tho' *Crawford* and *Ruddiman* think another reading preferable. Notes on *lib.* 12. p. 222. E 7. *lib.* 14. p. 274. A 6.

V. Those editors who alter *Latin* words through ignorance of the meaning in which they are used by the first authors, are chargeable with *importuna diligentia* (note on *lib.* 5. pag. 79. C 6.) and, *inscita licentia*, note on *lib.* 12. p. 238. D 10.

VI. Where there are ellipses, no words ought to be interpolated. Note on *lib.* 14. p. 260. D 3.

VII. *Grammarians* are not to be regarded, when destitute of examples from the *Roman* authors, or obtruding laws upon us contrary to these. Notes on *lib.* 6. p. 100. B 2. and *lib.* 9. p. 173. C 3.

VIII. The reading in the printed books, if tolerable, ought not to be altered. Note on *lib.* 14. p. 251. D 1.

IX. The orthography of proper names ought not to be altered ; because *Buchanan* made no scruple to write those uncouth and barbarous words in different ways, so as they might be less grating to the ear. Note on *lib.* 1. p. 17. B 5.

X. As the spelling of *Buchanan's* old *English* words, ought not to be changed, because the curious will be well pleased to see what the author wrote in the very same dress in which it came from him : so neither, by stronger reason, should his *Latin* orthography be altered.



tered. See the advertisement at the end of the *Chamæleon*.

But as *Ruddiman* has very rarely followed the rule above set down and collected from his own writings the general tenor of his conduct can only be justified by the following

*Canons of criticism, practical.*

I. *Richard Bentley* being the prince of *Criticks*, (noted on *Psal.* 50. ver. 2.) his example ought to be followed by all that would be criticks.

II. A professed critick has a right to declare, that his author wrote whatever he thinks he should have written, with as much positiveness as if he had been at his elbow.

III. He has a right to alter any passage which he does not understand.

IV. Where he does not like an expression, and yet cannot mend it, he may abuse his author for it, or he may condemn it as a foolish interpolation.

V. As every author is to be corrected into all possible perfection, and of that perfection the professed critick is the sole judge, he may alter any word or phrase which does not want amendment, or which *will do better*, provided he can think of any thing, which he imagines *will do better*.

VI. He may prove a reading, or support an explanation, by any sort of reasons, no matter whether good or bad.

VII. He may interpret his author so, as to make him mean directly contrary to what he says.

VIII. He may make foolish amendments or explanations, and refute them, only to enhance the value of his critical skill.

IX. He may contradict himself, for the sake of shewing his critical skill on both sides of a question.

X. He

K. He may use the very same reasons for confirming  
own observations, which he has disallowed in others.  
All these canons, except the first, I have extracted  
in a pamphlet, intitled *a supplement to Mr. Warbur-*  
*'s edition of Shakespeare*, and that Mr. *Ruddiman*,  
the most part, has strictly followed them in his edi-  
tion of *Buchanan*, is what I am now going very parti-  
cularly to shew you.

## C H A P. IV.

*substantive-nouns commonly called appellative.* Mr. Rud-  
diman's ignorance of the use and signification of many of  
these, the cause of his altering and corrupting many pas-  
sages of *Buchanan's history*, of his proposing to alter and  
corrupt more, and of many groundless and ridiculous cen-  
sures.

It is justly observed by a late writer, famous for his  
classical learning, that, whoever pretends to be ma-  
ster of a dead language, ought in the first place to at-  
tend to the words themselves, with their proper and na-  
tural significations, and the peculiar force and emphasis  
that is stamp'd upon some of them : and next to the idi-  
oms or peculiarities of the tongue ; those particular  
modes of speech, which distinguish it from all others,  
and which arise not only from the manner of ranging  
and connecting the words, but also from ellipses, where-  
in the phrases and sentences that most frequently occur  
are pared of all superfluities, and often leave a great deal  
to the mind to supply, which tho' use and custom ren-  
ders easy and obvious to the natives, yet is not to be  
comprehended by strangers, without great attention and  
care. This observation is particularly applicable to the  
study of the *Latin* tongue, which *Buchanan* himself, as  
great a genius as he was, acknowledges he learned, not  
without

without great pains and application. *Hist. lib. 1. cap. 8. quodcunque hoc est sermonis Latini, quod magno cum labore puer didici.* Mr. Ruddiman, it seems, was not aware of this, when he set up for a critic on *Buchanan's* writings. For he discovers himself to be not only stranger to the peculiar elegancies, the graces and beauties of the *Latin*, which appear in them, but even to be grossly ignorant of the signification of many of the words themselves; as I shall now make evident, by going over all the parts of speech, except *interjection*, beginning with substantive nouns, and following the order of the alphabet.

1. *ÆSTAS.* *Æstate proxima*, *hist. lib. 7. cap. 43. pag. 125. c 1.* "Many, says *Ruddiman*, "and "without cause, complain of *Buchanan* for being "careless in marking the series of the years, whilst "is careful of the elegance of style. For to what purpose was it to mention the *Summer*, without making mention of the year? Now this expedition of *William's* into *England* was made in 1174, in which so he was himself taken prisoner *July 13.*" Nothing could be more pertinent than to mention *Summer* immediately after he had spoke of the *harvest* and *winter* time. That *Buchanan* excels for the chronological part, tho' he is not a mere annalist or journalist, will appear in the sequel; and that our critic has been a very careless reader of this passage, is plain from the following part of the paragraph, where we are told that king *William* was taken prisoner in the 9th year of his reign, as we were told a little before, that he succeeded his brother *Malcolm IV.*, 15 days after his death, which happened the 9th of *December* 1165. See *cap. 43. and 44.* Add 9 to 1165, and you have 1174, the year in which *William* was taken captive by the *English*. So that *Ruddiman's* remark is owing to his own inattention, or to something worse.

2. *AGGER.*



**AGGER.** *Lib. 15. cap. 301 b. Alios retro aggerem  
 num in litore ad exscensiones impediendas extructum col-*  
*lit.* ——— *ac tumultuario genere pugnae eos usque ad*  
*eres pertraxit.* In both these sentences *Ruddiman*  
*uses aggerem* without taking any notice at all of this  
 variation, by which he has spoiled the beauty of this  
 page, where the author, in imitation of the best *La-*  
*writers*, uses the plural for the singular ; of which  
 innumerable instances might be adduced. I shall con-  
 tinue myself with one from *Cæsar, Bel. Gal. lib. 7. c. 85,*  
*87. Agger ab universis in munitionem coniectus—*  
*agere, & cratibus fossas explent.— Labienus, postquam*  
*que aggeres, neque fossæ vim hostium sustinere poterant,*  
*says speaking of the same battle with Vercingetorix.*  
*Buchanan lib. 11. cap. 25. pag. 207. a 10. uses cervi-*  
*for cervix*, which *Ruddiman* justifies from the best au-  
 thorities. Yet *Seneca, ep. 47.* speaking of slaves that  
 are well treated, uses the same word singular for the  
 plural. *Parati erant pro domino porrigere cervicem, peri-*  
*culum imminens in caput suum avertere.* And so, *ep. 48.*  
*pro capite.* *Opem te laturum intentæ securi præstanti-*  
*caput, pollicitus es.* And in other places the same  
 author uses *cervix* sometimes in the singular, and some-  
 times in the plural, when speaking of one.  
*Ruddiman* had not eyes good enough to discern those  
 beautiful figures with which *Buchanan* has adorned and  
 embellished his style, and which by the *Latins* are cal-  
 led *lumina*, whether in words or sentences, by the  
*Greeks schemata*, and compared to the stars with which  
 the firmament is spangled, to flowers with which the  
 ground is strewed, to the *insignia* of the stage or *forum*,  
 to sauce which makes meat more savoury, and to acids  
 which render sauce more agreeable. To avoid satiety,  
 they ought not to be too many, nor of the same kind,  
 nor too near one another, or too much crowded. For  
 they are a sort of eyes of eloquence, they ought not  
 to

to be all over the body, lest the rest of the members should lose their office. See *Quintilian*, lib. 8. cap. lib. 9. c 3, and *Cicero de Oratore*, lib. 3. whose rule and example concerning these *lumina orationis* have been strictly followed by *Buchanan*. One of the figures enumerated by *Cicero*, as I understand him, is (*convenienter idem verbum non in eadem sententia poni*) that the same word be not always used in the same signification of which several examples follow.

3. ARCHIEPISCOPUS. Lib. 8. c 1. pag. 132. c 1. lib. 9. c 58. pag. 174. a 9. lib. 10. c 13. pag. 181. c 1. lib. 11. c 21. p. 205. c 2. lib. 12. c 3. pag. 218. d 8. lib. 19. c. 27. pag. 376. b 5. where *William Frazer*, *Walter Wardlaw* and *James Kennedy* are called each *Fani Andrews Archiepiscopus* before *St. Andrews* was erected into an archbishoprick, *Patrick Graham* having been the first bishop of that see according to *B—n's* own account, that was dignified by the title of archbishop in the reign of *James III*. Also the bishop of *Durham* who never was an archbishop, is called *Archiepiscopus*. In all which places *Ruddiman* would have the reading to be *episcopus*, and lib. 9. c 58. has actually read so for *Archiepiscopus*, not knowing that the primary signification of *arche*, *archo*, and their compounds is *the beginning* and *to begin*, and the secondary *to have power, authority, dominion, jurisdiction*, \* and that in the places above cited *Buchanan* uses the word *Archiepiscopus* not for an archbishop or metropolitan in the sense of having the whole bishops of a province under his jurisdiction, but for *the most antient bishop* or *the most eminent in dignity*, or *one of very great consideration*, as the bishop of *Durham*, who could have raised an army of 10,000 men, whose bishoprick from the days of *William* the conquerour was a county palatine, and who had all royal rights, insomuch that the forfeitures of

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\* See H. Stephen's thesaurus linguæ Græcæ.

*risfacturæ guerræ*) fell to him, and not to the king.  
 Camden's *Britannia* and *Rymer's Fœdera Angliæ*.  
 n. 4. pag. 297, 737.

In the supplement to *Fordun's* chronicle, cap. 24. where the continuator professes to give an account of the bishops of St. *Andrews* from the time of *Kenneth Mc-pin*, first monarch of the *Scots*, to his own, he adds as reason of his giving a more distinct account of them than of the rest of the bishops of the kingdom, *potissimè in quilibet eorum qui pro tempore fuerat, non tanquam prius, sed primus & præcipuus in regno habeatur*. \* The first bishop of St. *Andrews* that the author of the supplement had met with, was *Fothad*, who was expelled by king *Indolff*, and lived eight years after his expulsion from the *Episcopate*. "Of whom," says the continuator, "I found these words ingraven on the edge of a silver-cover of the gospels, still preserved in St. *Andrews*, *Hanc evangelii thecam construxit avitus Fothad, in primus Scotis episcopus erat*. As *Indulfus* began his reign in 952, those who are against diocesan episcopacy may be ready to infer from the above engraving, that we had no diocesan bishops in *Scotland* till near a 1000

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\* Tho' pope *Alexander IV.* in two of his bulls imposing taxes on the prelates of *Scotland*, in 1256, in order to pay the debts contracted by him for the expedition to *Sicily*, expressly affirms, that there was no archbishop in the kingdom of *Scotland*; yet, in another bull dated some months after the preceding, wherein he desires *Henry III.* of *England* to interceed with *Alexander III.* of *Scotland*, in order to his maintaining the bishop of St. *Andrew's* in the peaceable possession of his church, he has these words, *Quia (scilicet ecclesia sancti Andreæ) inter alias ecclesias, ob reverentiam apostoli reverentiam, esse celebrior veneratione populi con-venit, & apud claræ memorie reges Scotiæ, dicti regis (scilicet Alexandri terti) progenitores, in libertatibus & immunitatibus prærogativa gaudere privilegii singularis*. See *Rymer's* *Æd. Angl.* tom I. pag. 609, 610, 615.



years after Christ. Be that as it will, *Ruddiman's* dissertation, in his preface to *Anderson's* diplomata, pag. 11 and following, on a charter granted by *Kellach* 2d. bishop of St. *Andrews*, to the *Culdees* of *Lochleven*, where *sir James Balfour* says he saw, wherein *Kellach* calls himself *maximus Scottorum episcopus*, will abundantly justify *Buchanan's* calling any one that succeeded *Kellach* in that see, by the title of *Archiepiscopus*, i. e. *Primus præcipuus episcopus*. *Sir James Dalrymple* objects to the genuineness of the above mentioned charter granted by *Kellach*, (the first bishop of this kingdom that went to *Rome* to seek confirmation says *Spotswood*,) that such a title (*maximus episcopus*) was fitter for the pope of *Rome* than for the bishop of St. *Andrews*. Mr. *Ruddiman* gives a long and laborious answer, wherein he says, that from the most antient times the bishops of St. *Andrews* always without controversy *primas tenuerint*, among the prelates of *Scotland*, that is, were accounted *summi* or *maximi*; that episcopacy was introduced into the church almost from the beginning of christianity, and in every province some one bishop, either on account of his age, or the election of the other bishops, or the dignity of the city where he had fixed his see, presided over the rest in calling or holding of councils and synods, who for that reason was called by the *Greeks* *hō prōtos* or *primus*, and acknowledged and honoured by his suffragans as their head and prince, and was the same whom after ages named archbishop, primate and metropolitan. To prove that the bishop of St. *Andrews* was called *maximus* or *summus*, the authority of *Forde* or his continuator *Bowmaker*, and of *Andrew Winton* is adduced, together with a letter of *Nicolas* Prior of the church of *Worcester*, who died in 1124, to *Eadmer*, who was elected to the chair of St. *Andrews* in the reign of *Alexander I*; wherein he says the prelate of St. *Andrews* is called *summus pontifex Scottorum*, and consequently independent

dependent of the bishop of *York*. If the bishops of *St. Andrew's*, argues *Ruddiman*, called themselves *summi*, they might also call themselves *maximi*, which is the same thing ; as the *pontifices maximi* among the heathen *Romans*, and the same title transferred to the first bishops of every province under christianity, particularly to the bishops of *Rome*. There was a particular reason, adds an antiquary, for calling him who presided over the rest of the *Scottish* bishops by that title, namely, that by the universal consent of our historians, in those ancient times there were no certain districts assigned to our bishops, but every one discharged his office where occasion offered ; and therefore the bishop of *St. Andrew's* thought fit to assume the appellation of *Summus* or *maximus*, to distinguish him from the rest, who were generally called *Scottorum episcopi*. And tho' in later times, particularly under king *David I.* the bishops of *St. Andrew's* used to call themselves simply *Scottorum episcopi*, without the addition of the word *maximi*, and after the year of *St. Andrew's* was erected into an archbishoprick in 1472, the prelates of that place called themselves by still more modest title, *ministri humillimi* ; yet that does not hinder but that in the earliest ages, when no certain place was assigned for any bishop to discharge his office in, he who excelled the rest in dignity might be honoured with the title of *primus*, *summus* or *maximus*. To put this matter beyond all doubt, the authority of *Boëthius*, *Spotswood* & *George Martinus de Caron* is adduced, who all say, that after the bishop's see was translated from *Abernethie* to *St. Andrew's*, the bishops of this see were called *maximi Scottorum episcopi*. Our critic might with as much colour of reason have censured *Buchanan*, for saying that the court of the *Pictish* kings was not kept at *Camelodunum*, that it was not the chief place of justice and government, or the head town of their kingdom, but that the royal palace

and the see *primatis episcopi*, of the chief or preeminent bishop was at *Abernethy*, as for calling the bishop of *St. Andrew's* archiepiscopus. Nay tho' *Buchanan* had called him *rex* or *princeps*, what *Ruddiman* adds in the same preface to *Anderson's* diplomata would have bore him out ; for pag. 13 and 16. he observes that, according to *Dacherius* quoted by *Mabillon*, some bishops of *Ireland* were called kings and princes ; and quotes excerpts of an old chronicle of the kings of *Scotland* from *Kenneth II*, son of *Alpin* to *Kenneth III*, son of *Malcolm I*, published by *Thomas Innes*, which says that *Cellach* or *Kellach* son of *Ferdulaig*, in the time of king *Culen* son of *Indulfus*, *regnasse i. e. ecclesiam rexisse*, reigned over the church, ruled or governed it as a king or prince. *Spotswood* and sir *George Mackenzie* have misunderstood *Buchanan*, and if sir *George* has been rallied on that score by *Dr. Stillingfleet*, there is no help for it. From what has been said we may see that *Ruddiman* in vain proposes to foist in the word *episcopi* in the following sentence, lib. 7. cap. 33. pag. 121. c 3. *Missi à Davide Forni Andrea et Glasguae : ab Stephano Cantuariæ et Eboracæ Archiepiscopi.*

4. AURIS. *Miscellan.* 22. pag. 108, 109. an epigram on tobacco, a kind of plant or herb, supposed to have a wonderful virtue for curing all wounds, sores, ulcers, cancers, tetters and other such maladies incident to the human body, which was sent from *Portugal* to *France* in the year 1560 by *John Nicot*, a learned gentleman of *Nismes*, king's counsellor, master of requests and ambassador in *Portugal* : Upon this all the provinces of *France* were filled with tobacco ; and on that account it got and bore the name of *Nicotiane*, in Latin *Nicotiana*. *Catherine de Medicis* the queen mother, one of the vilest and wickedest of women, the plague of her subjects and relations, the *Medea* of her age, had the ambition to have the plant called *Medicée* from her name, and



as she had before robbed the subjects of their estates,  
he offered to rob M. Nicot of the honour of that

*At vos auxilium membris qui quæritis ægris,  
Abominandi nominis,*

*A planta cohibete manus, os claudite, & aures  
A peste tetra occludite :*

*Nectar enim virus fiet, Panacea venenum,  
Medicea si vocabitur.*

“ But you who are seeking a remedy to your diseased members, keep off your hands, beware of touching the plant called by so detestable a name, stop your mouth and ears, that you may neither pronounce such a baneful infectious term with your own lips, nor hear it pronounced by those of others : for nectar itself will turn venom and *Panacée* (all-heal) poison, if it is called *Medicée*.” Common sense will tell any one, even tho’ unacquainted with the epigrammatic hint, that this is the meaning of *Buchanan’s* words. Yet *Ruddiman* asks this very sensible question. Who ever wrote that tobacco did harm or good to the ears ? and therefore he bids us, at his peril, read *os claudite, aures* ; that is, *stop your nostrils, that you may not hear* the plant tobacco called by the name of such a horrid monster, seeing the very calling of the most salutary things by such a name would turn them into poison. *Menage* in his *Origines de la langue Française* printed at Paris in 1650, on the word *Nicotiane*, tells us, that in many places of France in his time tobacco was called *herbe à la Reine* the queen’s herb : and both he, and *Nicot* in his *French dictionary* refer us for an account of the whole story of tobacco to *Liebault’s maison rustique* liv. ch. 59.

5. AVUS. hist. lib. 5. cap. 2. pag. 73. d 12. *Buchanan* tells us, that *Fergus II* returned into Scotland about

27 years à morte *Eugenii avi*, i. e. after the death of his predecessor or great uncle, *Eugene*. *Ruddiman*, ignorant of the meaning of the word *avus* in this place, pretends that *Buchanan* contradicts himself, because *Eugene* was not *Fergus II's* grandfather, but his great uncle by the father's side or his grandfather's brother; and therefore says he, the word *avi*, tho' it be in all the editions, ought certainly to be expunged.

Now I have to prove that *avus* in the singular is used by good authors to signify a predecessor or ancestor indefinitely; for in the plural, or even in the singular used for the plural, nothing is more common. There are two examples in *Virgil*: the first is *Æn.* 7. 220. where *Ilioneus* speaking to *Latinus* in name of the *Trojans*, tells him, *ab Jove principium generis, Jove Dardana pubes Gaudet avo.* — *Dardana pubes* signifies the *Trojan youth*, those very persons who are addressing themselves to *Latinus*; and could not be the sons of *Dardanus*, who lived many generations before them; consequently *Ilioneus* or *Virgil* meant that *Jove* was a remoter ancestor than a grandfather. The other passage is *Æn.* 12. 164. where describing the procession of the two kings *Latinus* and *Turnus*, we are told, that the former rode in a chariot drawn by four horses, and had twelve golden rays encircling his temples, *Solis avi specimen*, a proof that he was descended from the *Sun*, or making an appearance like that of *Sol* his ancestor. *Latinus's* father was *Faunus*, the nymph *Marica* his mother: his grandfather was *Picus* the son of *Saturn*, who was grandfather of *Sol*. For *Hesiod's* assertion that *Latinus* was the son of *Circe* and *Ulysses*, is contradicted by *Virgil*; as is also that of *Arnobius*, who says *Marica* is the Italian name of *Circe*. *Virgil* manifestly distinguisheth *Circe* from *Marica*, calling *Marica Laurentem nympham*, that is of *Laurentum* in *Italy*, and *Circe Æeam*, that is of *Colchis* in *Asia*, *Æn.* 3. 386. *Ruæus* indeed thinks *Picus* kept

cept *Circe* in place of a wife, and had *Faunus* by her :  
 out of this he brings no proof ; and owns that tho' *Circe*  
*En. 7. 189.* be called *Pici conjux*, it means only a she-  
 ver, that desired to be in place of a wife, and that *O-*  
*id* says *Circe* turned *Picus* into a pivert or woodpecker,  
 ecause he despised her love, that he might keep his  
 ith to his wife *Canens*. In short there is no reconcil-  
 g of *Virgil*, either with himself or with *Ovid*, without  
 pposing that *avus* in the above cited passage signifies  
 n ancestor.

If you desiderate an instance of this nature from a  
 latin historian, I have a notable one from *Tacitus An-*  
*al. lib. 14.* where in the beginning of *Nero's* answer to  
 ie speech which *Seneca* made at his trial, we have these  
 xpress words, *avus meus* (i. e. my predecessor) *Augu-*  
*us Agrippæ & Mæcenati usurpare otium post labores con-*  
*ffit* : which is an acknowledgment of the fact that *Se-*  
*eca* had just before alledged in the beginning of his de-  
 enee ; *Atavus tuus Augustus, M. Agrippæ Mitylenense*  
*cretum, C. Mæcenati urbe in ipsa, velut peregrinum oti-*  
*on permisit*. *Nero* was the son of *Agrippina*, the daugh-  
 er of *Germanicas*, the son of *Drusus* and the younger  
*Antonia* : *Drusus* was the son of *Livia* wife of *Augustus*.  
*Agrippina*, *Nero's* mother, was the daughter of another  
*Agrippina*, the daughter of *Julia*, the daughter of *Au-*  
*ustus*. Hence *Sen. de clementia, lib. 1. c. 10.* addressing  
 himself to *Nero*, and speaking of *Augustus*, calls *Augu-*  
*us Nero's* abavus. *Ignovit abavus tuus victis*. Thus *a-*  
*vus, atavus* and *abavus* are used promiscuously, as the two  
 rsts by *Horace, lib. 1. Sat. 6. ver. 3.* where speaking  
 o his great patron *Mæcenas*, he tells him, that his *ance-*  
 rs both by father and mother's side, had had the com-  
 mand of mighty armies, *quod avus tibi maternus fuit at-*  
*que paternus, Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitârint*, ex-  
 pressing the same thing more fully and particularly that  
 he has in the beginning of his first ode, *Mæcenas ata-*  
*vis edite regibus*.

As



: As *avus*, in the forecited passages, signifies a predecessor or ancestor, so in the French language, which is a daughter of the Latin, *ayeul* answering to *avus*, signifies the same thing; as is plain from *Brantome's vies des hommes illustres & grands capitaines François*, tome 4. Cha. IX. where he recounts the different opinions of the time when *Charles IX*, another *Nero*, determined to execute the *Parisian* massacre, some said, only a month before, others, not till after the admiral *Coligni* was wounded; and others, that it was resolved on long before, even when the peace was made, grounding their conjecture on the words which the king uttered, after that bloody *Bartholomew* feast was over; "Have I not played my game well? Have not I got the knack of dissembling? Have I not perfectly learned the lesson and the Latin of my predecessor (*mon ayeul*) *Lewis XI.*?" For *Francis I.* was grandfather to *Charles IX.* and *Lewis XII.* who succeeded *Charles VIII.* reigned immediately before *Francis I.* I might further argue from *nepos* and *avus* being correlatives, that the latter may be used for a great-uncle or ancestor; seeing *Justin* uses the former for a grand-nephew, and *Virgil*, for a remote descendent, *Æn.* 6. near the end, speaking of *Marcellus*,

———*animamque nepotis*

*His saltem accumulem donis.*———

Upon the whole, it is little less ridiculous to propose to raze *avi* out of the place in question, upon a groundless imagination that *Buchanan* otherwise must mean that *Fergus II.* was grandson of *Eugene*, a few sentences after he had told us that he was his grand-nephew, than it would be to propose to strike the word *avos* out of the second line of *Buchanan's* epigram to *Q. Mary*, prefixed to his paraphrase of the psalms,

*Missa per innumeros sceptrâ tueris avos,*  
upon an apprehension that the author otherwise should mean that that queen had *grandfathers* without number;

number; or for *proavi* Psalm 95, 9. to read *Patres*,  
*in proavi vestri me exploravere*, because in the origi-  
 nal it is *avothchem*, i. e. your fathers.

6. AUXILIUM lib. 15. cap. 28. pag. 291. a 1.  
*Ingomerius cum Gallicis*, quas diximus auxiliis appulit in  
 tiam. Here *auxilia* is put for *copiæ auxiliares*, or co-  
 stes *subsidiariæ*, and the construction moulded accord-  
 ing to the sense: and *Ruddiman* ignorant of one or  
 two of these particulars, and imagining *quas* to be a ty-  
 graphical error (for he says nothing of this alteration  
 in his notes) reads *quæ*, after the foreign editions. That  
*auxilia* is put for *auxiliares copiæ*, we learn from *Virg.*  
*en. 8. 7. undique cogunt auxilia*, from *Cæsar* and ma-  
 ny others. *Plautus* uses it in this sense in the singular.  
 of the construction according to the sense we shall speak  
 particularly, when we come to *Syntax*.

7. BIENNIIUM (1.) lib. 7. cap. 57. pag. 129. b 5.  
 After telling us, that in 1239 *Alexander II* married  
*Mary de Coucy* a French Lady, by whom he had *Alexr.*  
*I.*, who succeeded his father, *Buchanan* adds that two  
 years after, that is in 1242, as the king was at *Had-*  
*ington* on his way to *England*, the earl of *Athol's* lodg-  
 ing was burnt in that town. *Rex accepit uxorem anno*  
*Christo nato 1329. Ex ea natus est Alexander, qui pa-*  
*tri successit.* Biennio proximo, anno scilicet 1242, cum  
*rexit*, &c. One would think nothing could be plainer  
 than that *Buchanan* meant that two full years interven-  
 ed between the time of *Alexander II's* second marriage  
 and the burning of the earl of *Athol's* lodging, excluding  
 both extremes, that is the years 1239 and 1242. And  
 yet *Ruddiman* mistakes him here, as well as in several  
 other places where he has both corrupted the text of  
 his history, and falsely accused him of errors in chronolo-  
 gy. The note on the passage before us is this. "It  
 should rather have been said *triennio*, three years; for  
 so many intervened between the year last mentioned  
 and

“ and 1242. And if we refer to the birth of *Alexander III*, there is only the interval of one year : according to the chronicle of *Mailros*, he was born in 1241 the 4th of *September feria quarta i. e. Wednesday*.” He might have adduced *Fordon’s* authority, who says the same thing, viz. that *Alexander III* was born at *Roxburgh* on the day of *St. Cuthbert’s* translation in the beginning of the 44th year of his father’s age and when the 27th of his reign was near ended. *Ruddiman* goes on to observe a mistake of *Andrew Winton* on the one hand, who writes that he was born in 1242, and of *Balfour* on the other, who says he was born in 1240. But how did not he, who pretends to so much exactness, take notice of an error in *Lestry*, who says *Alexander III* was crowned *nono ætatis anno*, and of another in *Boëthius*, who says (if it be not a typographical error) that his father and mother were married in 1259. For as to his age at his coronation, *Fordon* tells us he was crowned at *Scone* on *Tuesday* the 13th of *July* 1249, with whom *Buchanan* agrees, who says that at that time he was not eight years compleat, and consequently must mean that he was born in 1241, at the time mentioned by *Fordon*, and the chronicle of *Mailros*.

(2.) *lib. 9. c. 3. pag. 154 d. 10.* *Thomas Randolph* earl of *Murray* warden of the kingdom died in 1331 *July 20. post quam biennium à morte regis Roberti imperasset*, after having governed for two years, counting from the death of king *Robert Bruce*, which happened according to *Buchanan* 7 *idus Julias*, the 9th of *July*, according to others, 7 *idus Junias*, the 7th of *June* 1329. *Ruddiman* pretends that it ought to have been written *triennium* ; because, for ought he knows, *Bellenden* only writes that *Randolf* died in 1331, *Winton*, the *extracta* and book of *Perth* placing his death under the year 1332 ; whose opinion is confirmed by two charters in the archives of the church of *Murray*, by which it most evidently appears



ers that he was alive 28th of Octr. 1331 : and the  
 latter is put out of doubt by a letter of *Edward of En-*  
*gland* to *Thomas* earl of *Murray*, *custodem terræ Scotia*,  
 warden of *Scotland*, dated 22. April 1332. *Fæd. Angl.*  
 4. pag. 518. Nor will *Buchanan*, otherwise, be  
 consistent with himself ; for he writes that *Baliol's* ex-  
 pedition, which all agree was made in the year 1332,  
*Barnes* places both it and his coronation under  
 1331, immediately followed the death of *Randolf*. But  
 supposing there is no mistake of figures in *Ruddiman's*  
*Richers*, and that *Buchanan* by a slip of the pen has  
 written 1331 for 1332, it will not follow that he should  
 have written *triennium* in reckoning the time of *Ran-*  
*olph's* wardenship or government from the death of *Ro-*  
*bert Bruce*, but only that he excludes both extremes,  
 that is 1329 the year in which *Robert Bruce* died and  
 1332, the year in which *Thomas Randolph* died : just as  
 before he reckons but two years between the time of  
*Alexander II's* second marriage 1239, and the time of  
 the burning of the earl of *Athol's* lodging 1242. Nor  
 does *Ruddiman* prove that *Buchanan* is inconsistent with  
 himself ; but only that he differs from others as to the  
 year of *Edward Baliol's* expedition : unless he had add-  
 ed that the battle of *Duplin*, which happened in *August*,  
 was followed by *Baliol's* coronation in *September* the  
 same year 1332. Had *Ruddiman* been consistent with  
 himself and made good what he promises in his preface  
 page 10. he would have corrected this involuntary mis-  
 take, and read 1332 for 1331. (3.) lib. 11. cap. 18.  
 pag. 204. a 8. *James* called *gross*, because of his cor-  
 ruption, who succeeded his brother's son *William* in the  
 earldom of *Douglas*, died within two years after his ne-  
 phew was put to death in *Edinburgh* castle, or after he  
 succeeded to the earldom, *Sed mors intra biennium sub-*  
*traxit eum invidia*. From the inscription on his tomb,  
 says *Ruddiman* mentioned by *Hume* and *George Craw-*  
*ford*,

ford, it is plain that he died the 24th of *March* 1440 according to the old *Scotish* computation, and consequently three years and more after the death of the immediately preceeding. It ought therefore to have been written *intra quadriennium* or *post tres annos*. to the time of earl *William's* slaughter and the fact *ibid. cap. 17. pag. 203. e 7*, *Ruddiman* tells us that his friend and fellow labourer *Dr. Abercromby*, a vapouring, swaggering, hectoring blade, observes three things : that this tragedy must have been acted in 1440 ; next that some form of justice must needs have been used in it, and 3dly and lastly, that *Alexander Livingstone* did not consent to it. To vouch these particulars he adduces from a chartulary in the possession of the earl of *Wigtown* an instrument of *Robert Fleming* son and heir of sir *Malcolm Fleming* of *Biggar* dated 7th *January* 1440. i. e. according to the *Roman* style, 1441, wherein he protests against this sentence of death pronounced against his father as unwarrantable and illegal ; also an instrument of sir *Alexander Livingstone* of *Calendar*, written three years after, wherein he declares upon oath, that he had given no counsel, assistance or consent to the death and slaughter of sir *Malcolm Fleming* : so false it is, adds *Abercrombie*, as *Buchanan* has it, that the viceroy was, in pursuance of what had been before agreed on, assisting to, and present at the execution, to divert part of the odium on himself, which would otherwise have fallen heavy upon the chancellor. But any one that reads *Buchanan* may at first sight convict *Abercrombie* of falsehood, since he only says that the governour consented to the death of earl *Douglas*. This calumniator a little before speaks of the king at that time, as being very far from the age of man, as *Buchanan*, adds he, and some others falsely insinuate. *Buchanan's* words are *jam ad adolescentiam ingressum*. Now *Ruddiman* owns some began *adolescētia* at the 12th year. *Buchanan* does not deny that

a sentence was pronounced against the persons who  
 erer ; for he tells us, after *Boëthius* and *Pitscottie*,  
 a bull's head was presented before the earl of  
*Douglas*, which in those times was a sign and token of  
 condemnation to the death. *Abercrombie* boasts of ha-  
 ving discovered a thing known by few authors, by means  
 of *Robert Fleming's* instrument, viz. that this tragedy  
 must have been acted in 1440 : and yet the instrument  
 itself proves that it was acted in the beginning of 1441.  
*Pitscottie* says it was in the year 1440, and the *auctari-*  
*us Forduni*, as well as the *extracta de chron. Scot.* men-  
 tioned by *Ruddiman* that it was the 24th of November  
 of that year, not some months, as *Abercrombie* affirms, but  
 only only prior to the date of *Robert Fleming's* instru-  
 ment. But supposing earl *William* to have been put to  
 death in 1440 and not in the beginning of 1441, and  
 earl *James* to have died in 1443, these two extremes  
 being excluded, there is only an interval of two full  
 years, and consequently no reason for changing *intra bi-*  
*ennium* into *intra quadriennium*, or *post tres annos*, as  
*Ruddiman* proposes. *Livy lib. 27. cap. 46. Romæ haud*  
*minus terroris ac tumultus erat, quàm fuerat biennio an-*  
*cùm castra Punica objecta Romanis mœnibus portisque*  
*erant.* The two extremes, says *Charles Sigonio*  
 who carefully studied *Livy's* chronology, are here o-  
 mitted ; for that happened in the year 529 : if the  
 two extremes were included, it would be *quadriennio* ;  
 but it is not easy to reconcile this with the *fasti consu-*  
*etates*. Be it how it will, I doubt not but *Buchanan* meant  
 that earl *William Douglas* was beheaded in 1441 and  
 that *James* the gross his uncle died in March 1444, ac-  
 cording to the *Roman* style : and this reconciles what  
*Sigonio* says of the king's age at the time of earl *William's*  
 execution (*adolescētiā jam ingressum*) viz. that he was  
 entered on his 12th year, with his account of the time  
 between the birth of the same king *James II.* October 14th  
 1330.



8. CÆSPES. *lib. 8. cap. 22. pag. 99. c. 11.* On king *Duff's* being secretly murdered by *Donald*, captain of the castle of *Forres*, and buried about two miles from the abbey of *Kinloss* under a little bridge in a certain obscure place, cespitè herbosa superinducta, *ne quod terræ effossæ vestigium appareret.* *Ruddiman* reads *herbosa superinducto*, pretending that the reading of all the copies is manifestly contrary to the rules of the grammarians and antients. In the notes on his rule on the genders of nouns in *es*, in his large grammar, he proves one of the compounds of *pes*, viz. *compes* to be feminine, and another of them viz. *quadrupes* to be properly an adjective, taking its gender from the substantive understood. This explains the passage before us which is to be resolved thus, *terra herbosa pede cæsa superinducta.* For so *Festus* explains *cæspes* or *cesspes*, *terra in modum lateris cæsa, cum herba.* With him agrees *Servius* on *Virgil Eclog. 1. 69. pauperis & tuguri congestum cæspitè culmen. i. e. terra cum propria herba evulsa.* *Plutar.* *geometria batheia, soli herbidi pars è terra profundius excelsa.* There is a passage of the poet *Sextus Rufus Festus Africanus*, whose writings were published at *Paris* 1590 by *P. Pitheu* among the *epigrammata vetera*, with great accuracy, which looks as if he had used *cesspes* substantively in the feminine gender, tho' it will admit of another construction. It is in the description of the islands *Britain* and *Ireland*, it would seem, *pag. 267.*

*Eminus hic aliæ gelidi prope flabra Aquilonis,  
Exuprant undas, et vasta cacumina tollunt.  
Hæ numero geminæ, pingueis sola, cespitis amplæ,  
Conditur occidui qua Rheni gurgitis unda,  
Dira Briannorum sustentant agmina terris.*

9. CERTITUDO. *Lib. 18. cap. 36 p. 359 C.*  
*Hanc autem certitudinem una ratione parari posse, scripsi in animam inducerem, ut meo dignarer eum matrimonium.*  
“ And other assurance thereof he could not lippin in  
“ with

without it would please us to do him that honour to take him to husband," 2. *Mary* speaking of *Bothwell*, in her instructions to the bishop of *Dumblane* her bassadour at the *French* court. "*Buchanan*," says a critick, "being carried away by the custom of his own age, and even of those who desired to be called \* *Ciceronians*, has used the word *certitudo* in this place, which was absolutely unknown to the *Roman* writers." And this criticism he owes to his great oracle *Vossius*, whom he calls the prince of *Grammarians*, who in his treatise *de vitiis sermonis*, condemns *certitudo* as barbarous. But this supposes 1. that all the writings of the ancient *Romans* are extant, which is notoriously false. 2. That *Vossius* and *Ruddiman* had not only read but also remembered all those ancient writings, and 3. That the ancient *Latins* were as superstitious as these modern critics and grammarians. For tho' *certitudo* had never been in use before the age in which *Buchanan* lived, it would not be condemned by *Cicero* or *Horace*, who have set bounds to the coining of new words, and introduced some such into their native language, which were not in use before their time; being its derivation is perfectly analogical. And *Quintilian* lib. 8. cap. 3. after mentioning some words invented by *Cicero*, *Terence*, *Augustus* and others, tells us he is not of *Celsus*' opinion, who will not allow an orator to invent words. For some of them being primitive,

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\* The *Ciceronians*, as *Vossius* calls them, excluding himself out of their number, are such as dare not venture to make use of any word that they have not read in *Tully*.

—*Henry Stephen* laughs at the superstition of those who are not ashamed to doubt whether the noun *certitudo* is Latin, tho' we read *incertitudo* in *Cicero*. *Vossius* thinks it is not used by *Cicero*. I own I could not find it in his writings, tho' I am far from thinking it barbarous, for that reason.

and

and others derivative, *ut jam nobis ponere aliqua, quae rudes homines primique fecerunt, fas non sit, derivare, fectere, conjungere, quod natis postea concessum est, quando sit licere?* Is the derivation of *certitudo* from *certus* whit harsher than that of *anxitudo* from *anxius*, of *beatitudo* or *beatitudo* from *beatus*; *utrumque enim durum*, says Cicero *Nat. Deor. lib. 1. sed usu mollienda nobis verba sunt* of *amplitudo*, *firmitudo* and *magnitudo*, from *firmus*, *plus*, and *magnus*, or of *claritudo* and *sanctitudo* from *clarus* and *sanctus*, or even of *dulcitudo*, *lenitudo*, *turpitudine*? The same may be said of *incertitudo*, *gratitudo* and *ingratitudo*, which *Ruddiman* and his originals have likewise dashed out of the list of *Latin* words. In *Buchanan's* time, says *Mezerai* on the state of the church in the 16th century, they studied to speak as good *Greek* and *Latin*, as in the time of the republick of *Athens*, and of the empire of *Augustus*; and according to *Ruddiman* none succeeded better in this study than *Buchanan*, who by the use of the words in question, supposing they had never been used before his time, shews us that this, far from being a fault, is rather an improvement of the *Latin* tongue, and discovers his good taste in opposition to the false one of some modern grammarians.

10. CIVIS. *Lib. 20. c. 11. pag. 389, b 7.* There *Buchanan* describes the zealous attachment of the citizens of *Edinburgh* to their duty and their interest, at a time when the deposed queen's faction were about to kindle a civil war, immediately after the death of *James Stewart* earl of *Murray*, the good regent, whom they had caused to be assassinated by a villain. He tells us that these rebels used all means to draw over the inhabitants of the capital to their party, having already gained *William Kircaldie* of *Grange*, who was both proved of the town and captain of the castle, and reckoning that the rest of the kingdom would be much influenced by the example of that place. But understanding that



at a watch was kept there, and that the people were  
 more inclined to the other side, they first sent to the  
 townsmen, intreating they might be allowed to meet  
 there with their good-will, the townsmen answered,  
 that their gates should be patent to all that professed  
 themselves subjects to the king, but they would neither  
 receive the *English* rebels, (for fear of offending the  
 Queen of *England*, in whose kingdom they traded) nor  
 the *Hamiltons*, and others suspected of the regent's mur-  
 der, nor yet permit any proclamations to be made, de-  
 catory to the king's authority, or the young men to  
 be called together by beat of drum, in order to be list-  
 ed for soldiers. Tho' these conditions seemed hard,  
 yet they came forward, hoping by degrees they might in-  
 fluence themselves into the favour and affections of the  
 simple multitude, and by soothing and softening them  
 with fair and courteous speeches, bring them all under  
 their own power. And yet, adds *Buchanan*, with all  
 their rhetorick, seconded by the authority and influence  
 of *Kircaldie*, who was provost of the town and captain  
 of the castle of *Edinburgh*, they could not prevail with  
 the citizens, tho' subject to *Kircaldie's* authority, to de-  
 liver up the keys of the gates, or to keep a less strict  
 watch than they did before. *Nec tamen persuadere civi-  
 bus potuerunt, Kircadio, urbis, & arcis præfecto adniten-  
 tes, ut claves portarum cives ejus (scil. Kircadii) traderent,  
 vel de solita custodia cederent.* Here it is plain that *Bucha-  
 nan* uses the word *cives* in two different senses: in the  
 beginning of the sentence for citizens or a body of men  
 united and living together in one place, without relation  
 to a superior, and in the latter part of the sentence  
 he understands it of the same body of men related to  
*Kircaldie* of *Grange*, a gentleman of heroic valour, their  
 chief magistrate, to whose authority they were subject,  
 and whose influence over them might be supposed to  
 be very considerable. Besides that he having the com-

mand of the castle, thereby commanded the town, and before the war came to an end, actually did it a deal of mischief. *Ruddiman* ignorant of this, that *cives* signifies subjects, has spoiled the sense and beauty of the forecited passage, by turning *cives ejus* into *cives eis*, upon no better authority than that of the foreign editors, which yet he does not mention : but he might as well have struck out both *cives* and *ejus* ; for without taking it in the sense I have given, both are useless ; which no one will suppose that is well acquainted with *Buchanan's* character as a writer, who is so very nice in the choice of his expressions, and at the same time so concise, as to use no word in vain ; but rather that using the same word twice in the same sentence, he has stamp'd a peculiar force and emphasis upon it in the latter clause. That in other places he uses *cives* for subjects is plain from the dedication of his dialogue *de jure regni* to *James V*, where he gives an account of the motives that induced him to make that treatise publick, *ut & mei in studio esset testis, & tui erga cives officii te admoneret*, " that it might be both an evidence of my affection to you, and a monitor to put you in mind of your duty to your subjects : " which somewhat resembles that of *Cicero ad Fam.* 1. 9. Speaking of his dialogue *de oratore*, *Sunt enim testes, & erunt sempiterni, meritum erga me tuorum, meaque in te pietatis* : and from his translation of *Q. Mary's* instructions to the embassador she sent to the French court to excuse her marriage with *Bothwell* compared with the original, which passage shall be more particularly considered under the word *hostis*, *apud cives & hostes*, in both the realms i. e. of Scotland and England, (as *Cicero pro Sex. Roscio*, in *adversariorum praediis occisus*, is the same as *apud adversarios occisus*) by *cives*, plainly understanding the Scots *Q. Mary's* subjects. And that the Roman authors used *civis* in this sense, appears from many passages of *Seneca de Clementia*, (a treatise

is fit for a prince to peruse and to govern himself  
 its maxims) particularly *lib. 1. c. 1.* Addressing him-  
 self to Nero, *omnibus tamen nunc civibus tuis & hæc confes-*  
*exprimitur, esse felices. c. 16. imperat princeps civibus*  
*is, pater liberis. præceptor discipulis, tribunus vel centu-*  
*militibus.* And *c. 19.* speaking of the safety and se-  
 rity of a good prince; he needs no high towers, strong  
 old or walls, *unum est inexpugnabile munimentum, amor*  
*ium.* For the *Augustan* age *Ovid. Trist. lib. 2.* where  
 the poet pleads with *Augustus*, who had banished him  
 to the utmost border of the *Roman* empire, that if he  
 could not recall him from his exile, he would at least  
 send him to a place where he, being a *subject* of *August-*  
*us* and a freeborn *Roman*, should not be in hazard of  
 being made a prisoner, and put in chains by *Barbari-*  
*ans.*

*Ne timeam gentes, quas non bene submovet Ister :*  
*Neve tuus possim civis ab hoste capi.*

Many other examples might be adduced to prove this  
 use of the word *civis*, which is either not well known,  
 or not commonly attended to.

*II. CLATRA Lib. 15. c. 19 pag. 287. e. 6. Ha-*  
*ec enim non contenti civium caesorum sanguine, & supersti-*  
*m miseriis, & supellectilis direptione, & valvas ostiorum*  
*fenestrarum, clatrasque ferreas abstulerunt, neque ullum*  
*ius calamitatis omiserunt, &c.* Here *Ruddiman* ignor-  
 ant of the use and meaning of & reads *etiam valvas* up-  
 on the authority of the MS. and because, for ought he  
 knows, forsooth, the *Latins* do not use *clatra* or *clathra*  
 of the feminine gender, upon his own authority he  
 reads *clathrosque ferreos.* *Vossius* puts the question,  
 whether we should say *clathrus*, because we read *clathri*  
 and not *clathra*, or *clathrum*, as the grammarians would  
 have it, because of the *Greek cleithron* or *clethron*, with-  
 out



out attending to *Propertius* 4. 5. *Et canis in nostras mis experrecta dolores, Cum fallenda meo pollice clathri forent* : and concludes that, because we no where read either *clathrus* or *clathrum*, it is safer to abstain from both. He is too scrupulous : and we see from this instance of the *Latins* using *clathri* in the plural and masculine, that they do not always follow the *Greek* gender and termination ; tho' *Buchanan* has done it in the passage before us, for the *Greeks* have the word *clethrias*, feminine, which some think the same with the *Latin* *clathri*, and also the word *clethra* or *clethre* in the feminine gender, which not only signifies the alder tree, but also a bar : and by *clatras ferreas* understands all the iron work of doors and windows, that is not only bars but also locks, bands, staples, bolts. *Ruddiman* here as well as in numberless other places has taken upon him to alter *Buchanan's* orthography, reading *clathros* with an aspiration, tho' *Budæus* reads *clatratus* in *Plant. Mil.* 7. 26. & *Columella* I. 10. ver. 72. *clatris* without it. *penitus clatris eradere viscera matris Ne dubita*. See *Robert Stephen's Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ*, *Harry Stephen's Thesa. Ling. Græcæ* and *Scapula's Lexicon*. *Horace* in his art of poetry on *Latin* words derived from the *Greek* gives this rule, that they should be *parcè detorta*, that is the original of them must be obvious, the analogy just and intire, and neither bold nor far-fetched. And can any thing be more agreeable to this rule than to derive *clathra* or *clatra* from *clethra*, where the same gender and termination and almost the very same letters are retained ?

12. CLAVIS. *Lib. 9. c. 28. p. 163. D 8.* on the taking of the castle of *Edinburgh* by stratagem, speaking of *William Douglas* and *Simon Fraser*, *Intromissi à janitore intra munitionem è trabibus ante portam arcis structam cum animadvertissent claves ostiorum è brachio janitoris suspensos ipsum jugulant.* *Ruddiman* after the foreign editor

tors taking this for a typographical error, just as *veni* vini a little before, reads *suspensos*. But it is possible Buchanan might have found *clavis* masculine in some author. Nonius observes that tho' *callis* be masculine in *Virgil* it is frequently feminine in *Livy*, particularly *lib. 12. nisi pecorum modo fert angusto saltu per decedentes calles* : so *lib. 22. cap. 14. nos hic pecorum modo* (or *re*) *per æstivos saltus deviasque calles exercitum ducimus*, as *Ruddiman* has observed on *ps. 107. ver. 86. nulla hominum tritam vestigia callem*, which reading he retains, tho' several editions have *tritum*, because all the editions that came out in the author's life-time have *tritum* : which he might likewise have confirmed by the following passage of *Amm. Marcellin. lib. 31. Sed in ipsius proeliorum ardore infinita hostium multitudine milites laesa, vitantesque aperta discrimina, per calles consitas arboribus & angustas, ut quisque potuit dispersi, paulo postea cedere fidentius* : ——— Nonius likewise observes that *lapides* may be said in the feminine gender, as in *Ennius Tanto sublatæ sunt agmine tunc lapides*, after the example of *Homer*, who has put *laas, lapides* in the feminine gender. I might likewise observe, what *Ruddiman* has omitted in his grammar, that *Columella* uses *stirps* in the masculine as well as in the feminine gender ; *lib. 5. c. 9. de re rustica. Omnes deinde soboles, quæ ex uno stirpe nata est, quotannis extirpanda est*. And *lib. 6. c. 5. stirps* is feminine. But tho' *Buchanan* had not found *clavis* masculine in any author before him, the following passage of *A. Gellius lib. 13. c. 19.* will bear him out, where *Probus Valerius* is quoted, forbidding to mind the rules of grammarians, whether you be writing prose or verse, and bidding you ask your ear what is proper to be said in every place, and follow its advice, as certainly the best, *sed aurem tuam interroga, quo quid loco conveniat dicere, quod illa juaferit, id profecto erit rectissimum*. When *Gellius* shews that the politest writers have had a greater

greater regard to the pleasant sound of words than the rules of grammarians. *Ennius* says *rectos euphros* and *are fulva*. *Lucretius aurea funis*. *Cicero* calls the men *antistitæ* and not *antistites* according to the grammar rule. *Usque adeo in quibusdam neque rationem neque consuetudinem, sed solam aurem secuti sunt, suis verbis modulis pensitantem* quod qui non sentiunt, inquit *idem ipse M. Cicero* quum de numerosa & apta oratione *scriveret*, quas auris habeant, aut quid in his homini summi sit, nescio.

13. COMES. (1.) *Lib. 9. C 41. Henricus Percines Northumbriæ. Ruddiman's note*: " If this expedition into *Scotland* happened in 1372, as our historians relate, it is certain *Henry Percy*, who had the chief command in it, was not at that time promoted to the dignity of earl; for he was first honoured with that title by *Richard II.* in 1377, under which year also the *English* historians place this march of his into *Scotland*." But supposing the *English* historians to be under no mistake in this matter in point of chronology, as they must be if the *Scotish* writers are in the right; why might not *Buchanan* by a *prolepsis*, call *Percy* earl of *Northumberland* before he was actually created such, just as *Ruddiman*, which shews his inconsistency allows him to call *Lindsay of Glenesk*, earl of *Crawford* before king *Robert III.* honoured him with that title.

COMES. (2.) *lib. 10. c 1. pag. 177. C II. auditu adventu comitis Crafordiæ, i. e. says Ruddiman* " him who a little after was made earl of *Crawford*. *ibid cap. 2. C II. Jacobus Lindeſus patre defuncto Crafordiæ, ſcil comes.* Here *Ruddiman* is positive that the reading should be *David*, as he has it from *T. Crausford* contrary to that of all the editions; because *James* was the name of his father, who was dead by that time. But adds he, this *David* was not as yet promoted to be an earl; tho' *Boethius* and *Lefly* say that *James*, his father



made earl of *Crawford* at the coronation of *Robert Buchanan* *ibid* cap. 4. p. 178. c 7. leaves the matter undetermined. *Sunt qui Gubernatoris titulum à patre Roberto Regis fratri hoc anno à Rege confirmatum, Lindsiorum familiam titulo Comitum Crawfordia auctradant.* "Some write that the title of governour which had been given by his father to *Robert* the king's brother was this year (i. e. 1398) confirmed by the king, and that the family of the *Lindsays* were honoured with the title of earls of *Crawford*." But adds they are not agreed whether the name of him who was the first of that clan that was styled earl, was *Thomas* or *David*. *Ruddiman* says, *Tho. Crawford* is forunging this passage, because otherwise the author only contradicts himself, but also all our other historians, who affirm that *James Lindsay* was created earl of *Crawford* on the day of *Robert II*'s coronation. But *Ruddiman* in both he is too bold and against reason. For 1. *Buchanan* is here relating the opinion of others, and not his own; again, he is so far from being opposite to other writers in this particular, that by far the greater and more sincere or upright part of them (ut *major ac sincerior eorum pars*) the same thing is confirmed, viz. by *Major*, the *Extraëta*, the *Charterhouse book*, and *Winton*, who all testify that *David Lindsay* was created earl of *Crawford* in the reign of *Robert II*, and most of them in the year 1398. And *Winton* a contemporary writer relates that it was done a day or two before the king's son and brother were promoted to the honour of dukes. He might have added *Bower* a continuator of *Fordon*, who says it was in the end of April after the king's eldest son, *David* earl *Carrik*, was made duke of *Rothesay*, which was on the 28th of that month. But the matter, in his opinion, is put before all controversy by the instruments of the same family, some of which he had seen, in which *James Lindsay*

*Jay*, long after the coronation of *Robert II*, assumes a higher title than that of lord *Glenesk*; which also appeared more plainly some years before the writing of this note in a famous dispute between the earls of *Crawford* and *Sutherland* about the right of precedency which was not then at an end. Here I cannot help remarking that *Mr. Ruddiman* calumniates *Mr. Tho. Crawford* in making him say that *Buchanan* in the above-cited passage contradicts all our other historians, for he only says that it is misprinted and disagrees with what is to be found a little before. 2. That the charters of *James Lindsay of Glenesk*, may be a proof of his not being vain or overfond of the title of earl, rather than of its not having been conferred upon him or his father by king *Robert II*; which his grandson *Alexander* earl of *Crawford* in his speech to king *James II* affirms in most expressive terms; in which speech preserved in the history of *Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie* he sets forth the honourable and obedient services which his family had performed to the king's predecessors, in order to move that prince to pardon him for joining in rebellion with the *Douglases*. And one would think he might have known the history of his own family better than *Mr. Ruddiman* or his vouchers. In the same speech, according to several MS. copies of *Pitscottie* which I have seen, the original of the family is carried higher than in the copy printed by *Basket* and sold by *Freebairn*, which is vastly incorrect. "The first man of our name," says the above-mentioned earl *Alexander*, "was called *Lindsay*, " which was a proper name to him, which is now our surname, whom *Kenneth II* son of *Alpin* rewarded " with large bounds and lands in this country for his " counsel, good service, and great valour done in overthrowing the *Picts*." 3. I observe *Ruddiman's* usual modesty in his note on the words, *Sed nec illud conbat inter eos Thomafne an David vocaretur, qui primus*

*ea gente Comes fuit appellatus.* " I do not remember that he is called *Thomas* by any body ; " as he had seen all that *Buchanan* saw, or remembered any thing that he had read. 4. That his friend *Les-* is excluded out of the number of the more sincere or right historians.

I know not if I should take notice of his emendation a passage, *lib. 12. cap. 56. p. 237. D 11. Georgium angustie comitem apud se frequentem habebat, et cum eo velut amicus in gratiam recepto secreta consilia communicabat.* here he reads *Archibaldum* for *Georgium*, referring us to p. 41. of the same book p. 233. A 2. and to *lib. 13. p. 35. p. 252. A 2.* and owning that his son *George*, master of *Angus*, was killed at *Flowdon* in 1513, without owning that he owes this note to *Mr. T. Crawford.* I should maintain that *Buchanan* meant *George* the son, and not *Archibald* the father ; and that by *comes* he means the master or heir apparent, I much doubt if *Huddiman* was capable to disprove my assertion. For it is not unreasonable to suppose that *James III* hated the son little less than he did the father : and according to *some* reckoning the 15th year of the father's age which was the year 1469 to be the year in which *George* master of *Angus*, son of *Archibald Bell the cat*, sixth earl of *Angus*, was born ; in the year 1486, the time most probably pointed at by *B——n*, the son was about 17 years of age, that is 3 years older than the father was at the time of his marriage with *Elizabeth* daughter to *Robert* lord of *Argyle* ; and consequently capable of being about king *James III*'s person, and having that king's secrets communicated to him. As for the father's being mentioned before and immediately after the passage under consideration, we have a parallel instance, *hist. lib. 10. cap. 6. p. 178. D 2. 179. A 9. & B 1.* where after mentioning *Archibald*, called the grim earl of *Douglas*, we are told that *Henry Percy* called *Hotspur* and *George*



*Dumbar* earl of *March* having encamped at *Linton* village of *Lothian*, were disordered at the sudden approach of the *Douglas*, meaning the master of *Douglas* or the earl's elder son, as *Ruddiman* explains it, tho' the father is mentioned immediately after, *subito adventu Duglassii perturbati*. And thus *Buchanan* and the *tracta*, which according to *Ruddiman* call him *Duglassie magistrum*, may be easily reconciled.

14. CONSCIENTIA. lib. 16. cap. 7. pag. 306 d. Speaking of *John Muxdart* chief of the clan *Ranald*, a noted robber, being apprehended by *John Stewart* earl of *Athol*, *verum ille sive otii, cujus erat impatiens, seu scelerum conscientia agrum animum stimulante, custodibus ceptis elapsus, omnia cæde, & sanguine rursus implevit*. As *conscientia otii* to *Ruddiman* seems an improper expression, he hardly doubts but *Buchanan* meant to have written *otio*, or rather *otii, cujus erat impatiens, tædio*. But 1. the reflecting on an idle or unactive life, such as the prisoner's must have been while under confinement, or his having a remorse or sense of his crimes are expressions that will make good sense without any ellipsis. And 2. *Ruddiman*'s supplying of the word *otio* makes this passage nonsense and tautology. *Otii, cujus erat impatiens, tædio*, i. e. thro' weariness of idleness, of which he was weary or impatient. If there is any ellipsis here, *diuturnitate* is the proper word as *Sall. B. 7. 39.* there seems to be an ellipsis of *scelerum* to *conscientia*. *Quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama impediebat*, because some were discharged from acting by a sense of their guilt; others by the consideration of their characters.

15. CONSESSUS. lib. 20. c. 19. pag. 392 a 11. *Spatium inimicis dedisse, ut se colligerent, & novos judicium confessos facerent, &c.* *Ruddiman* looking upon *confessus* as an error, reads *confessus* after the foreign editions. But was he sure that *Buchanan* had not found *confessus*?

Some old author, of the 2d declension ? Or tho' he  
 re, is there any harm in making it of that declension,  
 re than the following words, which, according to  
 ssius, *de art Gram. lib. 4. c. 20.* are both of the 2d  
 4th declensions ; viz. *arcus, cibus, colus, cornus, do-*  
*rus, fagus, fastus, fius, humus, laurus, lectus, pannus,*  
*arcus, senatus, somnus, sonus, succus, susurrus, ventus,*  
*sus, vulgus ?* To which I shall add *concupitus* from  
*Quintil. Declam. 18. Furtiva stupra, raptosque concu-*  
*pos objiciat vel falso maritus.* Also *fructus* according  
 Nonius ; and *tumultus*, which is used in the 2d declen-  
 sion by *Plautus* as well as *Ennius*.

16. CONSILIUM. In above 40 places, which I  
 ve marked, *Ruddiman* corrupts this word, reading *con-*  
*ium* ; and it would have been the same, if it had oc-  
 curred 400 times. I shall only set down three passages,  
 .) *lib. 4. cap. 3. pag. 53. d 8. primo secretis coitionibus,*  
*inde palam in consiliis fremere coeperunt, ibid. cap. 25. p.*  
*d 8. Hæc sententia cum in consilio vicisset.* And *lib. 13.*  
*1. p. 240. c 4. Regatus a consilio regio equid sciret, ubi*  
*esset.* I shall not stand to examine the justness of the re-  
 mark of some critics, of which I very much doubt, viz.  
 at *consilium* signifies an assembly consisting of a few se-  
 lect persons, and *concilium* a promiscuous multitude meet-  
 ing together : but I shall prove that the best authors use  
*consilium* with an s for an assembly of judges or counsel-  
 ers, and particularly for the *Roman* senate, for the privy  
 council, and for a council of war. *Cic. de domo sua* uses it  
 for the *Roman* senate ; *senatus est summum populi Romani,*  
*populorumque & gentium omnium ac regum consilium.* Id.  
*de divin. Nec verò somnia graviora à summo consilio ne-*  
*lecta sunt.* De orat. *consilium senatus, i. e. congregatio*  
*senatorum.* Pro *Quinto, Si apud hoc consilium ex opibus,*  
*non ex veritate, causa pendetur,* if before this council the  
 cause shall be weighed by power and greatness, not by  
 impartial justice. *Tibi instat Hortensius, ut eas in consilium.*

In Verrem, *sententia sine consilio, damnatio sine defensione*. In other places *venire in consilium tyranni, advocare consilium vel concionem, dimittere consilium, de consilii sententia pronunciare, &c.* I. F. Gronovius on Cic. Off. lib. 3. c. 5. In *consilio cælestium* or *deorum*, assures us that the true reading is *consilio* and that this word has been corrupted in more instances, of which he adduces two. In Sueton, *consilium* signifies the privy council, Aug. 35. *Sibi constituit consilia sortiri semestria*, "he resolved to choose a new privy council every six months." And Sallust uses it for a council of war, Jug. 29. *Re, in castra venit, ac pauca, præsentis consilio, locutus.* In Ruddiman's edition of *Cæsar*, which he tells us is copied from that of Oudendorp, B. Civ. l. 2. c. 30. we have *consilio convocato, de summa rerum deliberare incipit.* But in some other passages he has taken upon him to correct *Cæsar* as he had done *Buchanan*, and to print *consilio* for *consilio*. In a passage or two of *Buchanan* he has printed *consilium* after the first edition, through inadvertency, we need not doubt. But had he discovered such a blunder in another, and so oft repeated, he would have triumphed over his ignorance with strange insults. Some of the foregoing citations from *Cicero*, as well as this that follows, seem nor so favourable to the above-mentioned criticism of *consilium* being put only for a small number. *Ad. Fam. 3. 8. non in privato, sed in publico orbis terræ consilio, id est, in senatu, ut gratias agerent, mittebantur.*

17. CONVENTUS. lib. 18. c. 22, pag. 354 b4. *Eam (arcem Edinburgensem) tenebat Joannes Marriacomes, ea lege, ut nemini nisi conventu publico repositi redderet.* Here thro' ignorance of the construction, or rather want of skill to apply a rule of his own grammar, *Ruddiman* imagines *conventu* to be the dative. In the first note on the ablative absolute we are told that the participle *ente* or *existente* is often understood, another

noun



noun or pronoun being added, and on the words *another*, in note 4th, that sometimes also we find but the noun thus put in the ablative, and that either substantive or adjective : examples of the last are *comitiis, ludis, gladiatoribus, munere, Circensibus*, for *dum comitia haberentur, cum ludi fierent, cum gladiatores aut Circenses erentur*. And for more on this subject we are referred to *Gronovius de pec. vet. IV. 1.* near the end, to *Pezonius on Sanctius 4. 4. 28.* and *Ursin pag. 417.* *Conventu publico* then is an elegant expression for *dum conventus publicus haberetur*. We find the same thing a little differently expressed by *Buchanan hist. lib. 16. cap. pag. 305. e. Ea igitur tuenda Joanni Areskino velut questro est data : quam nemini, nisi ex ordinum decreto redderet*, also *lib. 16. c. 55. ejus autem custodiam ex publici consilii decreto (ut jam antea demonstratum est) acceperat ea lege, ut eam nemini, nisi ejusdem consilii assensu redderet*. The keeping of the castle of *Edinburgh* was intrusted to *John Areskine* earl of *Mar*, on this condition, that he should not deliver it to any one, without the authority of an act of parliament.

18. COTES. *Jephth. pag. 12. v. 81. O rupe durior, vel robore Prognate crudo, cotibus vel asperis Inter terrarum lustra*. On this passage *Raddiman* tells us it may be doubted whether the author wrote *cotibus* in imitation of *Virgil, Æn. 4. 365.* and *Seneca Herc. Oct. 143.* But he is not for altering the received reading ; because the same *Virgil, Eclog. 8. 43.* has *duris cotibus* ; which passage he thinks *Buchanan* has had principally in his eye. He might have added another citation from *Propert. lib. 1. eleg. 3. 1. Libera jam duris cotibus Andromede*, to make both sides of the question equal, also *Maximianus eleg. 1.* describing old age, *Mollia fulcra tori duris sunt cotibus æqua* : and should have told us that *Cicero* uses *cotes* for *cautes*, as from the above passages both seem to be synonymous, or rather the same word.

19. DEDITIO. *hist. lib. 14. cap. 46. pag. 274 c 4.* Speaking of king James V, *Sæpe cum paucis adversus ferocissimos latrones proficiscens, frequenter eos numero superiores vel celeritate præventos capiebat: vel regii nominis reverentia attonitos in ditionem accipiebat:* here Ruddiman on the authority of the MS. and in opposition to that of all the printed copies reads *deditionem*. But according to his own maxim, what is found in all the editions was probably so written by the author. And what did he know but Buchanan was of their opinion, who think that *ditio* is put for *deditio*, which etymology is favoured by the quantity of the first syllable of *ditio*? In very good authors one would be apt to think these two words were used promiscuously in some instances. Livy says *in ditionem* and *in deditionem venire, per ditionem* and *in ditionem accipere, recipere*; *in ditioe* and *in deditione Romanorum esse*. The same Livy has *in ditionem* and *in deditionem concedere*; and *in deditionem redire*, as Sueton *in ditionem redire*. And as Tacitus has *in deditionem venire, accipere*, Sueton *in deditionem redigere, recipere*, and Justin *in deditionem acceptus*, so the same Tacitus says, *in ditionem acceptus*. It seems then Ruddiman ought not to have altered the first edition, in this instance at least, without the authority of that MS. which Mr. Arbutnot made use of. But it had been well, if he had taken no greater liberties; for whether we read *in ditionem* or *in deditionem accipiebat*, the sense is the same, viz. that the thieves or robbers submitted themselves to the king, and that the king accepted of their submission.

20. DIES (1.) singular. *lib. 15. cap. 1. pag. 281 c 12.* Speaking of the Hamiltons incessantly teasing James earl of Arran, their chief, to set up for the regency of the kingdom, after the death of king James V. *Huius die nocteque juvenis animum spe implebant, & hortabantur, ne fortunam ultro se offerentem e manibus labi sineret:* for  
die

*Ruddiman* on the authority of the MS. and contrary to that of all the editions, as he owns himself, reads *diu*, without pretending any authority for it, instead of *hi*, spoiling the harmony of the sentence, as one, tho' his ear be none of the most delicate, will easily perceive. As to the first alteration we need not doubt but *Buchanan* in putting his last hand to his work, has written *die* for *diu*, either for the sake of sound, or because the former is more usual. *Nonius* observes that *die* is said for *die*, and hence also *interdiu*: besides *diu* has another signification. *Sall. Jug. 38. 44.* *die nocteque exercitum tentabat.* — *Lixæ permixti cum militibus die nocteque vagabantur.* *Cic. ad Attic.* has *die, noctibus.* *Equidem credibile non est, quantum scribam, quin etiam noctibus: nihil est enim somni.* The same author says frequently, *dies noctesque*, which *Cortius* on *ll. Cat. 27.* thinks is more than *diu nocteque*, and that denotes continuance of time. But I suppose some of the authorities which I have adduced will show that this observation does not always hold. *Seneca* says *diem noctem, per diem noctemque, diebus noctibusque* in the same sense as *die nocteque* or *diesque noctesque*, or *nocte die* in *Liv. 5. 19.* As to *hii* turned into *hi*, we shall speak of it under the head of pronouns.

**DIES** (2.) Plural *lib. 11. c. 50. pag. 217. c. 9. Ja. II.* used in the year of our Lord 1460, *non multis ante æquinoctium autumnal diebus.* i. e. "not long before the autumnal equinox." For that *dies* in the plural does not always signify a precise or certain number of days natural or artificial, will appear from the following examples. *Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginensis, qui biennium sefellerat, Romæ deprehensus, præcisissque manibus dimissus,* *Liv. 22. 33. i. e.* "About that time a Carthaginian spy, who had sculked about *incog.* for two years, was apprehended at *Rome*, and dismissed, after his hands were cut off," *Propert. i. 15. on Calypso's*



*Calypso's* concern at the departure of *Ulysses*; multos dies incompitis mæsta capillis Sederat injusto multa loco salo: Post mensem Decembrem circa Calendas Januarias post multos dies (i. e. long after) eam (mensuram diei facti) molere voluerit, oblitusque prioris mensuræ, quam intulerat, ex alio acervo quantum cuique mensuræ defuit supplet. Colum. lib. 12. cap. 50. Yet *Ruddiman* from several other authors tells us that *James II.* died August 30, being the Lord's day, 40 days, says he, at the least before the autumnal equinox, intending this, no doubt, as a censure of *Buchanan's* expression, which, as I said, no more imports a determinate number of days than this, dies complures cum illo versatus est, for some while he conversed with him; or this, paucis post diebus moritur, he died soon after; or that of *Ter. Phorm.* fere in diebus paucis, a little after, or his diebus, lately.

21. DITIO. *Buchanan* uses this word to signify the estates of noblemen and gentlemen, a bishop's diocese, a king's dominions. *Ruddiman* in a note or two, to which he has six references in so many different places, affirms that *ditio* is used in this signification by no approved writer, and that it always signifies *rule* or *power*, referring us to *Cellarius*, *Vorstius*, and *Scioppius*, who brings a heavy action against *Lipsius*, *Casaubon* and *Thuanus* for using it in that sense. To these our critics might have added *John Milton* in his *epistolæ civiles* or letters of state, who frequently uses *ditio* in the same sense as *Buchanan* does, and by Mr. *Wilymott*, a very great judge, is ranked among classic authors. *Cellarius* observes that *Curtius* manifestly distinguishes between *ditio* and *regio*, and tells us that he found no writers more antient than *Paullus Diaconus* in *Juliano*, or whoever is the author of the *historia miscella*, that used *ditio* for a country or province. I have formerly observed that some other such criticisms are grounded on these false suppositions, that all the writings of the classic au-  
thors

ers are still extant, that the critic has read all such as  
 extant, and that he has attended to and remembers  
 every word that he has read. In the present case, I  
 comprehend *Ruddiman* and his originals have not only  
 eluded *Paulus Diaconus* but also *Eutropius*, *Colamella*,  
 and perhaps *Cicero* himself out of the number of classic  
 writers. Let us hear *Nonius*. *Pecuniosorum & locu-*  
*rum proprietatem aperuit M. Tull. de repub. lib. 2. à*  
*pecore pecuniosos, & à possessionibus locorum locupletes appel-*  
*lari esse asserens, multaque ditione ovium, & boum, quod*  
*erat res in pecore, & locorum possessionibus, ex quo pecu-*  
*li, & locupletes vocabantur.* If an estate in cattle may be  
 called *ditio*, why not also, I beseech you, an estate in land.  
 At any ways contrary to the genius of the *Latin* tongue,  
 to use the same word in different senses; as for instance,  
*ditio*, for a citizen, a countryman, a subject? Is not the no-  
 tion of power and jurisdiction closely connected with that  
 of a nobleman's estate or a prince's dominions? And  
 that if *ditio* when it signifies power be the same with *dedi-*  
*tio*, and when it signifies an estate, have a different origi-  
 ne, and be derived from *ditior* the comparative of *dis*? But  
 let us go over the passages of *Buchanan*, where *Ruddi-*  
*man* has thought fit to censure his use of the word *ditio*;  
 and see with what justice he has done so.

(1.) *Hist. lib. 1. cap. 43. pag. 18. b 9.* Speaking of  
*Larriſe* or *Herigh* and *Lewis* as making but one island,  
*in eodem mari infusi æſtuariis, sed limitibus agrorum, & do-*  
*minorum ditionibus definiuntur.* "For they are not  
 bounded by the tide or flowing of the sea, but by the  
 marches of lands, (not by the flood-marks, but by  
 the land-marks,) and by the estates and jurisdictions  
 of the proprietors and land-lords," who were at that  
 time *M<sup>c</sup>Leod* of *Lewis* and *M<sup>c</sup>Leod* in *Herigh*. *Pom-*  
*ponius in L. 2. §. Capta deinde Sardinia. ff. de origine*  
*juris, Capta deinde Sardinia, mox Sicilia, item Hispania;*  
*deinde Narbonensi provincia: totidem prætores, quot pro-*  
*vinciæ*

*vincula in ditiones venerant, creati sunt.* Ainsworth translates *ditio* a *shire*, or *place of jurisdiction*, as our judges circuits.

(2.) *Lib. 8. cap. 36. pag. 144 c 8.* On Edward II. of England, who had a design to exterminate the Scots: *exercitum non modò ex Anglis, & Scotis qui Anglorum sectam sequebantur, sed è transmarina ditione, (quæ tum è magna, & opulenta erat) quantum nullus unquam rex Anglorum habuisse dicitur coegit.* Here è *transmarina ditione* is for è *populis transmarinæ ditionis*, which expression is justified by a passage of *Columella*; and by the way we may take notice, that *Ruddiman* without authority reads & *transmarina ditione*.

(3.) *Lib. 9. cap. 34. pag. 165. e 2.* *Balliolus non contentus ditionem majorum suorum in Gallovidiam recuperasse.*

(4.) *Ibid. C 48. p. 170. C 9.* Of *Douglas, Lindsay* and *Dumbar*, who had made an inroad upon England, per *Comitis Notingamiæ & Maubraiorum ditionem reversi.*

(5) *Lib. 10. cap. 14. p. 181. d 7.* *Cum Anglus ad concilium retulisset, quomodo Scoti regis filio (the son of king Robert III, afterwards James I) in ditionem suam appulso uteretur.* This with the two former and other such expressions is justified by *Eutropius* on *Aurelian* the Roman emperor, *lib. 9. cap. 13.* *Romanam ditionem ad fines pristinos revocavit,* " he reduced the Roman empire (or dominions) to its former limits."

(6.) *Lib. 11. cap. 25. p. 207. b 4.* On *John Cameron* bishop of *Glasgow*, in suæ ditionis agricolas (*quæ in primis ampla est*) multa crudelitatis, & avaritiæ exempla ipse ediderat. *Suæ ditionis agricolas*, the tenants of the bishoprick, the inhabitants of his diocese, who possessed his lands and were subject to his authority and jurisdiction. *Colum*, *lib. 9. c 10. de re rustica*, speaking of the king of the bees, *nam velut quadam compede retinebimus errorem ducent*



rem detractis alis, qui fugæ destitutus præsidio finem  
 ni non audet excedere. Propter quod ne ditionis quidem  
 e populo permittit longius evagari.

(7.) *Lib. 14. cap. 25. p. 266. a 12.* On Archibald  
 of Douglas, egit cum rege Anglorum ut per ejus diti-  
 tem tuto redire domum liceret. *Amm. Marcellin. lib. 27.*  
 Not far from the end, on Sapor the long-lived king of  
 Persia's designing to annex Armenia to his dominions.  
 ex vero Persidis longævus ille Sapor, ——— calcata fide  
 Joviano pactorum, iniebat Armeniæ manum, ut eam,  
 ut placitorum abolita firmitate, ditioni jungeret suæ.

(8.) The last passage is *Dialog. de jure regni. cap. 20.*  
 g. 9. lin. 22. On Philip of Macedon, paucos magni-  
 dine ditionis æquales.

22. DUX. *lib. 12. cap. 2, pag. 218. c 9.* Buchanan  
 his concise account of that contest between the house  
 of Lancaster and York (necessary for the understand-  
 ing of the affairs of Scotland) which ended in the depo-  
 sition of Henry VI. and transferring the crown of Eng-  
 land to Edward IV, after having mentioned the battle  
 of Wakefield, in which Henry VI's queen was victorious,  
 Regina victrix, cum ad regem liberandum iter inten-  
 det, Dux Varvici obviam ei progreditur, regem secum du-  
 cens : where Dux signifies general and not Duke, as Rud-  
 diman imagined, substituting comes in the room of it, and  
 where there is an ellipsis of the word *Regulus*, as of *Re-  
 gulo*, in the sentence immediately before, to *Richardo  
 Arvicense*, the very same nobleman. And Buchanan's  
 meaning is this : as the victorious queen was on her  
 march to free the king, the earl of Warwick in quality  
 of general of the Yorkists army (the duke of York having  
 been slain in the former battle) advances to meet her,  
 carrying the king, Henry VI, along with him. Ruddiman  
 has not only not attended to the meaning of the Latin  
 word *dux*, and to the ellipsis, but discovers his ignorance  
 of the English history ; which makes it evident, that  
 Richard

*Richard* earl of *Warwick* was general at this time, and after *Edward* IV was proclaimed, was considered as the soul of his army. The king, says *Rapin*, was looked upon as a valiant young prince without experience, and the earl of *Warwick* as the real general. This is not the only corruption of *Buchanan's* text in this place; for *Ruddiman* has not only turned *Varvicense* into *Varvicensi*, but also *Eduardum* into *Eboracensem*, not attending to the *English* history and *Buchanan's* concise way of writing, especially of the affairs of *England*. But of these in their own place.

23. EDICTUM. Upon this word *Ruddiman* discovers rather arrogance than ignorance, *lib. 12. cap. 24. pag. 230. c 7.* *Buchanan* describing the base and cruel treatment of *Patrick Graham* archbishop of *St. Andrews*, a man of eminent virtue and learning, and related to the royal and other great families, *inimici—Patricium omnibus sacris adibus excludi procurant: in bona ejus procuratorem fisci immittunt. Comites gravi indicto jussi cedere. Dati custodes, qui observarent, ne quicquam quod edicto repugnaret, attentaret.* Here *Ruddiman* by the help of the MS. corrects the first, as well as the other editions, and robs it of two graces, which the author had added to it, turning *procuratorem* into *procuratorem* (of which afterwards) and *indicto* into *edicto*. And yet he is not himself pleased with this latter alteration, tho' he owns *Ovid* has said *immitte & minax edictum*, (which I find *Trist*, *lib. 2.*) and conjectures that *Buchanan* wrote *gravi poena indicta*, or *gravi indicto supplicio*; and this last the rather, because the word *edicto* is repeated in the next line: and that the *edictum* seems to refer to *Patrick* himself, but the *poena indicta* to his attendants or servants. No doubt *Buchanan* in revising his history, has turned *edicto* into *indicto*, to avoid the repetition of the same word in the next sentence, which *Ruddiman* according to his custom, has blended with the former but

It then there is as little reason to doubt that he has written *indictio* without *supplicio*, leaving *supplicio* or the more general word *negotia* as an ellipsis to be supplied by those who understood the genius of the language in which he wrote, and the doctrine of ellipses in particular, to which our critic seems very much a stranger. It deserves notice that he rejects the authority of *Ovid*, whose character as a writer he has taken so much pains to vindicate in his vindication of *Buchanan's* paraphrase of the Psalms against Mr. auditor *Benson*, and looks upon *gravi edicto*, as none of the best *Latin*, tho' *Ovid's* *minime* & *minax edictum* be synonymous, and tho' *Cicero* in *Catilin* 2. has *senatusconsultum vehemens* & *grave*.

24. ELEPHANTIA. *lib. 8. cap. 56. pag. 152. c 4.*  
 On king *Robert Bruce*, *paulò ante mortem in elephantiam incidat*. *Elephantia* says the annotator, is a kind of leprosy, which, if *Lucretius* & *Galen* are to be credited, is peculiar to the *Egyptians*, and bred no where else. Did he mean to oppose the testimony of these two heathen writers, who lived many ages before *Robert Bruce*, and knew little of the history of *Scotland* for their own times, to that of *Buchanan*, which can be confirmed by many living witnesses at this day, who have seen *Scotsmen* labouring under the *elephantiasis*? or did *Ruddiman* imagine that *Robert Bruce's* divine right to the crown, about which he has kept such a stir, secured him against any such distemper, tho' it did not the good *Uzzab* king of *Judah*? Methinks it had been as pertinent to have referred us for a description of the disease in question, as *Vossius* does, (who tells us that the *elephantiasis* and *lepra* are commonly confounded, tho' they differ very much) to *Celsus lib. 13. cap. 25.* who says it was little known in *Italy*, tho' very frequent in some countries; to *Pliny lib. 26. cap. 1.* who tells us that the *elephantiasis*, peculiar to *Egypt*, was not known in *Italy* before the time of *Pompey* the great; and that one of the



the *Roman* emperors was affected with it; or to *Nic. P. rottus*, whose account is to the following purpose. "The  
 " elephants have no covering of rough hair, no not in  
 " their tail, to drive away the loathsome flies, where-  
 " with they are infested. But their skin is lattised in  
 " fashion like a net, and invites that sort of animals by  
 " its smell. So having received swarms of flies upon  
 " it when extended they contract and crumple it all of  
 " a sudden, by which means the flies are caught and  
 " killed. From this inflation of the *Elephants* or from  
 " the figure of their skin, the disease *elephantia* or *ele-*  
 " *phantiasis* has its name. It is very common in some  
 " countries, tho' not so in *Italy*. It affects the whole  
 " body to such a degree, that the very bones are vitia-  
 " ted. In the uppermost part of the body there are  
 " many spots, which from red turn by degrees into a  
 " black colour, and many bumps or tumors. The  
 " outward skin is unequally thick, hard and made  
 " rough as it were with scales. The body becomes mea-  
 " gre. The face, legs and feet swell; when the disease  
 " grows inveterate, the toes and fingers are hid under  
 " the swelling, a slight fever rises, which easily wears  
 " out the patient, overwhelmed with so many evils."

25. EXITIUM. *lib. 17. cap. 29. pag. 334. c. 2. Ja.*  
*Hepburn* earl of *Botbwell* having spent his youth in de-  
 bauchery, had reduced himself to such circumstances as  
 to be under a necessity of either raising a civil war, or  
 driving away the apprehensions of absolute poverty by  
 some daring enterprize. As he was casting his eyes all  
 about, he thought the best way of beginning to disturb  
 the publick tranquillity would be the setting the earl of  
*Murray* and the *Hamiltons* together by the ears; certa-  
 ut videbatur, spes in utriusque partis exitium incertum, i.  
 e. "building a certain hope upon the uncertain de-  
 " struction of both parties." *Ruddiman* imagines that  
 this sentence has been marred, tho' more cautious here  
 than

man in many other places, he will not venture to mend. However, the author's meaning will appear abundantly plain to any one that attends to the following narrative. *Bothwell* first accosted *Murray*, and offered him his assistance in taking the family of the *Hamiltons* out of the way : but *Murray* abhorring so foul a deed, *Bothwell* went next to the *Hamiltons*, and took in hand to assassinate *Murray* ; they assented to his proposal, and the time was set for perpetrating the villany : but the earl of *Arran* having discovered the plot, the execution of it was prevented. This is the substance of *Buchanan's* account of that matter, which shews that *Bothwell's* hopes were built upon an unsure foundation.

There is another passage, where the same word *exitium* occurs, with which *Ruddiman* might have tampered with as much colour of reason as he has with many others. It is *lib. 11. cap. 25. pag. 207. b 8.* on the tragical exit of *John Cameron* bishop of *Glasgow*. *Ejus viri dignum vita nefarie acta fuisse tradunt exitium*. Here one would be tempted to read *exitum*. *Livy lib. 39. cap. 52.* On *Philopœmen*, *Annibal* and *Scipio*, *nemo eorum satis dignum splendore vitæ exitum habuit*. In the same and other places he has *exitus vitæ*. *L. Seneca ep. 66.* Speaking of various kinds of death, *aliquorum melior exitus, aliquorum peior potest exitus : mors quidem omnium par est*. *Tacitus* on the untimely ends of *Brutus*, the *Cassii*, *Latinus*, *Opsius*, *Tigellinus* and others, uses the word *exitus*. *Cicero in Verrem*, *dignus exitus ejusmodi vita atque actis*. *Buchanan* himself on the death of *James Heburn* earl of *Bothwell*, *lib. 19. cap. 2. vita turpiter acta dignum habuit exitum*. But when one attends to what has been observed by *Festus* and by *Perottus* after him, viz. that the antients used *exitium* for *exitus*, both in a good and bad sense, which observation is confirmed by *Virgil*, *Georg. 3. 503.* telling us the symptoms of the diseases of horses whereby we may know when they are mortal ;

*Hæc ante exitium primis dant signa diebus* ; and by Sall. Catilin. 55. on the death of *Lentulus*, *dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitæ invenit* ; I say, when this is considered, one will easily be persuaded, that the common reading of the passage in question ought to be retained, and that an editor of *Buchanan's* works ought to rely more upon the author's judgment, than his own.

26. FALLOTA, a *French* word, of a *Greek* extraction, with a *Latin* termination. *Florent Chrétien's* derivation of it from *phallus* is more probable than that of *Menage* from *phanum*, or of *du Cange* from *pharut*. lib. 9. cap. 41. pag. 168. a 9. *Buchanan* describing the *crepitaculum* or rattle with which the *Scots* peasants and shepherds posted on the hills above *Dunse*, so frightened the *English* horse, that they broke their fastenings and fell a prey to the *Scots*, and the *English* commanded by *Percy* being thereby put in disorder, were fain to retire on their feet, has these words. *In summo hastili satis longo, infixis costis ligneis in semicirculum curvatis, super eas pellem circumtendunt, ad eam maximè formam qua sunt laternæ, quas vulgus Luteciæ Fallotas appellat.* *Ruddiman* reads *Lutetiæ falotas*, not knowing that the ancients, particularly *Strabo*, wrote *Lucotecia*, and imagining that the spelling of the *French* and *Latin* languages ought to be precisely the same. He gives us a description of the thing signified by *fallota*, which conveys but an obscure and imperfect idea. "These falots," says he, "are lanterns fasten'd to a long and round piece of wood and hoisted aloft that they may diffuse the light the farther abroad." But *John Nicot* in his *French* dictionary gives a clearer and more particular account of the falot. *Cette farasse, qui est faite de poix & résine, &c.* "A composition of pitch and rosin, blazing with a waving, scattered and fluttering flame, on an iron vessel, encompass'd with thin and slight bars of iron, helv'd with a stick for carriage : which *falot* is used in the night, to light the stairs and other passages, where



" where many people are going and coming, whether  
 " at publick entertainments or other rejoicings of the  
 " city."

27. FAMA. lib. 6. cap. 16. pag. 97. b 3, 4, 5. In  
 the account of the war between the *English* and *Danes*  
 assisted by *Constantine* the third, king of *Scots*, *Buchanan*  
 tells us from the *Scots* historians, with whom *Grafton* the  
*Englishman* agrees, that *Athelstan* a bastard son of *Ed-*  
*ward*, son of *Alured*, was generalissimo of the *English*  
 forces. He immediately adds, *Hunc quoque Athelsta-*  
*num parricidii infamem faciunt* (scil. Scriptores nostri) in-  
*terfecto patre, ac duobus fratribus, qui jure patri proximè*  
*succedere debuerant, Edredo scilicet, & Edwyno. De Pa-*  
*tris morte violenta suspicionem auget fama, quod eum qui-*  
*dam Eduardum Martyrem appellat. i. e.* " Our *Scots*  
 " writers likewise charge him with parricide, as having  
 " killed his father and two of his brothers, viz. *Edred*  
 " and *Edwyn*, who, by hereditary right, ought to have  
 " succeeded immediately to their father. What adds  
 " to the suspicion of the father's having died a violent  
 " death, is an opinion grounded on a certain writer's  
 " calling him *Edward* the martyr." *Ruddiman* by  
 comparing the first of these sentences with cap. 18. in  
 the following page a 3. where the *English* are said to  
 have made *Edred* king instead of his brother, *Edmund*,  
 who was also *Athelstane's* brother and succeeded him,  
 imagines he finds the author not only contradicting the  
*English* historians, but also himself: Whereas in the  
 former passage we are only told what is said, not by  
*Buchanan* himself, but by other *Scots* historians that  
 wrote before him, with an insinuation that their account  
 is different from that of the *English* writers: and Mr.  
*Ruddiman*, in one of his good moods, finds fault with  
 some others for making *Buchanan* say as of himself what  
 he only gives us as the relation or opinion of others.

On the second sentence Mr. *Ruddiman* informs us that *Tyrell* complains of a gross mistake in *Buchanan*, and affirms that no *English* historian has written that *Edward Athelstane's* father died a violent death (which *Buchanan* does not alledge,) and that *Edward* the martyr began his reign 150 years after. But, adds *M. Ruddiman*, *Tyrell* might the more readily pardon this error, that he himself, such is the frailty of mankind, has committed a gross blunder in his arithmetick on this very particular. For *Edward* surnamed the elder, *Athelstane's* father, according to *Tyrell's* own account, died in 925, and *Edward* the Martyr began his reign in 975, and there being only an interval of 50 years, *Tyrell* ought not to have made it triple that number. Both *Tyrell* and *Ruddiman* and others of the same cast had consulted their reputation better, if they had shewed more modesty and less spite to *Buchanan*, and as much skill or honesty as to distinguish between what he does say, and what he does not say.

*Ruddiman*, ignorant of the meaning of the passage under consideration, has corrupted it, by turning *appellat* into *appellant*, upon the bare authority, not of the MS. but of a later hand that has been tampering with it, and because *auget fama* goes before : now, says he, *fama non unius, sed multorum est*. According to *Laurence Valla* elegant. lib. 4. cap. 7. *rumor* and *fama* are the same, the one *Latin*, the other *Greek*, except that *rumor* would not be rightly used to express a man's reputation or good name : both signify a common report of some late event whether good or bad : and *fama* is also taken for an antient tradition or opinion, as, *fama est Athenas jam plus annorum viginti millibus fuisse conditas*. To which I shall add that *fama* in *Justin* 25. 5. signifies opinion. *Satis constans inter auctores fama est*, it is a pretty unanimous opinion amongst authors ; that *Quintilian*, lib. 12. c. 9. uses *opinio* for *fama*, unde etiam minus cupidis opinio-

his *plus fructus venit*; and, that according to Nonius, *rumor* very often signifies *opinion, rumor, ut plerunque, opinio est*, quoting Sall. *hist. lib. 2. Ad hæc rumoribus adversa in pravitatem, secunda in casum, fortunam in temeritatem declinando corrumpébant.* This is sufficient to justify the interpretation which I have given of the passage in question, and to support the reading of the oldest editions. And I may take notice that Ruddiman's account of report or fame is not altogether just: for it must be begun by one, before it be spread by the many.

28. *FAMILIA* for *famuli. lib. 4. cap. 39. pag. 66. a*  
 29. On king *Ethodius* the 2d, *familiarum tumultu occisus est*, his servants rose up against him, and slew him. Ruddiman, upon the authority of the MS. reads *familiarium*, and refers us to d 11. of the same page cap. 41. where *Nathalocus* is said to have been slain *a quodam suorum familiarium*, and adds that, according to *Boëthius* and *Lesly*, *Ethodius* was slain *stipatorum tumultu. i. e.* by his life-guards, making an insurrection. The reference to d 11. in the same page, far from being an argument for altering the reading of the first edition, is rather a good argument for retaining it: and we need not doubt but *Buchanan*, who loved to vary his style according to *Cicero's* rule (*de Invent. lib. 2. Variare orationem magnopere oportebit. Nam omnibus in rebus similitudo est satietatis mater,*) in revising his history has added an elegance to this passage, turning *familiarium* into *familiarum*; and Ruddiman has been absolutely ignorant of the meaning of *familia*, which antiently and properly signified the servants belonging to one common master. *Cic. off. lib. 3. Plenus est sextus liber de officiis Hecatonis talium questionum, sitne viri boni, in maxima caritate annonæ, familiam non alere.* *Hecaton's* sixth book of offices is full of such questions as this, whether it be lawful for a good man, in a time of great scarcity, not to feed the servants  
 that



that belong to his family. *Id. de nat. Deor. Homines con-  
jugum, & liberorum, & familiarum suarum causa fru-  
mentum condunt.* Men lay up corn for the sake of their  
wives, and children and servants. *Phædrus lib. 3. fab.*  
19. *Æsopus, domino, cum solus esset, familia.* *Æsop* a-  
lone being the whole retinue of servants that his master  
had, as Mr. *Willymott* translates it. *Varro de rerustica,*  
*lib. 1. cap. 16. Si enim ab fundo longius absunt oppida,*  
*aut vici fabros parent, quos habeant in villa, sic ceteri*  
*neccessarios artifices, ne de fundo familia ab opere discedat, ac*  
*pro festis diebus ambulet feriata potius quam opere faciunda*  
*agrum fructuosorem reddat.* It were easy to adduce hun-  
dreds of examples of the same or like nature, as of *ma-*  
*trimonia* for wives, *pueritia* for children, *servitia* for slaves,  
&c.

If you say that in all the above cited passages *familia*  
is singular, whereas in the passage in question it is plu-  
ral, and that therefore the authority of the MS. might  
incline one to believe that *familiarium* is the true read-  
ing; I shall adduce another authority not liable to that  
exception, which will convince you that *familia* plural is  
put for the servants of one master. *Seneca de tranquilli-*  
*tate animi, cap. 1.* a book which he wrote immediately  
after his return from his exile, when he was brought to  
court and made tutor to *Nero*, and in which he describes  
his way of living at court, which was very frugal, tho' he  
was very rich and surrounded with pomp and luxury.  
*Placet cibus* (speaking of himself only) *quem nec parent*  
*familia, nec spectent.*

As to *Buchanan's* using the word *familia* instead of  
*stipatores* used by *Boëthius* and *Lestly*, which is of the  
same signification with *satellites*, i. e. a life-guard, he  
has done it with judgment and with good reason; for  
otherwise he would contradict what he says *lib. 17. cap.*  
*23. p. 333. a b. viz. that Q. Mary* designing to intro-  
duce absolute government, as a foundation of it, deter-  
mined

ained to have a *garde-du-corps*, after the *French* mode, no' all former princes, kings of *Scotland*, had trusted the nobility with the safety of their persons. *Nam cum superiores reges omnes fidei nobilitatis suam salutem credidissent, illa quidem custodiam satellitum adhibere decreverat.*

29. FIDES. see on *adhibeo*.

30. FILIA. *lib. 7. cap. 26. p. 119. d 4.* on the death of *Alexander I.* surnamed the *fierce*, *decessit nullis è Sibylla Gulielmi Normani filia relictis liberis.* *Ruddiman* observes that *William Gemiticensis* and other *English* writers call *Alexander's* wife, not *Sibylla*, but *Elizabeth*, and say she was a bastard daughter, not of *William* but of *Henry I.*; that they are in a mistake about her name, but that in the foundation charter of the abbay of *Scone*, in *Sir James Dalrymple's* historical collections, she calls herself *Sibylla* queen of *Scots*, daughter of *Henry* king of *England*. Now supposing this to be an exact transcript of the original which was burnt together with that abbey, about the time of *Malcolm IV.* may we not suppose *Buchanan* in this single instance, as has been already observed of *avus*, and shall be so afterwards of *pater*, to have used the word *filia* in a peculiar signification for a grand-daughter, which it is certain the *Hebrew* language will admit of. But about this I will not contend, as it is of very little consequence whether *Sibylla* queen of *Scots* was a daughter or grand-daughter of *William* the conqueror.\*

*Mr. Ruddiman* proceeds to confirm what the *English* historians say of her being a bastard, because otherwise, *Henry I.* having had no lawful wife that we read of,

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\* What does *Ruddiman* know but *Buchanan* by calling *Sibylla* the daughter of *William* the *Norman*, meant, that she was *filia familias* a daughter of his family, resembling him in this particular at least, that as he was a bastard, so was she?

save *Maud* king *Alexander's* sister, *Alexander's* marriage with *Sibylla* must have been incestuous : and, lest any one should think it a dishonour to the kings of *Scotland*, that one of their predecessors had a bastard to his wife, he adds, that in that and some following ages or centuries (*eo & sequentibus aliquot seculis*) the name of bastard was not so reproachful as it is now ; since a few years before *Duncan* reigned over the *Scots*, and *William* over the *English*, both of them bastards. Upon which I cannot help observing, that, as *Robert* 3d of the name, and 2d of the surname of *Stewart*, was made king of *Scotland* in less than three centuries after the death of *Alexander* I, and consequently the supposition of his being a bastard could not derive any considerable stain on his successors, it was idle in *Ruddiman* to make such a potter about that matter as he has done, especially as he acknowledges he is determined by the authority of *Fordun*, a cotemporary writer, to believe that that prince was begotten and born in concubinage.

Indeed the author of a dissertation on that subject lately published pag. 5. 6. by the force of his *law* and *Latin*, has attempted to wrest *Fordun's* words to a sense directly contrary to that which they evidently bear, and out of *de facto copulavit* and *extra matrimonium genuit*, to make a lawful marriage and lawful children, and at the same rate may make any thing out of any thing. All his quotations both from the civil and canon law, this particularly, *nec verum, nec aliquod censetur matrimonium, quod de facto est contractum*, have a direct tendency to prove the direct contrary of that for which he adduces them, namely that a *de facto* marriage is null and void. And as for his argument from the *Latin* writers, polite as well as barbarous, using the verbs *copulo, jungo, conjungo*, without the addition of any other word answering to *de facto*, I could at the same rate prove that adultery and lawful marriage are one and the same thing,



ing, because *Horace* Od. 1. 15. 7. speaking of the lawful commerce of *Paris* with *Helen*, another man's wife, uses the word *nuptiæ*, *Græcia conjurata tuas rumore nuptias*, without adding the adjective *innuptæ*, as does the old poet in *Cicero*, *Paris Helenam innuptis sibi, exivit nuptiis*. It were therefore better to express *John Gordon's* meaning in the words of *John Bellenden*, viz. that *Robert Stewart* used *Elizabeth More* in place of a wife.

Tho' the above mentioned gentleman has maltreated poor *Boëthius*, yet he treats *Buchanan* with more decency than others on that side of the question, who reproach him with propagating the story of the illegitimacy of the children of *Elizabeth More* on design to raise the earl of *Murray*, a bastard, to the throne, which I have evidently proved to be a most shameful calumny; because not one line of the history was written till some years after that earl's death: and *Buchanan* plainly condemns the preferring of the children of *Elizabeth More* to the succession to the crown, to those of *Eupheme Ross*, as a thing that was attended with most tragical consequences, lib. 9. cap. 42. pag. 168 d. *quæ res postea tam numerosam familiam prope extinxit*, tho' it had the sanction of an act of parliament, in direct opposition to the oldest *Scotish* laws that are extant. See *Regiam Majestatem* lib. 2. cap. 50. and particularly cap. 51. ver. 1. 2. where it is said in most express terms, that tho', according to the *Roman* laws and canons, a son begotten and born before his parents were married, be a lawful heir, yet according to the law and custom of the kingdom of *Scotland*, such a son can no ways be sustained as heir, or claim the inheritance, *Tamen secundum jus & consuetudinem regni, nullo modo in hæreditatem, tanquam hæres sustineri potest, nec hæreditatem petere*.

One would think that *Charles II.* a prince for whose memory *Mr. Ruddiman* professes a high veneration, had

a greater interest in this matter than any of the advocates for the legitimacy of the children of *Elizabeth Mure*, the proofs of which are said to have been discovered in the time of king *Charles I*; and yet he made no difficulty to believe the story as told by *Buchanan*. For when the translation of *Buchanan's* history was ready for the press, the translator was afraid to publish it. It being about the latter end of the reign of *Charles II*, when severity was the word, he got a friend to speak of it to the king, and to offer that the passage concerning *Elizabeth Mure* should be left out, his majesty cry'd, *Pugh! 'tis true enough, let it go if he will.* I owe this passage to an author, whose very name is terrible to Mr. *Ruddiman*, tho' a young nobleman's pedagogue, who told it me, took up the thing in another view, admiring Mr. *Ruddiman* both as a brilliant wit and a deep scholar, who with one single pun was able to confute *OLDMIXON*, by averring that his true name is *Old Nick's son*. —

*Hic niger est : hunc tu, Romane, caveto.*

31. *FILIUS*. lib. 10. cap. 26, 28, 29. pag. 186 a 6 d 9, 12. pag. 187 a 3. where we are told, that *Walter Stewart* son of *Murdoch* the late governour, *Malcolm Fleming* and *Thomas Boyd*, were, by king *James I*, before his coronation, put in several prisons till the next parliament, which was called to meet against the 27th of *May* that soon after (*Proximis diebus*) many wholesome laws were enacted, and during the sitting of the parliament that first met after the king's coronation, *Murdoch* duke of *Albany*, his sons *Walter* and *Alexander*, and his father-in-law *Donachie* or *Duncan* earl of *Lennox* were arrested, and with other five and twenty, put in several prisons : that not long after the rest were set at liberty, but *Murdoch* with his son and father in-law detained, *Mordaco cum filio, & socio retentis* : that *James* the youngest son burnt *Dumbarton* and slew *John Roy Stewart* the king's father's brother, and thirty two with him ;

him ; after which he fled into *Ireland*, where he died soon after, where also died *Finlaw* bishop of *Argyle* who had fled thither with him : and that thither also fled *Walter's* wife, with two of his sons, *Andrew* and *Alexander*, and *Arthur*, a bastard, who after their return home, bore, discharged, or enjoyed high or honourable offices, posts or places, in the reign of *James III* ; *qui Jacobo tertio rege domum reversi magnis honoribus sunt perfuncti*. In this relation *Ruddiman* finds several things to carp at.

(1.) He says *Murdoch* was apprehended, not in that but the following parliament, as is said by other of our historians : not attending to *Buchanan's* concise way of writing, who has considered the parliament that met at *Perth* about the middle of *March* 1425, as a second session of the parliament that met at the same place about the end of *May* preceding, it being no unusual thing, especially in this reign, for parliaments to be continued, prorogued or adjourned from time to time. And though this is not expressly said in the *black acts* concerning the parliament in question, yet that will not prove them to have been two parliaments intirely different, unless it could be proved that in that collection we have a perfect account of every thing transacted in every parliament or session of parliament, which it is evident we have not.

(2.) *Ruddiman* finds fault with its being said that *Walter* was put under arrest at the parliament ; seeing he is mentioned as having been shut up in prison before, without its being said that he was set at liberty : this account to the critic seems not enough exact. Full of the idea of the absolute power of princes, he cannot endure, it seems, that the parliament by their authority should ratify and approve what the king had done before without it : and one would think he were just as fond of the absolute power of critics. For

P

(3.) Without



(3.) Without any authority but his own solely, he has altered and corrupted *Mordaco cum filio*, & *socero riventis*, reading *filiis*, under pretence of making the author consistent with himself, because at d 9. it is *Mordacus dux Albinæ*, filii ejus *Valterus* & *Alexander*, and at a 3. *Mordacus cum duobus filiis*: tho' *Boëthius* as well as *Buchanan* considers *Walter* as the greater criminal of the two brothers, egged on by his father to play his wicked pranks, and against whom most grievous complaints were made to the king immediately after his return from his eighteen years captivity in *England*, where as *Bower* the continuator of *Fordon*, tells us, that *Alexander* was knighted by the king on the day of his coronation; and *Boëthius* assures us, that in the second council or parliament which was holden at *Perth*, pursuant to the appointment of the first meeting there, (which by the way shews us, that the second meeting was a continuation of the first, as I observed before) tho' *Murdoch* the governour was apprehended with his son *Alexander*, and cast into prison, yet he was soon after set at liberty, and banished to *Falkland*, *Edictum deinde aliud consilium Perthi habendum, quo Mordacus gubernator captus cum filio Alexandro ac in vincula conjectus*: paulo tamen post vinculis liberatus, in *Faulclandiam* relegatus est. And that *Alexander* has for some time been out of prison is sufficiently intimated by *Buchanan* in the word *filiio*. Nor need we have recourse either to the figure *ellipsis*, by understanding *utroque*, or to the figure *enallage*, tho' some instances of the latter are to be found which look full as strange. For *Gellius*, lib. 2. cap. 13. tells us he had observed in the writings of many of the ancients, that *liberi* in the plural number was put to signify one son or one daughter: and as an instance of this he quotes, from *Sempronius Asellio's* history of his own times, a passage concerning *Tiberius Gracchus*, a tribune of the people, at what time he was put to death in the capitol.

am Gracchus domo quum proficisceretur, nunquam minus  
 na aut quaterna milia hominum sequebantur. And af-  
 wards speaking of the same Gracchus ; orare cœpit, ut  
 defenderent, liberosque suos : eum quem virilis sexus  
 in eo tempore habebat produci jussit, populoque commen-  
 vit, prope flens.

(4.) On Buchanan's saying that *James* the youngest  
*Murdoch's* sons burnt *Dumbarton* and slew the king's  
 uncle and 32 with him, the note is, that tho' *Ballenden*  
 says the same thing, yet *Drummond* says 30 and *Boëthius*  
 20. But it is easy to reconcile this difference, by sup-  
 posing the two former to mean only the men that the  
 king's uncle brought with him ; of whom *Drummond*  
 gives us only the round number, and that *Boëthius* in-  
 cludes the inhabitants of *Dumbarton*, for he says there  
 were 100 men slain, besides women and children.

(5.) In other places *Buchanan* is censured for making  
 too many of the *Stewarts* bastards, and here for making  
 too few of them such. For the annotator affirms that  
 the names of *Walter's* sons that fled to *Ireland*, were not  
*Andrew*, *Alexander* and *Arthur*, but *Andrew*, *Arthur*  
 and *Walter*, all bastard sons, not of *Walter*, but of *James*  
*Stewart* his second brother ; that of this there is a proof  
 in the publick records of *Scotland*, viz. a rescript of *Ja.*  
*II.* dated *April 14, 1479*, of his reign the 19th, by  
 which he authorises them to enjoy the same privileges  
 as if they had been born in lawful marriage, and that  
*Robert Crombie* and *George Crawford* affirm they have seen  
 the charter of their legitimation, dated according to  
 the former in the year 1472, and according to *Crawford*  
 in 1474. These witnesses had need to be purged of par-  
 tiality and malice before they be sustained against *Bu-*  
*chanan* : but neither does their testimony agree, the for-  
 mer saying that the charter is dated 28th *August 1472*,  
 and the other, in his *lives of chancellors* page 37. that it  
 is dated, not in 1474 as *Ruddiman* has it, but in 1473.

and the charter of legitimation itself, which *Crawford* has published in his appendix to his first vol. numb. VII. bears date at *Edinburgh*, April 17th 1479 of the king's reign the 19th year, three days after that of the rescript mentioned by *Ruddiman*, if it be not the very same record. The worst of it is, that the letter or charter of legitimation does not in the least contradict *Buchanan*; for it makes no mention at all either of the father or mother of these three bastard brothers, *Andrew* lord *Avandale*, *Arthur Stewart* and *Walter Stewart*, nor of any other of their relations, save that the first of them is called the king's cousin and chancellor. So that *Ruddiman* has it still to prove by other charters that *Walter Stewart* had not the sons mentioned by *Buchanan*, and that none but those mentioned in the above charter fled into *Ireland* with *Walter's* wife, before he can say any thing to the purpose. Had *Buchanan* called all these bastards, 'tis odds but *Ruddiman* would have referred us to the charter for proof of their being legitimate. *Abercrombie's* account rather confirms than invalidates what is said by *Buchanan*. "However," says he, "it is true  
 " that great numbers of those who were most deeply  
 " engaged in duke *Murdoch's* faction, did follow his son  
 " *James* to, and canton themselves in *Ireland*, for which  
 " reason there were no less than four statutes made in  
 " a subsequent parliament holden the next year at  
 " *Perth*, prohibiting all manner of intercourse or cor-  
 " respondence with that nation, but upon certain terms  
 " and conditions therein expressed." And why might not the sons of *James* have accompanied (or followed) their father as the sons of *Walter* did their mother.

The protestation taken in parliament 1585 by sir *Ja. Stewart* earl of *Aran*, for himself and in name of his father's house of *Ochiltree*, which *Crawford* gives us in the appendix to the 1st vol. of his *lives*, num. XVI, seems to contradict the charter of legitimation. For it bears expressly,



pressly, that it was well known to sundry there present who were ready to attest the same, that the Lord Ochiltree the said earl's father, was \* *lawfully come of the royal blood, as lineally descending from father to son of the house of Evandale, whose first progenitor was son to duke Murdoch begotten in lawful bed, who was son to Robert duke of Albany, who was uncle tutor and governor a long time to king James I. his nepot. and that therefore neither the duke of Lennox nor any other had right to carry the crown or be nearest to the king's person, at parliaments, conventions of the nobility &c. in regard of the nearness or proximity of blood they stood in to the king's highness.*

" \* *James Stewart, son to the lord Ochiltree, his rise and advancement was, by his accusing the earl of Morton of treason, in face of council, as being art and part of King James VI's father's murder; after whose execution, he was exalted in credit by the king, being then 17 years of age or thereby, being made captain of his guard, by the title of earl of Arran, and a counsellor: so that nothing was done in state, council or session, without his special order and direction. By him Sir John Maitland had first favour with the king: and his lady being of the house of Lovat, called him oftentimes her man Maitland; neither was any cause called in the outer house of session, but by such tickets as were reached out of his hand to the lord there sitting: so that he became so insolent thereby, that he pretended to have right to the crown, as nearest kinsman to duke Murdoch: and the king was very glad, when publickly in the session he renounced and quite-claimed whatsoever title he could pretend, to the crown, and casting in a crown of the sun, he took instrument in clerk Robert Scot's hand."* Sir John Scot's staggering state of Scottish statesmen, under the head of *chancellors*. King James VI's being persuaded that the earl of Arran had a better right, by blood, to the crown, than he had himself, will in some measure account for his excessive favour to that earl.

6. *Ruddiman* tells us that all the three bastard brothers sons of *James* and not of *Walter Stewart* seem to have returned into *Scotland* in the reign of *James II.* at least that *Andrew* the eldest, as *Geo. Crawford* proves, was styled Lord of *Avandale* in 1459; tho' he owns, as the same *Crawford* has proved, that he was created chancellor of the kingdom by *James III.* in 1463, which post he enjoyed for 18 years running. But neither does this say any thing against *Buchanan*, who speaks only of the return of the sons of *Walter*, without determining at what precise time they did return home: if he had said that it was in the time of *James II.* 'tis odds but *Ruddiman* would have said in the time of *James III.* and if *Buchanan* had said that *Andrew* was made Lord *Avandale* in the reign of *James II.* *Ruddiman* would have said, nay, but he had a greater honour conferred on him by *James III.* and, besides the confounding of the sons of *Walter* and *James Stewart*, *Ruddiman* shews himself ignorant of the meaning of *perfuncti magnis honoribus*, which is, not that they were advanced to great posts or offices, but that they bore, discharged or executed them.

As to *George Crawford's* proof that *Andrew Stewart* was styled lord *Avandale* in 1459 and made chancellor in 1463, which I suppose is taken from his *peerage*, the same *Crawford* pretends to prove in his *lives* pag. 37. in contradiction to *Buchanan*, that the same *Andrew* was chancellor, *January 23d.* 1461, of king *James the III's* reign the first year, because he is so designed in a charter of that date granted by that king to *Patrick Buchanan* of *Buchanan*, which charter he says is in the possession of the duke of *Montrose*; neither does all this say any thing against *Buchanan*, who only affirms that *Robert* lord *Boyd* was chancellor in 1462, being one of the queen mothers faction, who had contended for the regency in opposition to the party headed by *James Kennedy* bishop of *St. Andrews* and *George Douglas* earl of *Angus*.

Angus, and as the queen died in 1463, the Lord *Boyd*  
 might have been turned out of his office by bishop *Ken-*  
*dy*, who had the chief mangement of the affairs of  
 the kingdom. I speak this only on supposition that  
*Crawford* is under no mistake, which I am apt to sus-  
 pect he is, seeing in pag. 36, 37, without turning the  
 leaf, I have discovered several particulars falsely asserted  
 by him. 1. He says, as from *Rymer's Fœdera*, that he  
 found *George Shorifwode* bishop of *Brechin* no earlier  
 than 1457; and yet there is a safe conduct for him  
 and *Andrew Stewart* warden of the west marches and  
 several others coming into *England*, dated *Westminster*  
*May* the 20th, 1455. 2. *Crawford* says, from the same  
 voucher, that *Andrew* lord *Evandale* was sent into *Eng-*  
*land* by king *James II.* for the improvement of his edu-  
 cation; of which there is not one word in *Rymer*. 3.  
 That *Andrew* lord *Evandale* was warden of the east  
 marches, whereas the above cited record, without the  
 designation of lord of *Avandale*, says *Andrew Stewart*  
 was warden of the west marches. 4. For any thing  
 that appears from *Rymer*, *Andrew Stewart* warden of  
 the west marches, *Andrew* lord of *Anandalia* or *Anen-*  
*dale* one of the conservators of the truce made at *Coven-*  
*tre* between *Scotland* and *England* which was to laste  
 from *July* 1457 to *July* 1459, and *Andrew* lord *Evan-*  
*dale* the bastard, might have been three different persons,  
 and all three confounded by *Crawford*. 5. I have al-  
 ready observed the false date of the charter of legitima-  
 tion, and am sensible that this is a digression from my  
 main design: but I was willing to give a sample of this  
 among the rest of *Ruddiman's* originals (who in truth  
 are all of a piece) and to shew that the character he  
 gives of *Buchanan* cannot be applied to himself, viz.  
 that he is an author of credit, where his politics do not  
 interfere. And before I proceed, I must beg leave to  
 give one glaring instance more of *Ruddiman's* cavilling  
 humour.

(7.) *Buchanan*



(7.) *Buchanan* says, the same year *Murdake*, his two sons, and father-in-law were tried for their lives and beheaded on a hill over against the castle of *Stirling*, meaning, probably the year that they were put in prison, the year 1425. *Ruddiman* asks "what year?" the year he had last mentioned is 1423: but the author of the *extracta* writes that *Murdoch* and his sons "were beheaded in 1425, and *Boëthius* in 1426." Is it possible this caviller could be ignorant, that the year next mentioned is 1426; or that *Buchanan*, after mentioning the year 1423, relates a good many transactions, viz. the king's coronation, the proceedings of his two first parliaments, of *James* the youngest of *Walter Stewart's* sons, and the flight of *Walter's* wife and sons into *Ireland*, &c. before he comes to speak of these executions; or, lastly, that *Buchanan* does not mark every year in the way of annals, which was neither necessary, nor could he in many places have followed that method, without breaking the thread of his history?

32. FLAMMA. *Buchanan de vita sua*, describing the time of his 2d arrival in *France* in 1524 or 1525 in company with *John Major*, incidit in flammam *Lutheranae sectae jam latè se spargentem* i. e. it happened when the *Lutheran* opinions were making a noise, and spreading far and wide in that kingdom, particularly at *Paris*. For the seeds of the reformation were sown in *France* almost as soon as in *Germany*. The *Sorbonne* passed a sentence of condemnation on *Luther* and his writings in the year 1521. This excited the curiosity of the people, and set them upon inquiring into the grounds of the sentence; which was attended with a happy effect for the reformation. Some learned men, and among them two Drs. of the *Sorbonne*, supported the bishop of *Meaux* in the design he had of reforming his church. But the chancellor of *France* stirred up *Francis I.* against this rising reformation, and the parliament of *Paris* passed ar-

s against the reformed of the diocese of *Meaux*. The  
 t martyrs were made in *la Brie*, where two of them  
 ere burnt alive in 1524 and 1525, and a third at  
*Meaux* in 1528. See *histoire des eglises reformées*. The  
 ift and rapid progress of the reformation is therefore  
 ry justly compared to a flame that never goes out, but,  
 it advances, still increases in strength. *Florus lib. 4.*  
 2. compares the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pom-*  
 y both to a flame and an inundation. *Cæsaris furor, at-*  
*e Pompeii, urbem, Italiam, gentes, nationes, totum deni-*  
*qua patebat imperium quodam quasi diluvio, & inflam-*  
*atione corripuit.* *Cicero* writing to his friend on the  
 me subject *Fam. 16. 11.* from which letter *Buchanan*  
 as borrowed his expression, makes use of the same me-  
 phor of a flame, to denote, not his own danger, but  
 e spreading of the civil war with irresistible force. "I  
 came to the city," says he, "on the 4th of *January*,  
 where I was received with all possible demonstrations  
 of respect." Immediately he adds, *Sed incidi in flam-*  
*am civilis discordiæ, vel potius belli : cui cum cupe-*  
*em mederi, & ut arbitror, possem : cupiditates certorum*  
*ominum (nam ex utraque parte sunt, qui pugnare cupiant)*  
*impedimento mibi fuerunt.* By the whole tenor of this  
 and the next letter it appears that *Cicero* had not taken  
 his side at this time, but that he was doing all that man  
 ould do towards the bringing about a reconciliation  
 between the two contending parties. The former let-  
 er, in which he speaks of *Cæsar* as his friend, is dated  
 2th *January* : the next the 29th of the same month,  
 rom *Capua*, in which we have an account of his earnest  
 endeavours to effect a peace. *Equidem ut veni ad ur-*  
*em, non destiti omnia & sentire, & dicere, & facere, quæ*  
*ad concordiam pertinerent : sed mirus invaserat furor non*  
*solum improbes, sed etiam hos qui boni habentur, ut pug-*  
*nare cuperent, me clamante, nihil esse bello civili miserius.*  
 — *Ego adhuc oræ maritimæ præsum à Formiis, nul-*  
 lum

*lum majus negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum*  
(Cæsarem) *meæ litteræ, cohortationesque ad pacem valerent*

That *incido* with the preposition *in* and the accusative governed by it is to be understood of time or the circumstance of time or the conjuncture or state of affairs, will appear from the following passages of *Cicero* passing those where the phrases *incidere in tempus* or *tempora*, *in ætatem*, *in hiemem*, *in hebdomada* are to be found, and that of *Seneca epist.* 108. *in Tiberii Cæsaris principatum tempus* *inciderat*, all taken from the same collection of his letters to his familiar friends. *Fam.* 2. 2. *breve tamen sic habeto, in eum statum temporum tuum reditum incidere, ut si bonis, quæ tibi natura studio, fortuna data sunt, facilius omnia quæ sunt in republica amplissima, consequi possis quam muneribus.* 3. 9. *in quo cum difficultas navigandi fuit odiosa, tum in ipsum discessum senatus incidisse credo meas literas* 4. 1. *Serò enim veneram : solus eram, rudis esse videbar in causa, incideram in hominum pugnandi cupidorum insanias.* 15. 13. *incidit meum tempus rerum gerendarum in ipsum consulatum tuum.* And the same *Cicero* speaking of *L. Gellius*, *in magnos oratores inciderat ejus ætas, quamquam inciderat [Hortensius] in Cottæ et Sulpicii ætatem, quorum ætas cum in eorum tempora incidisset.*

What I have said may be sufficient to fix the meaning of *Buchanan's* expression, viz. that as *Cicero* at his coming to *Rome*, at the time mentioned, had not joined *Pompey*, so neither had *Buchanan* at his arrival in *France* in 1524 or 1525 favoured the *Lutheran* cause, as *Ruddiman* misunderstanding his words in two notes on his life, has falsely asserted, following *Bond's* translation of *incidit in flammam Lutheranae sectæ*, "he fell into the troubles of the *Lutheran* sect," just as his friend *Dr. McKenzie* has done ; which intimates not only that at that time he had favourable thoughts of the *Lutheran* cause, but also that he was persecuted on that account ; tho' he tells us himself in the same history of his life, that



it was about a dozen of years after that he came to certain favourable sentiments of *Lutheranism*; which is occasioned by the dissolute lives of the clergy, and the gray friars persecuting him for some satyrical poems he had written against them.

And yet the furious popish bigots, whom Mr. *Ruddiman*, in his account of *Buchanan's* life, treats as the most outrageous calumniators that ever put pen to paper, seem to have no better foundation for their charge of ingratitude against him, when they say, that *Q. Mary* (who was not born till near 20 years after) saved him from the fire to which he had been condemned as an apostate monk and a *Lutheran*, than the expression *incidit in flammam*, which they have most hideously mistaken. And *Ruddiman* in his *swan-song* performance appears to be willing to give into this calumny; perhaps, says he, *he owed his very life to that princess*; not considering that the more favours he alledges she conferred on *Buchanan*, so much the stronger does he make his testimony against her; because an author ought not to be suspected, when he speaks freely of those to whom he has the highest obligations.

33. *FORS.* hist. lib. 6. cap. 42. pag. 106. b 4. *forte* *ascendi.* lib. 11. cap. 16. pag. 203. b 11. *nascendi fors*, b. 12. cap. 16. pag. 224. b 6. *Sorte nascendi.* Here *Ruddiman* might have cried out, *hic Apollo me deserit*; for here he is forced to acknowledge his ignorance, telling us that *fors* and *fors* are so oft confounded, that he cannot by certain limits distinguish the one from the other. But withal, ignorant as he is, he turns positive, and thinks *forte* should be written in all the three passages, as the *Elzevir* edition has it in the first of them. Why then did he not do it, since one ought always to follow that which he thinks is best?—Had he consulted *Lam-*  
*in* on *Cicero* Tusc. 4. 29. he would have found something wherewithal to keep his countenance. For there  
the

the same difference is put between *fors* and *fors* as between the cause and the effect. “*Fors* is fortune herself, the efficient cause of chances and events, to us unknown, whereas *fors* is either the chance and event itself, or that which proceeds from fortune herself.” This agrees with what his author says *pro Roscio*. *si tibi fortuna non dedit, ut patre certo nascerere*. And therefore one would think it were better to let all the three passages in *Buchanan* (the last of which, tho’ not so clear as the other two, seems to be *forte* rather than *forte*) stand as they are. And for the better understanding of them, it may not be amiss to add *Cicero’s* definition of *fors*, de *Divinat. lib. 2*. *Quid est enim aliud fors, quid fortuna, quid casus, quid eventus, nisi cum sic aliquid cecidit, sic evenit, ut vel non cadere, atque evenire, vel aliter cadere, atque evenire potuerit? — id quod temere fit cæco casu, & volubilitate fortunæ — eæ res, quæ nihil habent rationis, quare futuræ sint*. It seems it is natural to *Ruddiman* to be wavering and inconsistent; for *hendi-casyll. XI. v. 20*. he reads *O si fors mihi faxit*, where both the *Stephens* and *Patisson* have printed *O si fors*: and *epigr. lib. 3. Stren. X. v. 23*. on *Q. Elizabeth*, *cui fors virtusque benignè et natura suas accumularit opes*, so *Hart* reads it, and seems to be right. *Ruddiman* reads *fors*.

34. GRATITUDO. see on *ingratitude*.

35. HOSTIS. *lib. 18. cap. 32. p. 358. a 4*. In *Q. Mary’s* instructions to the bishop of *Dumblane* her ambassador at the *French* court, to excuse her marriage with the earl of *Boithwell*. *Nec omittendæ erunt res ab eo bello gestæ adversus Anglos paulo ante meum reditum, ubi tale specimen & militaris fortitudinis, & senilis prudentiæ dedit, ut dignissimus sit existimatus, qui admodum juvenis natu majoribus imperaret, & supremus totius patrii exercitus dux, nosterque vicarius eligeretur. Quo in magistratu adeo spem hominum non fefellit, ut rebus fortiter gestis,*  
præ-

*præclaram suæ virtutis memoriam* apud cives & hostes  
 reliquerit. *Ruddiman* asks, is *hostis* here taken in the  
 most antient signification of the word for a *foreigner* or  
*stranger*? Doubting is a degree of ignorance: and this  
 ignorance is the more inexcusable, that he had already  
 told us (note on page 357. c 9.) as his friend *Robert*  
*Keith* has done after him, not only that *de Thou* ob-  
 serves that these instructions are couched with much art,  
 but that *John le Clerc*'s criticism fails him, who thinks  
 they were originally in *French*: for, adds *Ruddiman*,  
 there is a copy of them preserved in the publick records,  
 which is in our mother tongue, and which I myself  
 have seen, *eorum enim exemplar (quod in actis publicis ser-*  
*vatum ipse conspexi) vernaculo nostratium idiomate exhibe-*  
*tur.* This copy *M. Keith* has published, and by com-  
 paring it with *Buchanan*, it appears that he has given us  
 a most exact as well as a most elegant translation of it.  
 That *Ruddiman*'s ignorance and inattention might the  
 better appear, I have before set down two of the *Latin*  
 sentences in *Buchanan*, which make an intire paragraph  
 of the original, which *Ruddiman* had seen and here fol-  
 lows. "Ye shall not omit his service done a little be-  
 fore that time *against* England, wherein he gave such  
 proof of his valour, courage and good conduct, that  
 notwithstanding he was then of very young age, yet  
 was he chosen out as most fit of the whole nobility  
 to be our lieutenant general upon the borders, having  
 the whole charge as well to defend as to assail. At  
 which time he made many noble enterprizes, not un-  
 known to both the realms, by the which he acquired  
 a singular reputation in both." Where it is obvious  
 that *apud cives & hostes* means both in England and Scot-  
 land, that *cives*, is taken for the Scots *Q. Mary*'s sub-  
 jects, as I observed before, and *hostes* not for foreigners,  
 but for enemies, according to the style commonly used  
 before the reformation, and even after it, by the popish

Q

and



and Frenchify'd party in Scotland, our old enemies of England. Had Ruddiman looked better upon the original instructions, or even had he but looked back to the sentence immediately preceding, particularly to the words *res ab eo bello gestæ adversus Anglos*, he would have seen that *hostis* is taken in its most common acceptation. And had he been better acquainted with the Latin idiom, and attended better to the publick records which he had before him, he would not have defaced and calumniated Buchanan in such a manner, and in so many instances as he has done.

Had he been throughly acquainted with Buchanan's character as a writer, he would not have imagined that, like the emperor *Adrian*, he preferred *Cato* and *Ennius* to *Cicero* and *Virgil*, or that he used obsolete words or words in an obsolete signification, which *Cicero* (*de orat.* lib. 3.) forbids an orator to do, unless it were for the sake of ornament, or that he was ignorant of what is said by the same father of Roman eloquence, *offic.* 1. 12. where after mentioning an instance of old *Cato's* strict virtue in writing to *Marcus* his son, we have the following observation. *Equidem illud etiam animadverto quod qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi tristitiam rei mitigatam.* Hostis enim apud majores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus. Inducant hoc duodecim tabulæ: aut status dies cum hoste. Itemque, adversus hostem æterna auctoritas. Quid ad hanc mansuetudinem addi potest? Eum quicum bella geras tam molli nomine appellari? Quamquam id nomen durius jam effecit vetustas. A peregrino enim jam receptum est, et propriè in eo, qui arma contra ferret, remansit. "He who is properly called *perduellis*, had by our ancestors the name of *hostis* given him; the gentleness of the word mitigating the harshness of the thing: for *hostis* among them signified the same thing that *peregrinus* does now amongst us: as is plain from the 12 tables,"

tables," *aut status dies cum hoste*; and again, *adversus hostem æterna auctoritas*, (i. e. if I mistake not, the right of acclaiming (in the case of stolen goods) from one who is not a *Roman* never prescribes, is never lost). Can any thing possibly be more gentle, than to call a man with whom you are at war by the soft name of *stranger*? Tho' long custom has rendered *hostis* an harsher term. For it has now left off signifying a *stranger*, and is used only to denote one who bears arms against us." The very same observation is made by *Varro* the most learned of the *Romans*, L. L. lib. 4. And *Grævius* observes that *Herodote* in *Urania* testifies, that the *Lacedæmonians* call the *Persians* strangers: *xeinus gar ecaleon tous barbarous*. By this time I hope Mr. *Ruddiman*'s doubt is sufficiently resolved. One reason of his blunder seems to have been his meeting with *civis* and *peregrinus* joined together in *Roman* authors; but chiefly his fancying that *civis* meant not subjects, as it really does, but countrymen.

36. *INDUCIÆ*. lib. 11. cap. 8. pag. 200 a 9. Two years after the death of king *James I.* on the 21st day of September, sir *Thomas Boyd* of *Kilmarnock* slew sir *Alan Stewart* of *Derneley* between *Linlithgow* and *Falkirk*, (at *Paislay*, says *Hume*, at *Paumathorne*, 3 miles from *Falkirk*, says *Lindesay*) *per inducias*, i. e. during the truce or capitulation between sir *Alexander Levisston* governor, and sir *William Crichton* chancellor, mentioned a few sentences before; or, if we take the expression *per inducias*, to refer to a transaction between *Boyd* and *Stewart*, who had before been at variance, the meaning will be, that *Stewart* was slain under tryst or capitulation: being sent for by the other and coming to meet him, upon an appointment of agreement to be made betwixt them. *Ruddiman* following the foreign editions, without minding the first, reads *per insidias*. We have the expression *per inducias*, *Sall. Jug. cap. 79*. *Per inducias sponsio-*

*em faciunt.* See *Faber's thesaurus* and *Gellius* 1. 25. for the various etymologies of *induciæ*.

37. INGRATITUDO. *lib. 11. cap. 5. pag. 199. a*  
 8. *Cancellarii avaritia, & crudelitas in omnes, in reginam, & præregem ingratitude graviter incusatur.* *Ruddiman* informs us that tho' few words be now more common than *ingratitude*, yet *Vossius*, *Vorstius*, *Cellarius* and *John Ker* have proved that it was unknown to the antients. *Gratitudo* is used by *Cælius Apicius*, who flourished about the beginning of the second century, for a pleasant or agreeable taste: *ingratitude* by *Julius Firmicus*, who lived about the middle of the 4th, for a disagreeable goût, *lib. 5. Mathes. cap. 1. multos fovendo suscipiet, ac multis vitæ alimenta præstabit, sed erunt circa ipsum ingritudinis vitio inquinati.* And *Cassiodorus*, who was about 2 centuries later, uses the latter word for *indignatio*. But we have both *gratitudo* and *ingratitude* for *gratitude* and *ingratitude* in *Valerius Maximus*, who flourished but about 40 years later than *Livy*. *Vossius* having taken it in his head to condemn the 2 words in question, imagines without any proof, that the *lemmata* of *Valerius* are not genuine; tho' *Olaus Borrichius* in his *cogitationes de variis linguæ Latinæ ætatibus* has proved from *Martial*, that *lemmata*, arguments or titles, were antiently written to books *lib. 14. 2.*

*Lemmata si quæris cur sint adscripta? docebo:*

*Ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas.*

If the former will not do, *Vossius* has another imagination, viz. that *Valerius* seems not always to have studied the purity of language; because he says *mea parvitas*, struck out by *Lipsius*, against the authority of all the copies; tho' one would think *exiguitas* in *Cæsar*, *Cicero* and *Livy* were full as harsh. *John Ker* indeed speaks of *Borrichius* as of opinion that some error has crept into *Valerius Maximus*, because the MSS. vary, that of *Brandenburg* having *de gratis*, *de ingratiss*, where



it is commonly read *de gratitudine, de ingratitudine*. And here the question will be, whether the authority of that one MS. be sufficient to over-balance that of all the rest?

Be it how it will, *Vossius* dares not say that the words in question have any thing in them contrary to the genius of the *Latin* tongue, to analogy or the rules of etymology. The utmost that his quotations from *Cicero* can prove is, that the words were not in use in his time. And *Vossius* himself *de vitiis sermonis, lib. 1. cap. 7.* condemns those *Ciceronians*, who dare not venture to use any word that they have not read in *Cicero*, and who very ridiculously express by more words what they might express by one, tho' unknown to the antients. *Lucretius* complains more than once of the poverty of his native language, *Patrii sermonis egestas*. *Quintilian* who flourished after *Cicero*, finds himself at a loss in several instances to express things in his mother tongue, and thinks it were better to use *Greek* words; and *Cicero* himself calls ingratitude *crimen acharisticas*, which answers to the *Latin* ingratitude. \* As for *Vossius* argument from *Livy's* expression of *Deus testes ingrati ac perfidi animi invocare*, it will equally prove that neither *perfidia* nor *ingratitude* were used in *Livy's* time, tho' we are certain the former was, and at best but uncertain whether *ingratitude* was or was not. See above on *certitudo*.

*M. Ruddiman* has omitted an authority full as considerable perhaps, as any of those he has adduced, viz. that of *Julius Cæsar Scaliger exerc. 317. Sect. 2. Gra-*

\* What worse is *ingratitude* than *ingratificus* in the beginning of a play written by an old poet, quoted by *Cicero* pro Sext. 57. answering to *Xenophon's* *acharisticos*? He is there called *disfortissimus poeta*, and possibly was cotemporary with *Cicero*.

Oingratifici Argivi, inanes Græci, immemores beneficii !  
Q 3 titudo,

*titudo*, says he, is a barbarous word, and not necessary. For the thing itself is not to be found in the souls of mortals. But *ingratitude*, as it is equally barbarous, so it is most necessary for expressing that which is oftner to be found than the sun himself. Yet I doubt not but this great man would have yielded this point to *Buchanan*, whom he calls *verè literatorum Deum*, the *Apollo* of the learned, as *Thuanus* calls *Joseph Scaliger* the son of *Julius*, and as *Cicero* calls *Plato philosophorum Deum*, the prince of philosophers. Of *Julius Scaliger's* great esteem for *Buchanan*, we have very good evidence, not only from his poems, but also from his life in that collection of *William Bates*, which is entituled *vitæ selectorum aliquot virorum*, pag. 413. where we are told, that, during his residence at *Agen*, *Buchanan*, *Tevio* and others were professors in the college of *Guyenne* or university of *Bordeaux*, that every year during the vintage vacancy (the time of vintage having been the vacation time for colleges all along from the days of *St. Augustine*, according to the *Valesiana* pag. 65.) they went in company to *Agen* to visit *Julius Cæsar*, and were entertained at his house; and that he said he had nothing to do with the gout, when he had such guests, with whom he could converse on the subject of literature. *In gymnasio autem Aquitanico Burdigalensi tunc erant Buchananus, Tevius, alii. Ii quotannis feriis vindemialibus Aginnum Julii Cæsaris visendi commeabant, quos & tecto & mensa excipiebat. Negabat enim sibi rem cum podagra esse, quoties tales convivias haberet: quibus cum de literis loqui posset.*

38. JUDICIUM. lib. 14. cap. 57. pag. 278 b 12. On *James Hamilton* sheriff of *L'nithgow*, cousin german to another *James Hamilton* the inquisitor, a bastard brother of the earl of *Arran's*. *Is post diuturnum exilium, cum adversus Jacobum nothum judicium esset professus, impetrato in patriam ad tempus reditu, &c.* "He, the  
"sheriff,

sheriff, after a long exile, because he had given, or having given a cause, passed a decree or sentence, against James the bastard, having obtained leave to come back for a while to his native country, &c." Drummond's account of this matter agrees with Buchanan's, and helps to illustrate it. "The prelates after mature deliberation nominate sir James Hamilton natural son to the earl of Arran to be supreme judge of the inquisition against all suspected of heresy. The king approved their choice. James Hamilton sheriff of Linlithgow, brother to Mr. Patrick Hamilton abbot of Ferme, (who had suffered for religion, and was cousin to sir James Hamilton of Fennard, lord inquisitor) for embracing his brother's opinions, had been forced to leave his own country, and go into banishment some years. Sir James to show his zeal in the Roman faith, and to invest himself in the sheriff's office and lands, and having a pique against him, for pronouncing a sentence by which he was interested in some petty gain; thus ready under pretext of piety to execute his own revenge, the other resolved to prevent his mischief, got him accused as guilty of designs against the king, and upon suspicion of these he was executed." Whether the sheriff had pronounced the sentence before or after his exile, does not certainly appear from this account; but if the rule of the grammarians, viz. that *cum* when put for *quia* is always joined to the indicative mood, be universally true, then we must understand Buchanan as saying, that James the sheriff passed the sentence against James the bastard, after he was returned from banishment. However it is certain that James the inquisitor had a pique against the other for pronouncing that sentence, at what time soever it was passed. *Judicium* in Cicero off. 1. 17. signifies a decree in equity. He says *dare judicium*, as *dare actionem* 4 Verr. 10. *dubium nemini est, quin omnes omnium pecunias positæ*



*positæ sint in eorum potestate qui judicia dant, & eorum qui judicant.* And *pronunciare judicium*, in Pisonem 70. *tum tu ipse de te sententiam tulisti, tum judicium pronunciavisti.* And tho' I have not found the expression *profiteri judicium* in Tully, yet he says *profiteri sententiam*, which is equivalent.

It may therefore be questioned, whether the gentleman who wrote the preface to the last edition of *Buchanan's* history, who addresses himself to the publick under cover of the bookseller's name, and offers a deal of incense to Mr. *Ruddiman*, did well, upon his bare authority, for *judicium* in the passage I have been explaining, to cause print *indicium*. These are the learned critics, it may be supposed, whom M. *Keith* had in his eye, from whose criticism he infers that Mr. *Hamilton*, the sheriff, had obtained licence to come home, on design to accuse sir *James*, and is very angry at *Buchanan* for calling the lord inquisitor a bastard, the only obvious design of which was to distinguish him from the other *James* his cousin. The same *Keith* in the same place advances a most impudent and notorious falsehood, viz. that the sheriff finding the whole censorian power to be lodged in his cousin's hands, and trusting to the bonds of consanguinity, had adventur'd to continue longer in the country than his licence gave him protection. "So, says he, " is the story related by *Drummond*." What he adds from the *miscellanea Scotica*, confirms the explication I have given of *Buchanan's* words, namely that Mr. *Hamilton* never thought himself safe, whilst sir *James* was president of this new court (of the inquisition he does not say, tho' his author does) who tho' his near relation was yet his mortal enemy, because when Mr. *Hamilton* was sheriff, he had given a cause against sir *James*. " He knew, continues the same author, that " sir *James* never forgave what he believ'd was an injury, and would now colour his revenge against his " enemies,

enemies, by the all-atoning name of zeal for the catholic faith." And this is the only colour that *Keith* can have for the numberless calumnies, lies and slanders which he has vented against our reformers and reformed in his dull and scandalous libel, which he has thought fit to dignify with the title of history.

39. LEGATIO for *legatus*. lib. 9. cap. 11. pag. 157.

2. On Edward III. of England's proclaiming and making war with the Scots. *Id autem bellum ut in speciem justum videri posset, legationem misit ad Bervicum repetendum, quod oppidum pater suus atque avus multos annos tenuisset, ac ipse eum (legatum) cum exercitu statim est secutus.* *Ruddiman* strikes out *eum*, pretending no authority for his so doing, but a blind conjecture of his own. He acknowledges the *Edinburgh*, *Geneva* and *Frankfort* editions have *eum*, and that the *Elzevir* editors (like himself, ignorant of the author's moulding the construction according to the sense) have changed *eum* into *eam*: but he very ingeniously supposes the word *cum* to have been twice written by the author's clerk, and afterwards in the former place, turned by the *Edinburgh* editor into *eum*. But that *Ruddiman* by striking out *eum* has defaced this passage, will plainly appear from the following examples taken from the best authors, instead of a vast number that might be adduced. *Liv. lib. 39 c. 33.* *Aliam deinde legationem novam patres, cujus princeps Ap. Claudius fuit, in Macedoniam & in Græciam decreverunt, ad visendum redditaene civitates Rhodiis & Thessaliis & Perræbiis essent. Iisdem mandatum, ut ab Æno & Maronea præsidia deducerentur, maritimæque omnis Thraciæ ora à Philippo & Macedonibus liberaretur. Peloponnesum quoque adire jussi, unde prior legatio discesserat, in tertiore statu rerum, quàm si non venissent.* Here you may observe the construction according to the sense, *iisdem legationi, legatio jussi* and *legatio venissent*; and the construction varied in the same sentence, *legatio discesserat* and

and *legatio venissent*. Nepos Epam. c. 6. *Quum omni-um sociorum* convenissent legati, coram frequentissimo legationum conventu (which John Clarke of Hull renders too literally, before a full assembly of the embassies, instead of the ambassadors) *Lacedæmoniorum tyrannidem* coarguit. Cic. in Verr. *Legationes cum publicis auctoritatibus ac testimoniis venerunt*. If you say that Buchanan immediately adds *legatis responsum*, and therefore must mean more than one ambassador; I answer, without recurring to the figure *enallage*, that in the former sentence he may be understood to mean *princeps legationis*, the principal ambassador, and by *legatis* lets us know that there was one or more that accompanied him. \*

In a note on *lib. 18. cap. 40. pag. 361. a 10.* where we are told that the earl of Murray seeing troubles breeding, in which he loved not to have an hand, after the Q. his sister had married *Bothwell* the murderer of her king and husband, with great difficulty obtained leave of her to travel, as Mr. *Thomas Crawford* has rightly rendered the words *liberam legationem expugnavit*; *Ruddiman* gives us an explication of *libera legatio* with a quotation from *Ulpian*, and refers us to *Hotoman* for a large dissertation on that subject. But, in my humble opinion, he had done as well, for ordinary readers at least, to have turned Mr. *Crawford's English* into plain ordinary *Latin*.

40. LUX. *lib. 1. cap. 33. pag. 13. d 10.* where we are told that the greater part of the inhabitants of the

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\* In *Horace*, 4 *Sat. lib. 1 v. 33, 4.* there is a transition from the plural to the singular.

*Omnes hi metuumt versus, odere poëtas.*

*Fœnum habet in cornu, longè fuge:—*

*Bentley* reads *odere poetam*, because the singular number follows; but, says *Dacier*, this is not necessary. *Horace* might say *poetas* in the general, and afterwards descend to the particular.

*Æbuda*



*Fludæ* or western isles in *Buchanan's* time wore tartan plaids of a dark or dusky colour, resembling that of the hether as near as possible, to prevent their being discovered by the bright or lively colour of their clothes, when lying in the moors, among the hether bushes, *ne in ericetis rubantes luce florida vestis agnosci possint*; so all the editions have it, but upon the authority of the MS. *Ruddiman* reads *luce florida vestis*, by the brightness or colour of their bright or lively garment; you see it does not translate so well as the other way. I take *lux* here to signify colour as in that of *Mamilius*, *Tyrias imitata papavera luges*. And *Pliny* 35. 6. has *floridus color*.

41. MAGISTRATUS. lib. 18. cap. 47. pag. 363.

3. *Id quò facilius intelligant, eam in presentia veniam, omnium præteritorum oblivionem polliceri, ac sanctè spondere, nemini fraudi fore, quòd adversus supremum magistratum arma sumpssissent*. One would think it were abundantly plain that *supremum magistratum* meant *supreme magistrature*, and not *supreme magistracy*; or, if the meaning were any way doubtful, it is sufficiently ascertained by the earl of *Morton's* answer which follows immediately, *non se adversus reginam, sed regis interfec- torum arma induisse*: that they had not taken up arms against the queen, but against the murderer of the king. Can any thing be plainer, than that by *magistratum* is to be understood the queen's person, not her power or office? And yet see with what profound learning and great sense *Ruddiman* comments on this passage. Some may possibly think, says he, that it should have been said *supremam*, a woman at that time being at the head of affairs: but it ought to be observed, that the word *magistratus* may be ranked in the class of those nouns which the grammarians call *Epitæne*, in which no regard almost is had to sex. "Perhaps too *Buchanan* meant here to express, not so much the person having the power, as the power itself." i. e. the Scots took

took up arms not against the *supreme magistrate*, but against the *supreme magistracy*. How senseless soever this remark appears to be, *Robert Keith* has advanced the same absurdity in his note on the admonition emitted by Mr. *John Spotswood* superintendent of *Lothian* after *Q. Mary's* escape from the prison of *Lochleven*, "that  
 " most wicked woman, who ambitiously, cruelly and  
 " most unjustly, hath aspired, and yet aspireth to that  
 " regiment, wherefrom, for impieties committed, most  
 " justly, and by such order as no law can reprove, she  
 " was deposed." By the history of the time, and the acknowledgment of this letter, says *Keith*, it would seem the greatest number of the kingdom thought the magistracy not lawful; because they thought that most wicked woman, that for her violation of all the laws of nature deserved ten deaths, unworthy of the office of supreme magistrate.

42. MANCIPIUM. *Jephth.* pag. 2. chor. v. 18. — *timidi mancipium sumus Ammonis*, for *mancipia* says *Ruddiman*; which he thinks uncommon: but it is no more so perhaps than *servitium* for *servitia*, slaves, in *Cicero* 7. *Verr.* 7. *Nulline motus in Sicilia servorum Verr. pratore.* And a little after, *Et tamen ceptum esse in Sicilia moveri aliquot locis servitium suspicor.*

43. MEDIUM. *hist. lib. 1. cap. 24. pag. 10. e 2* *Taichia, à Taicho fluvio qui medium secatur, nomen adeptus* *Ruddiman* without pretending any reason or authority (for he says nothing about it in his notes) reads *mediam*. I suppose to make the author, who was all for variety uniform; because in other places he has *mediam* secatur. In *Faber's Thesaurus*, revised, corrected and enlarged by *Jo. Matthias Gesner*, we are assured that *medium* is put substantively in various significations; as in *medium afferre, proferre, consulere*; where *locus* is understood, and in these expressions in *medium producere*, in *medio ponere* (he might have added that the antients said in *medium relinquere*).

*relinquere, de medio tollere, è medio excedere, pellere*; that *Cic. Tusc. I. 17.* has *in medio mundi terra sita est*, where *Gronovius* reads *mundo* and others *mundi loco*; and lastly, that *Livy* is quoted as having said *medium diei* 27. 49, but that he could not find the place, and is in doubt about it; but if he had looked a little forward to the beginning of *cap. 51*, he would have had his doubt removed; for there we read *Et jam diei medium erat*. *Ca-tullus* says *per medium densi populi*. *Tac. I. 64.* *medium campi*, and in other places *medium montium, paludum*. Possibly if *Ruddiman* were giving us an edition of *Horace*, he would read *media* for *medium*, *epist. I. 18. 9.* *virtus est medium vitiorum utrimque reductum*: because the meaning is, *media inter duo vitia extrema*.

44. *MCENIA. De jure regni cap. 9. pag. 4. l. 17.* *Buchanan* asks *Mr. Thomas Maitland* his collocutor whether living in solitude or in society be more agreeable to nature? *Maitland* answers in five lines, as it were all in verse, three from different authors, without naming them, and two of his own, for connexion.

*cætus hominum procul dubio,  
Quos ipsa utilitas justæ prope mater, & æqui  
primum congregavit, ac jussit  
Communi dare signa tubæ, defendier iisdem  
mcenibus, atque una portarum clave teneri.*

*Ruddiman*, that he might improve his author (who borrowed the two last lines from *Juvenal Sat. 15. v. 157, 8.*) into all possible perfection, reads *turribus*, instead of which says he, *Buchanan* trusting too much to his memory it seems, has put *mcenibus*. Is he perfectly sure of this? or tho' he were, was it such a deadly sin to substitute a synonymous word in place of that of his author? *Maenia* frequently signifies the works or fences of a town, castle, city, camp, &c. *Dividimus muros, & mcæ-*



*nia pandimus urbis*, Virg. *Æn.* 2, 234. *Cum pene in ædificata in muris ab exercitu nostro mœnia viderentur*, Cæsar. *B. C.* 2. 16. *Zama est civitas Afrorum, cujus mœnia rex Juba duplici muro sepfit*, Vitruv. 8. 4. Cicero has *urbem mœnibus cingere, sepire, mœnia dejicere, promovere*. Pomponius takes *muri* for a stone wall incompassing the town and *mœnia* for the works and fences. Sometimes *mœnia* is put for the buildings, for the cities or towns. And *turris* is frequently used by the poets for houses higher than ordinary, as *stat ferrea turris ad auras*, Virg. *Florus* 3. 26. has *turres faxæ* for trophies or monuments of victory. So that *mœnia* seems full as proper a word as *turres*. Nor is Mr. Ruddiman absolutely sure but that might have been the reading in that copy of *Juvenal* which *Buchanan* made use of; and tho' he were, he has but done the half of his work; for the line in *Horace*, *Sat. lib.* 1. 3. 98. is thus,

Atque ipsa utilitas justæ prope mater & æqui;  
And if *Ruddiman's* rule were to be followed to the utmost, that is that in quoting authors, one ought to recite every word precisely as it is in the original; he ought for *quos* to have read *atque*, which would have made this passage, as he has made some others, staring nonsense.

45. NECESSITUDO. *detect.* pag. 1. l. 28. for *necessitas*, *necessity*, in which signification it is often used by *Sallust* and *Tacitus*, but adds *Ruddiman*, by other writers, most frequently by far for *kindred by blood* or *friendship*. Admit it were so, this sufficiently justifies *Buchanan's* use of it in one place in that less usual sense. But did not our critic know that *necessitudo* is frequently used for *necessity* by the author *ad Herennium*; by *Cicero de Invent.* 2. 57. where he defines it thus, *necessitudo est, cui nulla vi resisti potest, quæ neque mutari neque leniri potest*. *Hujus modi necessitudines cum incident*, &c. by *Varro*, by *Velleius* 2. 50. *reddita ratione miserrimæ necessitudinis*

this by *Pliny* *epist.* 1? Did he not know that *Cæsar* *B. C.* 1. 8. uses *necessitas* for the tie of relation or band of friendship, *semper se reip. commoda privatis necessitatibus habuisse potiora*; and the orator for the *Bithynians* in *Gellius* 5. 13. ext. *vel pro hospitio regis Nicomedis; vel pro horum necessitate quorum res agitur, refugere hoc munus non potui*; and *Cicero* himself *pro Sulla* cap. 1. *si nostram accusatione sua necessitatem familiaritatemque violasset?* Lastly could *M. Ruddiman* be ignorant that *Gellius* 13. 3. ridicules such grammarians as assert that there is a wide difference between *necessitudo* and *necessitas*? For, says he, as it is of no importance in the world whether you say *suavitudo* or *suavitas*, *sanctitudo* or *sanctitas*, *acerbitudo* or *acerbitas*, *acritudo*, or as *Accius* wrote in *Neoptolema*, *acritas*; so no reason can be given why *necessitudo* and *necessitas* should be distinguished. And accordingly in the books of the antients, you may commonly find *necessitudo* for *necessitas*. *Necessitas* indeed is seldom used for relation, tho' such as are related by blood or affinity are called *necessarii*. Yet in an oration of *C. Cæsar* for the *rogatio Plautia*, I have found *necessitas* for *necessitudo*, that is for affinity. The words are these: *equidem mihi videor pro nostra necessitate non labore, non opera, non industria defuisse*. He concludes with a quotation from the 4th book of *Sempronius Asellio's* history, concerning *P. Africanus* the son of *Paulus*, which put *Gellius* in mind to write of the promiscuous use of *necessitas* and *necessitudo*. *Nam se patrem suum audivisse dicere L. Æmiliū Paulum, nimis bonum imperatorem signis collatis non decertare, nisi summa necessitudo aut summa occasio data esset*.

46. NEPOS. lib. 7. cap. 18. pag. 116. d 10. *Voldiosus Sibardi filius* (for *Voldiosus filius*) *receptis bonis paternis, in affinitatem etiam regiam ascitus accepta uxore nepte regis ex filia*. *Ibid.* cap. 27. pag. 119. d 10. *Dad uxorem accepit Matildem propinquam suam*. *Erat*

*enim ei pater Voldiosus* (again for *Voldiosus*) *Northumbria comes* : mater *Juditha Gulielmi Normani neptis*. On this last passage *Ruddiman* observes, from *Dugdale*, that *Judith* the wife of *Voldiosus* (as *Buchanan* calls him after *Fordon*) or rather *Valthevus* (because the *English* call him *Waltheaf* or *Walthoff*, which is like many other of his important remarks) was not *William* the conqueror's grand-daughter, but the daughter of *Maud* his sister by the same mother and *Lambert Lensus* ; and that consequently *David I*, king of *Scotland*, was great-grand-son of *Siward* earl of *Northumberland*, and his wife his grand-daughter. On the former passage we are told, that the writers of that age using the word *neptis* not for the son's or daughter's daughter, as they ought to have done, but generally for the brother's or sister's daughter, have misled *Buchanan* ; just as they have abused the word *nepos* for a brother's or sister's son. But *Ruddiman* has imposed both on himself and his readers, by supposing that none but the writers of the barbarous ages have used *nepos* for nephew. For *Justin* does so 39. 2. where speaking of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, called *Physcon* by reason of his great belly, he has these words, *mittit ingentia Grypo auxilia, & filiam Tryphænam Grypo nupturam, ut populos in auxilium nepotis, non societate tantum belli, verum & affinitate sua sollicitaret* : which Mr. *Clarke* not without reason translates thus ; “ He sends great assistance to “ *Grypus*, and his daughter *Tryphæna* to marry *Grypus* ; “ that he might draw over the people to the assistance of “ his nephew, not only by his alliance in the war, but his “ affinity with him.” According to Dr. *Prideaux*, *Antioch. Grypus* (a name taken from his hook-nose) was the son of *Demetrius Nicator* (i. e. the conqueror) king of *Syria* and *Cleopatra Ptolemy Physcon's* niece. See the connection of the hist. of the old and new testament part 2. books 3, 4, 5. particularly on the years before *Christ* 123 and 122. So that according to this account, supported by *Justin's* authority



authority, *Grypus* was *Phyſcon's* grand-nephew. If *Rud-*  
*diman* ſhould except againſt *Juſtin*, becauſe he wrote in  
 what they call the braſen age, paſſing the *Civilians*, I  
 have a more expreſs authority from *Ovid* who lived in  
 the age of *Auguſtus*, *Cæſar* ab *Ænea* eſt qui tibi fratre  
*nepos*, *de Ponto* 3. 3. 62. Some have objected to this  
 paſſage, that the author was a poet ; which ſignifies no-  
 thing, unleſs they could prove that *nepos* is a term pecu-  
 liar to the poets. There is another example from *Plau-*  
*tus Amphitr.* act. 4. Sc. 5. *Ego idem ille ſum Amphitruo*,  
*Gorgophones nepos, imperator Thebanorum* ; *Voffius* ac-  
 knowledges that *Gorgophone* was not *Amphitruo's* grand-  
 mother, but his father's ſiſter, ſiſter of *Alceus*, father of  
*Hercules* ; but he pretends that this paſſage was not  
 written by *Plautus*, becauſe the three ſcenes which in  
 moſt copies do immediately follow the 2d ſcene of the  
 4th act, are not like *Plautus's* ſtyle, being more bombast :  
 to which he might have added that they are not to be  
 found in the antient MSS. However he acknowledges  
 that they have been written by ſome antient author, tho'  
 later than *Plautus*, which is ſufficient for my purpoſe ;  
 without inquiring how far *Voffius's* authority or taſte may  
 be relied on.

By the account which *Gellius* 3. 3. has given us of  
 the genuine writings of *Plautus* and of ſuch as have  
 been fathered on him, which becauſe it is ſomewhat  
 curious, I have ſet down, it appears, that inſtead of the  
 25 plays which he wrote, we have but 20, and that  
 ſuch as have been falſly aſcribed to him, were written  
 by poets more antient than himſelf, and by him reviſed  
 and corrected. *Fretum*, ſays *Gellius*, a comedy ſo in-  
 titled, is one of the moſt genuine productions of *Plau-*  
*tu*, tho' ſome think it is not his. *M. Varro*, in his  
 treatiſe *de comædiis Plautinis*, ſays, neither *Gemini* nor  
*Leones* nor *Condacium* nor *Annus* nor *bis compreſſa* were e-  
 ver *Plautus's*, nor yet *Agroicos* nor *Commorientes* ; but

the work of *M. Acuticus*. The same *Varro* in the same book says, there was one *Plautius* a comedian, whose plays because they were intituled *Plauti*, were taken for those of *Plautus*, and that about 130 comedies went under *Plautus's* name. But *L. Ælius*, a deep learned man, was of opinion that there were only 25 really composed by *Plautus*. Yet there is no doubt but these plays, and those which are thought not to have been written by *Plautus* and go under his name, were the production of antient poets, and retouched and polished by him, and therefore resemble his diction. But, concludes *Gellius*, *Varro* and most others have related, that *Saturio* and *Addictus*, and a 3d, the name of which I don't remember, were written by him in the bake-house, where he was fain for his living to grind corn in turning a hand-mill.

47. NIL. *epigr. lib. 2. 28.* of the *Justa*, on *Diana*, says *Buchanan*, *Omnia quæ rapuit, tandem nil amplius optat.* *Horace* to *Lollius lib. 1. epist. 2. v. 46.* says, *Quod satis est, cui contingit, nihil amplius optet.* After comparing these two passages together, *Ruddiman* gives us a criticism that is worth something. He asks whether in *Buchanan* we should read *nihil amplius*? But how did he omit to ask whether we should read *optet*? I should have taken no notice of this important emendation proposed, had it not been to give one instance, among a vast number, of his executing his undertaking of giving us an accurate edition of *Buchanan's* poems, as well as of his other works, in a very careless manner; for in the edition of 1594, which he tells us he has seen, it is *nihil amplius optat*: otherwise I should have passed over his important question with repeating the maxim of *Lucretius* the *Epicurean*, 1. 206.

*Nil igitur fieri de nilo posse fatendum est.*

48. NOXIA. *Dialog. de jure regni, cap. 42. p. 20*  
 l. 27. *Verborum enim per se naturam si consideres, noxia caret.*

care, i. e. culpa, says Ruddiman, who quotes Servius on Virg. *Æneid.* 1. 45. stating the difference between *noxā* and *noxia*, that *noxia* is the fault or transgression, and *noxā* the punishment : he ought to have added, that Fronto says the direct contrary, viz. that *noxā* signifies the fault or offence, and *noxia* the punishment of the fault : but that Valla lib. 6. after Donatus, contends that *noxā* and *noxia* are taken for the same thing ; and that the latter on Ter. Phorm. 1. 4. 47. *Meministi' olim, ut fuerit vestra oratio, In re incipiunda ad defendendam noxiā*, observes that *noxia* sometimes signifies the fault, sometimes the punishment, and that *noxia* is for *noxā* by the figure *epenthesis* for the sake of the *Iambus*. Buchanan's meaning in the sentence above cited is, that words considered in themselves and in their own nature are perfectly harmless. And that *noxā* is used in the same sense as he uses *noxia*, will appear from the following examples, Colum. 1. 6. *à noxa curculionum fruges defendere*. Celsus 7. 26. *eodem unco sine ulla noxa educitur*. Seneca epist. 9. *Sine noxa per medios ignes transire*. Tac. Ann. 15. 34. 1. *Sine ullius noxa theatrum collapsum est*. Again *noxā* signifies a fault, as Liv. 3. *ab urbe* 175. *Alia omnis penes milites noxa erat, qui ne quid ductu atque auspicio Decemvirorum prosperè usquam gereretur, vinci se per suum atque illorum dedecus patiebantur*. Id. *at quam ob noxam ? i. e. propter quam culpam*. Hic in *noxā* est, *ille ad defendendam causam adest*. Ter. Phorm. 1. 5. 36. More examples of this kind from Livy, Cicero, Quintilian, Sueton, Ovid, &c. may be seen in Robert Stephen's *Thesaurus*, who notwithstanding is of opinion that you will seldom find *noxia* written for *noxā*, that is for the punishment of a crime. But upon the whole, as both are derived *à nocendo*, and both signify any kind of hurt or harm, the difference between them does not appear to be a very great deal wider than that which is between *nil* and *nihil* or *nilum* and *nibilum*. i. e. *ne bilyum quidem*.



49. NUPTIÆ. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 20. p. 247. 67.  
 Three years after the match between *James IV.* king of *Scotland*, and *Margaret*, elder daughter of *Henry VII* king of *England*, was proposed by *Richard Fox*, bishop of *Durham*, they were contracted in 1500, much about the same time that *Catherine*, daughter of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* was betrothed to *Arthur*, *Henry's* eldest son. And two years after *James IV's* marriage was solemnized with great pomp and parade. Here, because *Ruddiman* has not only grossly misunderstood this passage, but also, after the foreign editions, pointed it wrong, I shall give it as it stands in the first edition. *Ita demum tertio post anno, qui fuit millesimus quingentesimus, iisdem ferè diebus, Margarita, Henrici natu major filia, Jacobo quarto, & Catharina Ferdinandi Hispani filia Arcturo Henrici primogenito desponsa fuit.* Nuptiæ altero post anno magno apparatu celebratæ fuerunt. *Ruddiman* blends both these sentences into one, by putting a colon after *fuit*, where the first of them ends; and then he gives us the following note, that *Buchanan* has here committed more mistakes than one, which must be two at least, and which are both of his own making; and goes on to prove that the contract was drawn up in form by the ambassadors of both kings at *Richmond* 4th *January* 150½ by which it was agreed, 1. That *James* king of *Scots* should contract marriage with *Margaret* of *England* betwixt and the feast of the purification of the virgin *Mary* next to come. 2. That the marriage should be solemnized about the beginning of *September* 1503; which accordingly was done the 8th of *August*; and that *Arthur*, *Henry's* eldest son, married *Catharine* of *Spain*, who was betrothed to him before, on the 14th of *November* 1501: so that there was an interval of two years between these two marriages. Every school-boy knows that *nuptiæ* is one of those *beteroclite* words, as the grammarians call them, which wanting the singular,

ar, signify but one thing in the plural number. And nothing but *Ruddiman's* idle head could have imagined that *Buchanan* meant to speak of two marriages, as he does of two contracts, or of any other marriage but that of *James IV*, whose history he was writing. He never meddles, unless it be in passing, with the history of *England*, but where it is necessarily connected with the affairs of his own country. Nor should we have heard from him of prince *Arthur's* contract with *Catharine of Arragon*, if it had not happened near the time of that of his sister with the king of *Scotland*. Accordingly without taking any farther notice of *English* affairs, he goes on with *James's* history, adding immediately after the two sentences I have quoted, *Secundum nuptias, rebus tranquillis, aulaque à studio armorum ad lusus & lasciviam conversas, &c.* *Ruddiman* confounds every thing. *Buchanan* does not mean the time when the ambassadors of the two kings drew up the articles of the contract of marriage between *James* and *Margaret* in writing, but the time when the terms of the marriage were agreed on, which *Rapin* shows from the publick records was in 1500, and that the *Pope's* dispensation was granted 28th of *July* that year. *Ruddiman* likewise, as in other places, mistakes the meaning of *altero post anno*, which is, *two full years after*, excluding the two extremes, that is 1500, in which the marriage was agreed on and the *Pope's* dispensation obtained, and 1503 in which it was both solemnized and consummated in *Scotland*. So far is *Buchanan* from placing the contract of *James IV* too early, that *Rapin* censures both him and lord *Bacon* the historian of *Henry VII*, for placing it too late, and for affirming, as he represents it, that the first overture of the marriage was made during the negotiation 1499, whereby the king of *Scotland* demanded satisfaction for the *English* killing some of his subjects at *Norham*, and that *James* himself proposed it to *Fox* bishop of *Durham*.

ham. Whereas, adds he, it appears in the collection of *publick acts*, that above four years before *Henry* had projected this marriage, and probably caused it to be suggested to the king of *Scotland*, by some indirect means. But there is no inconsistency. *Rapin's* remark proves no more but this, that *Buchanan* and *Bacon* do not say all that he has been able to say by the help of the collection of *publick acts*. *Buchanan* says expressly that *For* bishop of *Durham* acquainted king *Henry* before hand of his interview with king *James*, and obtained his consent thereto. *Margaret's* tender age, who only entered her 13th year, 29th *November* 1501, was the reason why her father made so little haste to finish the affair of her marriage. *Lesly* says, *Robert Blackatar* archbishop of *Glasgow* and *Adam* (whom *Abercrombie*, from the *fœdera*, calls *Patrick*) *Hepburn* earl of *Bothwell* married her publicly at *St. Paul's* cross at *London* on *St. Paul's* day the 25th of *January* 1502, as proxies for their master. A sentence after, he has these words, *nuptiis perfolutis, legati revertuntur in Scotiam* : and after an account of *Margaret's* being conducted to the borders of *Scotland* and delivered to her husband in 1503, *Rex postero die, quo Edinburgum ingressus est, nuptias curandas jubet : quibus solenni ritu publicè celebratis epulis exquisitissimè extructis, &c.* This account agrees well enough with the publick records, which inform us concerning the last agreement about the marriage which was drawn up in writing the 24th (and not merely on the 4th as *Rudiman* from *Abercrombie* would tempt us to think) of *January* 1502, that two of the articles were, that the marriage should be performed *per verba de præsenti* about the feast of purification ; but *James* should not think of having *Margaret* in his hands till *September* 1, 1503. That then *Henry* should cause her to be conducted, at his expense, to the borders of the two kingdoms. And *Hall* says the marriage was consummated in *September*, according



according to agreement. It may further be observed that *Lefly* calls *James's* marrying his wife by proxy in 1502, by the term *nuptiæ*, and his solemnizing it next year in his own kingdom by the same term : out of which *Ruddiman* might with more colour have made two marriages of the same couple, than the marriage of two different pair out of *Buchanan's* words. If you say that *Ruddiman's* first mispointing the above cited passage from *Buchanan*, and then, contrary to the author's obvious meaning, making him speak of two marriages instead of one, looks rather like design than ignorance or inattention : you make him lose in point of honesty just as much as he gains in point of knowledge.

50. OBSES. lib. 7. cap. 47. pag. 125. c. 2. During the captivity of *William* king of *Scots*, *David* his brother earl of *Huntington* and *Garioch*, who served at that time in the army of *Henry II.* king of *England* having obtained a furlow, passport or safe conduct, returned into *Scotland*; and having settled affairs as quietly and peaceably as present circumstances would permit, he caused ambassadors to be sent into *England* about his brother's release, who at that time was kept prisoner at *Falaise* in *Normandy*. The king having delivered 15 hostages (*quindecim obsidibus*) to the king of *England*, and the four castles of *Roxburgh*, *Berwick*, *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* was allowed to return home about the beginning of *February*. He himself (*William*) with his *grandeës* and bishops being summoned by the king of *England* to attend him at *York*, came thither about the 15th of *August*; where with all his subjects that were present, (now the principal of the nobility were present) they swore fealty to *Henry*, put the kingdom of *Scotland* under his protection, and became his vassals. This is *Buchanan's* account taken both from the *Scots* and *English* historians, upon which *Ruddiman* gives us two notes : the first, that from the convention itself, which we have in  
Rymer's

*Rymer's fœd. Ang. Tom. i. pag. 39.* it appears that there were 21 hostages given; and among them *David William's* brother: the second that, according to the foresaid convention, there were five castles delivered to the king of *England*, that is the castle of *Jedburgh*, over and above those mentioned by *Buchanan*. To shew you that *Ruddiman* neither knows the use nor meaning of *Rymer's fœdera*, I will here give the substance of the record to which he refers. It is dated at *Falaise*, without any mention of day, month or year, tho' *Rymer* has placed it under 1174. By it *William* king of *Scots* swears fealty to *Henry* of *England* and does homage to him and king *Henry* his son: so did *Richard* bishop of *St. Andrews*, *Richard* bishop of *Dunkeldyn*, *Geoffrey* abbat of *Dunfermelyn*, and *Herbert* prior of *Coldingham* (who together with the king of *Scotland*, his brother *David*, his barons and other subjects present bound themselves that the church of *Scotland* should in time to come be as much subjected to that of *England* as it was in times past, which signified nothing; and) who became sureties that the rest of the clergy and their successors should do as they had done to *Henry* and his son and heirs. The earls, barons and other men of *Scotland*, such of whom *Henry* should be pleased to exact it (*de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit*) and their heirs, as well as *William's*, were to swear fealty and do homage to *Henry* as their liege lord and to his heirs. No *Englishman* fugitive for felony to be received and entertained in *Scotland* nor *Scotsman* in *England*. The subjects of both kingdoms to possess the lands they possessed before in both. For the strict observing and executing of this convention and agreement, *William* was to deliver to *Henry* the five castles abovenamed in *miseritordia domini regis*, at the mercy of the lord king, and to assign out of his revenue a proportional sum for keeping them at the same lord king's will, *ad voluntatem domini regis*. Farther *Wil-*  
liam

am delivered to *Henry* his brother *David*, in *obsidem*, as  
 guarantee for the performance of the above articles, and  
 earl *Duncan* and earl *Waldenus* and earl *Gilbert*, and the  
 earl of *Aneguz*, and *Richard de Moreville* constable, and  
*Nix* son of *William*, *Richard Comyn*, *Walter Corbet*, *Wal-*  
*ter Olyfard*, *John de Valz*, *William de Lyndeseye*, *Philip*  
*de Colevill*, *Philip de Valoignes*, *Robert Frembert*, *Robert*  
*de Burneville*, *Hugh Gyffard*, *Hugh Rydal*, *Walter de*  
*Berkele*, *William de la Haye*, and *William de Mortemer*.  
 Upon the delivery of the castles, *William* king of *Scot-*  
*land* and his brother *David* were to be released; and  
 the forenamed earls and barons, after they had delivered  
 each *obsidem suum*, his hostage, viz. his lawful son who  
 any had, and others *nepotes suos* their grand-sons or near-  
 est heirs, and when the castles were delivered, as said is.  
 Farther *William* and his fore-named barons *asscurave-*  
*rumt* became sureties, that the bishops and barons and  
 men of *Scotland* that were not present at the making of  
 this agreement should do the same liegeance and fealty  
 to king *Henry* and his son *Henry*, as they themselves had  
 done, and that the barons and men that were present,  
*obsides liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit*,  
 should deliver hostages to the lord king of such as he  
 shall be pleased to take. Farther, the bishops, earls and  
 barons promised that if *William* should in any case re-  
 ceede from the fealty of K. *Henry* and his son, and from  
 this convention, they should hold with *Henry* as their  
 liege lord, against the king of *Scotland*. Lastly, the king  
 of *Scotland* himself, his brother *David* and all his barons  
 before named, became sureties or guarantees (*asscuravit*  
*ipse rex Scotiae, David frater suus, & omnes barones sui*  
*prænominati*) for the punctual observation of the fore-  
 said convention. The use of *Rymer's fœdera* with re-  
 spect to us, is to illustrate and support the history of our  
 nation, and not to ruin the credit either of it or our hi-  
 storians. From the convention between *William* and  
 S Henry



*Henry*, of which I have given so full an abstract, we learn the very hard terms on which the former was to be released, to which nothing but the most ardent desire of being out of captivity and his subjects fondness for so excellent a prince, could have induced him and them to subject themselves ; and that *Henry* had it in his power not to insist on the rigorous execution of every article of the agreement. The five castles were to be at his will and mercy, and he had it in his option what number of hostages he was to demand, which cannot be ascertained by the record, wherein the word *ob-*  
*ses* is taken in two different significations, either for an *hostage* whose person is laid in pledge, or for a *guarantee*, who pledges his faith or honour for the performance of articles agreed on. In the former sense, *William* and his brother *David* may be said to have been pledges for the delivering of the castles, since as soon as this article was performed, they were both to be set at liberty : and tho' *Henry II.* was excessive haughty, of an immeasurable ambition as well as boundless lust, yet he was possessed of a good many virtues, of which, generosity was none of the least ; which makes it probable, that when this part of the convention came to be executed, he would be contented with the four castles mentioned by *Buchanan* ; and this reconciles his account with the record published by *Rymer*. King *William* and his brother could only pledge their honour for the performance of the rest of the conditions. The *Scots* nobility and barons who were present at the making of the convention were hostages for the above article, and for all the other, no longer than the castles were undelivered, and their heirs, as many as *Henry* should be pleased to require. After this they were mere guarantees, that is, only their faith and honour was engaged for the execution of the remaining articles of the agreement.

That

That *obses* signifies a *guarantee* in the conventions between *Henry I of England* and *Robert count of Flanders* in 1101, which we have in the beginning of the first volume of the *Fœdera*, is very plain, and has been observed by *Rapin* in his abridgment: and that in the best authors it is taken for any *pledge* or *security* will appear from the following examples, *Ovid epist.* 2. 34. speaking of *Hymenæus*, *Qui mihi conjugii sponfor & obses erat.* *Cic. Catil.* 4. 5. *Habemus à Cæsare sententiam, tanquam obsidem perpetuæ in temp. voluntatis.* *Id. pro Cælio* 32. *vel obsides periculi, vel pignora voluntatis.* *Nep. Phocion.* 2. *seque ejus rei obsidem fore pollicitus*, and promised he would be *security*, *would engage*, *warrant* that the city of *Athens* should not be deprived of its provisions.

We need not wonder at *Ruddiman's* mistaking the meaning and use of *Rymer's fœdera*; for we have a palpable evidence from his note on *lib. 8. cap. 56. pag. 152.* b 11. where he proves *Buchanan* to be in the right, and *Knighton* and other *English* historians in a mistake, that he has read that collection but by halves. He says it appears from the *publick acts*, tom. IV. *pag. 445*, and 462. that, in the treaty of peace made between *Robert Bruce* and *Edward III.* in 1328, the *Scots* promised to pay 30,000 merks to the king of *England*, and that the last 10,000 were paid before the 10th of *January 1331*, confounding the date of the acquittance with the term of payment. Had he but looked upon the very next page 463, without turning the leaf, he would have seen that *Edward III* assigned the 10,000 merks sterl. which were not payable before the feast of the nativity of *St. John Baptist*, i. e. *June 24th 1331*, to *Dinus Forcetti*, *Peter Reyner*, *Bartholomew de Barde*, and *Loterius Johannis* and company, merchants *de societate Bardorum de Florentia*, from whom *David Bruce* was to receive *Edward's* acquittance, and whom, two days after the date

of the acquittance, *Edward* recommends to *David's* special affection, for kind admittance and favourably expediting of their affairs when they chanced to come in to *Scotland*. And as the last 10,000 merks were payable 24th *June* 1331, so it appears from the same public acts, that the first ten were payable *June* 24th 1329, and the second ten 24th *June* 1330, and that *Edward* III did not demand or expect payment of the last 10,000 before the sum was due.

51. OPPIDUM. *lib. I. cap. 25. pag. II. c. 2.* The country of *Mernis* is champaign and level in a great measure, till you pass *Fordun* (*ultra Fordunum*) and *Dunnotter* a castle of the earl *Marshall's* in going northward, and come to the *Grampian* hills, which by degrees lower themselves and sink down into the sea. *Ruddiman* informs us that after the word *Fordunum* the MS. adds *oppidum*, which he thinks not amiss. But it would seem that *Buchanan*, by razing it out of his work, was of another mind. *Oppidum*, according to *Valla*, is every *urbs* except *Rome*, which when it began to be called *urbs* by a peculiar name, was the cause that other *urbs* were called *oppida*. Hence *oppidum* and *urbs* are used indifferently by *Plautus* and the best writers. *Ruddiman*, by calling *Fordun*, a country village or kirktown at best, by the name *oppidulum* in his *nomenclatura*, would give room to suspect that he did not think it deserved the name of *oppidum*: and how does he know but *Buchanan*, in putting his last hand to his history, meant here to express a gentleman's seat, to which he joins *Dunnotter*, a nobleman's castle, as more conspicuous than a village?

52. OPUS. In the dedication, *Buchanan* tells his pupil *James VI*, that all his friends, as if they had conspired together, united in persuading him to lay aside his poems, pieces of no great consequence, (or of less importance than history,) which rather pleased the ear than



than informed the understanding, and to apply himself to write the history of our nation, *ut ab levioris operis libellis*——*me ad historiam nostræ gentis conscribendam conferrem.* Ruddiman, without pretending any other authority but that of Mr. Andrew Melvin, reads *levioris operæ libellis.* Burman, with reason, doubts whether this correction be according to Buchanan's mind: "for," says he, as *Pompeius* is said by *Justin* in his preface, "in having undertaken to write history, *magni operis rem aggressus* (on which see the notes of *Gronovius* and *Grævius*) so *levioris operis libelli* are poems and other writings which are *levia*, of small consequence," see my notes on *Phædr.* IV. I *Pliny* indeed in his preface calls his books *levioris operæ libellos*: whom *Buchanan* might have imitated, but he might also have departed from him, as all the editions evince." Ruddiman replies, that tho' *levioris operis* may be defended, yet he hardly doubts but *Buchanan* wrote *levioris operæ libellis*, in imitation of *Pliny*, who uses the very same phrase, as *Burman* himself observes. *Mææ temeritati accessit hoc quoque, quod levioris operæ hos tibi dedi-avi libellos.* Ruddiman seems intirely to have forgotten what he says in the same MS. reply to *Burman*, viz. that what is to be found in all the editions has probably been written by *Buchanan*, and likewise what he says in his printed notes, viz. that the reading of all the editions ought to be retained, tho' *Crawford* and *Ruddiman* think another reading preferable, and that it ought not to be altered, if it be but tolerable, see *canons of criticism speculative*, pag. 114, 115. And lastly, *Ruddiman* here, as on most of the passages corrected by him, seems to have quite lost sight of *Buchanan*'s character as an original genius drawn by himself, namely, that he borrowed the most apposite phrases and various ways of speaking from the best of the *Roman* authors, not in a servile manner, but so as that every where they appear

not to have been borrowed from others, but to have been peculiarly his own. See chap. II. pag. 80.

For the promiscuous use of *opus* and *opera*, and the distinction between them, if there be any real one, take the following examples, and sentiments of critics. *Seneca de tranquill. animi cap. 15. in postmeridianas horas aliquid levioris operæ distulerunt.* *Id. de consolatione ad Helviam matrem, cap. 17. in his account of himself and his employment during his exile. Sunt optimæ [res,] quum animus omnis cogitationis expers operibus suis vacat, & modo se levioribus studiis [meaning poetry and the belles lettres] oblectat, modo ad considerandam suam universique naturam, veri avidus insurgit.* *Liv. 5. 5. Vallum fossamque, ingentis utramque rem operis, per tantum spatii duxerunt.* *Cic. Tusc. lib. 2. labor, est functio quædam vel animi, vel corporis gravioris operis & muneris.* Thus *Cicero* omni opere laborare, and *Pliny*, with all earnestness, with the utmost endeavour. Thus *quanto opere, summo, maximo, magna opere*, which have been afterwards contracted into *quantopere* &c. in one word *Cic. Nat. D. 2. 60. Jam verò operibus (Lambin reads operis) hominum, id est, manibus, cibi varietas etiam invenitur & copia.* *Id. Off. 2. 2. expertes rationis, equi, boves, reliquæ pecudes, apes, quarum opere efficitur aliquid ad hominum usum atque vitam.* The same *Lambin*, against the authority of all the copies, reads *opera*; because *opere* would be the same as if he had said *quarum effectus* or *effecto efficitur aliquid*: for *opus* is *res effecta*, but *opera* is *labor, qui ponitur in opere faciendo*, as he speaks a little after, *pleraque sunt hominum effecta operis*; and again, *si ne opera hominum ulla esse potuisset.* *Fabritius* joins *Lambin*, and says, *Victorius* reads *opera*, besides two of his MSS. *Gulielmus*, not without reason, turns *Lambin* into ridicule, and asks *nonne opus faciunt cum arant boves, cum vehunt equi, cum mellificant apes? nonne eo opere efficitur aliquid ad usum hominum?* and breaks forth into

into this exclamation *en cor Zenodoti ! en jecur Cratetis !* Grævius joins *Gulielmius*, and affirms that the distinction is naught : for *qui opus facit, rem effectam facit*, and *opere* is the same with *labore* ; and the reading (*opere*) is supported by the authority of the best copies. According to *Perottus*, *opus* and *opera* differ. For, says he, *opera* is the action, and daily employment ; whereas *opus* is the end and fruit of *opera*. Yet sometimes *opus* seems to be taken for *opera*, as *Virg. Moltibus è stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit*, as it were *ad operas* : where it ought to be noted, that when we have respect, not to the labour of the body, but to the labour of the mind, and to art and industry, we say *opus* rather than *opera*, as in *opere rustico, fabrili, in opere faciundo*. Of the same sentiment is *Laurence Valla elegant. lib. 4. cap. 76.* whom *Buchanan* extols in two epigrams *lib. 2. the 18. and 19.* of the *Icones* as having gained immortal honour by restoring the purity of the *Latin* tongue ; and his practice seems to correspond with *Valla's* rule ; for in the dedication of his history he says *levioris operis libellis*, and in the history itself, *lib. 8. cap. 18. pag 137. e 4. levioris operæ expeditionibus*, in his account of the first exploits of that incomparable hero, sir *William Wallace*.

53. ORIGO. *lib. 1. cap. 15. pag. 7. c 7.* *Buchanan* proves from *Pliny's* natural history *lib. 3. cap. 17.* that, the *Gauls* understood the word *Berg* as signifying high, and proposes an emendation of that passage of *Pliny*, which, according to the *Paris* edition of 1543, is as follows. *Orobiorum stirpis esse, Comum atque Bergomum, & Licini forum, & aliquot circa populos, author est Cato : Sed originem gentis ignorare se fatetur, quam docet Cornelius Alexander ortam à Græcia, interpretatione etiam nominis vitam in montibus degentibus. In hoc situ interiit oppidum Barra, unde Bergomates Cato dixit ortos, etiam num (Buchanan is positive that it should be read etiam nomine) prodentes se altius quam fortunatius*



*tius sitos.* *Ruddiman* affirms that in almost all the editions of *Pliny* the reading is ——— *oppidum Orobiorum Barra—etiam num prodente se—* *sitos* or *situm*, as in the oldest MSS. and *Harduin's* edition. He owns that what is said a little before (he should have said, the sentence immediately preceding) seems to be no small confirmation of *Buchanan's* conjecture. For, says he, since *Bergomum* was a town of the *Orobii*, and the *Orobii*, according to *Alexander*, were so called *para to ton bion agein en orei*, and since *Berg* in the German language, which the antient Gauls spoke, as *Dacier* on *Festus* observes, at the word *album*, means *high* it is very probable that the *Bergomates* were so named, because they dwelt on mountains or high places. And he seems to be offended at *Harduin* for taking no notice of *Buchanan's* conjecture, which *Dalechamp* does. But then, after observing that *Buchanan* seems without design, and through a slip of memory, to have put *felicius* in the room of *fortunatius*, since both words do equally make for his purpose, *Ruddiman*, to shew us how able a critick and what an acute disputant he is, goes about to overturn all that he had said to support *Buchanan's* emendation of the above passage of *Pliny*. I cannot, says he, agree to *Buchanan's* opinion: my reason is, not only because it is against the authority of all the MSS. from which we ought not rashly to depart in things of that nature, but principally, because I don't see how *Cato*, a very learned man, and not unskilled in the Greek language, should own himself ignorant of the origin (or derivation of the word he must mean) and yet understand the German words and derivations. Farther, if either *Pliny* or *Cato* had that meaning they ought to have added, that the word *Berg* being neither Greek nor Latin, but German or Gaulic, signifies *high* among these people. For how otherwise could the word *Bergomates* by its name, to the Romans, for whose sake both wrote, discover that its situa-

tion

tion was higher than it was happy, since they were absolutely ignorant of its origin? Nor lastly, tho' they were ever so well skilled in the *German* tongue, could the name *Bergomum*, but the thing itself, prove the situation of that town to be higher than it was happy, unless *comum* the other part of the compound word signifies unhappy, or *Berg* includes both meanings, or lastly every thing that is high be therefore said to be unhappy: all which particulars seem to be as far from *Cato's* and *Pliny's* meaning, as they are from the truth. And therefore I fall in with *Harduin's* opinion, who says *Pliny's* meaning was, "that the town *Barra* (for to it the words *etiamnum prodente*, &c. seem rather to refer) "because it was of old built on the top of a high mountain, and even in *Cato's* time falling into decay, and "soon after to be quite destroyed, to one that takes a "right view of it shows its situation to be higher than "it was happy:" that is, he rejects *Buchanan's* interpretation, which makes good sense, and embraces that of *Harduin*, which, besides the harshness of construction, makes stark staring nonsense, namely that the town *Barra*, which was falling into decay in the time of *Cato* who flourished about 220 years before *Pliny*, before whose time that town had utterly perished and was quite extinct, and so could not discover it's situation to anyone whether he took a right or wrong view of it, did discover itself to have a situation higher than it was happy. The construction is, *in hoc situ prodente se situm*, according to *Harduin* or *Ruddiman*. It is ridiculous to imagine that *Buchanan*, writing on so nice a subject as that of the *British* antiquities, would trust his memory and not have his authors lying before him; and it is very certain he has made use of another edition of *Pliny* than any of those that I (or perhaps *Ruddiman* for all his airs) have seen; for *lib. 2. cap. 31. pag. 36. c.* he corrects another passage of that author, and it appears rightly, *Corimbrica*  
*Pli.*

*Plin. in Lusi. Sed nisi fallor corrupte pro Conimbrica.* Nor is his correction of the passage in question exceeding bold : *num.* an abbreviation for *nomine*, and an *o* for an *u*. But let us examine *Ruddiman*'s reasons for rejecting *Buchanan*'s emendation.

The first of them is, that it is against the authority of all the MSS. from which we ought not rashly to depart in matters of that kind. Of all the men in the world, *Ruddiman* ought to be the last to find fault with the departing from the authority of MSS. having in so many instances been guilty in this kind in his edition of *Buchanan*'s history ; the case of which is widely different from that of *Pliny* ; since we have the first edition of the history of *Scotland* printed by the author's MS. in his own life time, as it was revised and corrected by his own hand, under the inspection of a gentleman of great learning and accuracy. This cannot be pretended as to *Pliny*'s natural history, concerning which we are told by the great *Erasmus*, that tho' by the help of a very antient MS. he had restored a good many passages of that work, which without that assistance could not have been corrected, and which no body had before observed, and which by no conjectures could have been restored, and that tho' he had taken such care as to other passages, that he could promise, on his peril, there was not a better edition of *Pliny* than his ; yet that he shall never want business who will employ his pains in restoring of *Pliny* : for tho' there were nothing else, the carelessness of printers (and I may add the ignorance and bad taste of such editors as *Ruddiman*) makes a *Penelope*'s web for learned men ; seeing thro' their sloth they are ever corrupting more than can be restored by the industry of the learned : he adds, it is superfluous to attempt nothing in this case ; since so many have succeeded so well in their attempts : it is rashness, upon every conjecture, how slight soever, to ex-

punge



change the old reading, and induce a new one : it is religion to remark particularly any discovery grounded on probable arguments, and to pave the way to the learned for further enquiries. He wishes that the first-rate men of learning would unite in this most noble design of communicating their discoveries, till we had a correct edition of *Pliny*. *Non leve præmium ostenditur, vel unus opus restitutus promerebitur honestam apud studiosos Pliniani nominis memoriam* : such is the splendor of *Pliny's* reputation, such both the beauty and usefulness of the work.

Mr. *Ruddiman's* second, which he says is his chief reason for dissenting from *Buchanan*, deserves chiefly to be considered. He cannot see how a man of *Cato's* learning, who understood the *Greek* language, should confess his ignorance of the derivation of the *Greek* word *Orobii*, tho' he understood the derivations of *German* words, such as that of *Bergomates*. Here he confounds what *Pliny* says from *Cato*, viz. that the *Bergomates* were a colony of the *Barrenses*, with what *Pliny* says of himself, namely, that the latter were extinct in his time, and that their descendants the *Bergomates*, as *Buchanan* understands him, shewed by their name that they were in a high situation. And tho' *Buchanan* supposes that *Pliny* understood the meaning or derivation of the word *Bergomates*, yet he shews, *hist. lib. 1. cap. 3. 6 d.* that he seems not to have understood the genuine meaning of the name *Armorica*, and that he was singular in that respect. And tho' we should suppose that *Cato* understood the meaning of one *German* word, it does not follow that either he or *Pliny* understood the meaning of every such word, or of the whole of that language, any more than it will follow that *Ruddiman* understood the *Danish*, high *Germans* and *Dutch*, *English* and *Saxon*, because in his note on *Buchanan*, *hist. lib. 1. cap. 35. pag. 14. d 11.* (where we are told that some think

think the antient name of the island *Jura* was *Dera*, which in the *Gothic* language signifies a *hart*) he lets us know that *Monro* calls that island *Dura*, and says it ought rather to be called *Deira*, but that he himself is of opinion, that it was first called *Diura*, afterwards *Djura*, and lastly *Jura*, because the *Danes*, who possibly were once masters of it, call a stag *Diure*; adding, that of the same original is the *Anglo Saxon* *Deor*, the *Dutch* *Dier*, the *Teutonic* *Thier*, the *English* *Deer*, all which may not without reason be deduced from the *Greek* *ther*, i. e. a wild beast: or that the same *Ruddiman*, who does not believe that either *Buchanan* or *Johnston* were much versed in the *Hebrew* learning, and asserts that the latter in his verse translation of the *Psalms* followed the former sometimes, where he seems to have missed the sense of the original: I say, we cannot from this infer that *Ruddiman* was skilled in the *Hebrew*, because he owns himself ignorant of that language. See his vindication of *Buchanan's* paraphrase of the *Psalms*, pag. 245. and following.

I readily acknowledge that *Cato* was a very learned man, and a great proficient in the *Greek*, tho' he did not begin to study it till he was old, and that he was well skilled in that language, before he finished his *Origines*, of which *Pliny* in the forecited and many other places has made great use; because *Cicero* (*de claris orator.*) who had a vast esteem for him and his writings, informs us, that he inserted one of his orations in his *origines* but a few days or months before he died: but tho' we should suppose, what does not appear, that he was ignorant of the meaning of the word *Orobii*, it would be as little wonderful as that *Mr. Ruddiman* who has been so much admired for his fine taste of the *belles lettres*, and for his learned notes on *Buchanan*, should shew himself not only to be unacquainted with the genius and idiom of the *Latin*, but in a vast number of instances

stances ignorant, grossly ignorant of the use and meaning of the very words of that language : and particularly in that passage of *Pliny*, on which he has displayed his critical skill, that he should commit such a shameful blunder as to take *originem gentis* and *originem vocis* or *nominis* for one and the same thing. For it is plain that by *originem gentis Oroborum*, of which *Cato* confessed himself ignorant, is to be understood, not the etymon or derivation of the word or name *Orobii*, but the mother city or rather the country from which that colony came ; which *Corn. Alexander* proved to have been *Greece*, as by other arguments, so particularly by the derivation of their name. That *origo* signifies a mother city or town that had founded colonies, is evident from *Sallust Jug. c. 19.* speaking of the colonies of the *Phoenicians*, *pars originibus suis præsidio, pars decori fuere* ; some of them were a defence, others an ornament to their founders. In the same sense *Curtius 4. 14.* speaking of the *Phoenicians* or *Carthaginians*, calls *Tyra* their major patria, which answers to the *Greek* word *metropolis*. And agreeable to this is the account which *Corn. Nepos* gives us of *Cato's* history or *origines* i. e. antiquities, consisting of 7 books ; of which the first contained the actions of the *Roman* kings, the 4th and 5th treated of the 1st and 2d *Punic* wars, and the 2d and 3d contained an account from what cities or countries every city of *Italy* had it's rise, or had transplanted itself, unde quæque civitas orta sit Italica, which seems to have been the reason why the author gave all the 7 books the title of *Origines*.

*Ruddiman's* remaining exceptions against *Buchanan's* correction of *Pliny's* text, or rather against *Pliny's* account, may be discussed in very few words. There was no need of adding the word *Berg*, since *Bergomates* and *Orobii* are both words of the same signification, tho' of different languages, expressing the height of the situati-



on of both people, that they lived on mountains, and the names of both answering to the thing itself, shew us that they were not given without reason. The unhappiness of their situation is sufficiently implied in their dwelling on mountains. For whatever notion Mr. *Ruddiman* may have of that matter, the old *Romans* thought a habitation not upon the top, but at the foot of a mountain sheltered from the north, and looking towards the south, to be the best. *Cato de re rustica* cap. 1. speaking of buying a farm, *si poteris sub radice montis fiet, in meridiem spectet, loco salubri* — and *M. Terentius Varro* writing on the same subject 1. 7. quotes this very passage of *Cato* with approbation. I shall only add, that as the town of *Barra* being extinct in *Pliny's* time, could shew itself no more, so the *Bergomates* were a people existing then and long after. For *Pliny* 34. 1. speaks of brass ore being found in his time in the territory of the *Bergomates*, nunc in *Bergomatium* agro, *extrema parte Italiae*. And *Paulus Diaconus* lib. 15. names *Bergomum* among the cities of the *Venetians* against which the *Hunns* vented their fury in the time of *Martian's* empire over the east, and *Valentinian's* over the west, *exinde per universas Venetia urbes, hoc est, Vincentiam, Veronam, Brixiam, Bergomum, seu reliquas, nullo resistente, Hunni bacchabantur*.

**PANNUS.** lib. 15. cap. 37. p. 294. b 7. describing the martyrdom of Mr. *George Wishart*, *quorum* (carnificum) *alter tunica è linteo panno nigra eum induit*, i. e. one of the executioners put on him a black coat made of linen cloth. *Ruddiman* observes that these words *linteo panno* seem not to be rightly joined together, because *pannus* is properly a woollen garment, and that which is made of flax or lint is called *lintheus*; and he adds that the MS. has *lineo*, which signifies the same thing. In opposition to this I observe, that *pannus lintheus* is just as proper an expression for linen as *pannus laneus* for wool-

len cloth, or *pannus xylinus*, (Plin. 19. 1.) for cotton, or *panniculus bombycinus*, (Juvenal. 6. 25.) for fine thin silk, of which we need no better proof than *Columella's* receipt for curing the bealed foot of an ox (R. R. 6. 12.) where he uses *pannus* and *linamentum* as synonymous terms, both signifying lint or a tent for a wound. *Si sanguis jam in ungulis est, inter duos ungues leviter cultello aperies. Postea linamenta sale atque aceto imbuta applicantur, ac solea sparteae pes induitur. — Hic idem sanguis nisi emissus fuerit, saniem creabit : qui si suppura-verit, tardè curabitur : ac primò ferro circumcissus, & expurgatus, deinde pannis aceto & sale & oleo madentibus inculcatis, mox axungia vetere & sevo hircino pari pondere decoctis, ad sanitatem perducitur.*

55. PASSUS. lib. 7. cap. 57. pag. 129. b 12. The lodging of *Patrick* lord of *Galloway* and earl of *Athol* at *Haddington* being burnt with himself and two servants in it, the *Bissets* were suspected to be guilty of that heinous crime ; but *William Bisset*, chief of the clan, proved his *alibi*, the queen herself being an evidence, that the very night in which it was committed he was at *Forfar*, at the distance of more than sixty miles from *Haddington*, *ultra sexaginta millia passuum ab Hadina. Ruddiman*, not attending that *Buchanan* writing in the Roman language must mean Roman miles, falsely imagines that he meant Scottish miles, and as tho' he had committed an error in this relation, thinks fit to tell us that *Forfar* is scarce fifty miles distant from *Haddington*. Those who have considered the subject of the Roman measures, make a Roman mile equal to 967 English paces. And 'tis well known that 1000 paces make one mile English : and as well known that most of our Scottish miles will be equal to  $1\frac{1}{3}$  mile English, if not in some parts equal to two. *Barnes* makes one Scotch mile equal to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  English. He says, *Edward III* having ravaged over all Scotland at his pleasure, as he was on the

way to *Barwick*, took the castle of *Blacknes*, belonging to earl *Douglas*, which being about ten leagues or twenty *Scotch* miles from *Edinburgh*, he garrisoned also for himself, as he had done divers other castles before, &c. But I shall take none of all these advantages, in order to prove that the distance between *Forfar* and *Haddington* is more than sixty *Roman* miles. I shall make use of a more moderate computation. 967 *English* paces being one *Roman* mile, and 1184 a *Scots* statute mile, there are 217 paces gained on every *Scots* mile, that is 10,850 on 50 miles; which make eleven miles and 213 paces; which with 320 paces more, gained by the difference of *English* and *Scots* feet, 185 feet *Scots* being equal to 186 *English*, makes more than half an *English* mile.

*Cicero*, in his oration *pro Sex. Roscio*, tells us, that *Manlius Glaucia*, a dependor of *T. Roscius*, who murder'd *Sextus ad balneas Palatinas* as he was returning from supper, carried the news of the murder from *Rome* to *Ameria*, being the distance of 56 miles, in a nights time & cum post horam primam noctis occisus esset, primo diluculo nuncius hic Ameriam venit, decem horis nocturnis sex & quinquaginta millia passuum cisis pervolavit. *Amelia*, a city of *Umbria* situate on a mountain six miles from *Narni*, is, according to *Harduin*, the modern name of *Amerina*: if you have a correct map of *Italy*, you may, for an amusement, examine by it and *Cicero's* narrative, the difference between the old *Roman* and our modern miles.

*Mr. Ruddiman* needed not to have minced the distance between *Forfar* and *Haddington*, in saying that it is scarce 50; for it is at least full 50 *Scotish* miles, unless he meant to exclude the miles by water. He informs us, that the *Extracta de chronicis Scotiae* affirm that at the time that the murder of the earl of *Athol* was committed, *William Bisset* was in castro suo de *Obeyne*, in his

own



own castle of *Obeyne*, and that if this be the same place with that which is now called *Aboyne*, it is at least sixty miles distant from *Haddington*: he adds, that the author whom *Buchanan* chiefly followed, is *Andrew Winton*, who gives a large account of the whole affair. It is possible *Squire Bisset* might have been both at *Forfar* and *Aboyne* in one and the same night: but, had it not been for *Winton's* authority, it is a chance but our critic would have read *Obeynæ* for *Forfaræ* in *Buchanan*; for he has taken full as great liberties in other places.

56. PATER (4.) *Luke Fruter* of *Bruges*, according to *Lipsius*, was one of the greatest geniuses that the low countries have produced. For when very young he ascended to a degree of erudition which many learned men can hardly attain to in an advanced age. He wrote admirably well in prose, and in verse. His works are equally polite and judicious. They are stored with an agreeable variety of curious and delicate observations: and there is something inexpressibly grand and noble to be remarked in them, which instructs with a deal of pleasure. This learned young gentleman had the greatest esteem and affection for *Buchanan*, which he expresses in a letter he writ to him soon after his last return to *Scotland*, being the 2d in *Ruddiman's* collection, bearing date at *Paris*, 1st *February*, without mentioning the year. After excusing himself for not treating *BUCHANAN* at parting on account of his setting out for his journey and voyage in so much haste, he adds *Audio, mi Buchananæ, non paucis diebus te ventorum fastidia tulisse, & nuper tamen*

*Veniis iisse tuis dulcissimæ*

*Ad alta testæ patriæ,*

*Quæ te tuosque canulos jamdudum amat*

*Vincere caris osculis*

*Quid hic amica gaudia eloquar tua?*

*Quid gaudia illa regia?*

O ter beata sorte devinctum caput,  
Quod Rexque, Paterque, equesque amant !

i. e. My dear *Buchanan*, I hear that tho' you had a tedious passage of it, and was much tost at sea, yet you was carried over at last by favourable winds to your dearest native country, which has a good while ago been longing to receive you and your grey heirs with the tenderest and most affectionate careffes. What shall I say of your friendly, courteous, indearing, polite, pleasant and delightful conversation which we enjoyed here, on this side the sea, in *France*, at *Paris* ; such noble entertainment as suited the prince of learning to give, and princes themselves to receive ? O thrice happy soul, favoured and loved by persons of the highest and best rank, by princes and nobles, and gentlemen ! *Hor. epist. 1. 7. 37. sæpe verecundum laudasti, rexque paterque audisti coram*——*rex* king and *pater* father, were the names that were given to one's patron and benefactor. But this is not the passage of *Horace* that *Fruter* had in his eye, but that *de arte poetica* v. 248. *Ofsistentur enim quibus est equus et pater Et res : quibus est equus*, those that have a horse maintained at the expence of the public, that is the knights ; *quibus est pater*, those who have a father, that is the nobles, the *Patricians* : as *Liv. 2. 27. ita medium se gerendo, nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud patres gratiam iniit*. By carrying himself thus moderately, he neither escaped the hatred of the common people, nor had any great interest with the *Patricians*. And nothing is more common in the *Latin* writers, than *patres conscripti*, the title given to senators in general.

Without taking notice of persons of lower quality in foreign parts, that had an esteem and affection for *Buchanan*, I shall only name such princes, princesses, and noblemen as favoured, honoured, protected and loved him,

him, or were his patrons and benefactors. *Charles V.* emperor of *Germany* and king of *Spain*, who, in his passage through *France* to *Flanders* in 1539, was entertained at *Bordeaux*, and to whom the first of the pastorals is addressed ; *Francis I* king of *France*, the restorer of learning, whose reign was the reign of men of letters ; *Henry II* his son, to whom are addressed two odes, one on the raising of the siege of *Metz*, the other on the taking of *Calais*, that may vie with any in *Horace* ; *Francis II* his son with *Mary Stewart* his wife, on occasion of whose marriage the *Epithalamium* was composed ; *Margaret de Valois*, queen of *Navarre*, sister to *Francis I*, the first lady of her age ; *Margaret*, her niece, sister of *Henry II*, afterwards dutchess of *Savoy*, who put the author upon writing the *Alceste*, which is dedicated to her ; *John III*, king of *Portugal*, who wrote a very affectionate letter to *Buchanan*, inviting him back to his kingdom, but he would not run into danger again, having once escaped the hands of the barbarous inquisitors ; *John of Luxembourg*, bishop of *Pamiers*, abbat of *Juri*, of *Larivour*, &c. descended of one of the most illustrious houses of *Europe*, to whom the *Medea* is dedicated, and who, tho' an eminent poet himself, *soles tamen* (says the author in the words of *Pliny's* dedication of his natural history to *Vespasian*, which he borrowed from his countryman *Catullus*) *meas esse aliquid putare nugas* ; cardinal *John du Bellai* archbishop of *Paris* and *Bordeaux*, who would not comply with cardinal *Beton's* desire of putting *Buchanan* under arrest ; *Charles de Marillac* archbishop of *Vienne*, who generously supplied his wants ; *Gilbert Kennedy* earl of *Cassilis*, who, charmed with his pleasant conversation and fine parts, chose him for his preceptor ; *Francis Olivier* chancellor of *France* ; and *Charles de Cossé* marshal of *Brissac*, general of the *French* bands in *Piedmont*, who not only made choice of *Buchanan* to be

tutor



tutor to his son *Timoleon*, but, as Mr. *Ruddiman* tells us from *Harry Stephen*, used to admit him to councils of war, and paid a great deference to his judgment, having found his account in it on some important occasions.

By this time I hope it may be understood what *Fruter* in his letter or elegant verses meant by *Rexque, paterque*, and that there is no necessity of supposing these two words to have a particular reference to *Scotland*, to the exclusion of *France*; seeing the author, who was a protestant, had before mentioned the *Scots* earnest desire to have *Buchanan* at home, and the joyful reception he met with at his arrival, the reformation having been legally established in his native country about two years before.

*Ruddiman* in a note on an elegiac poem addressed to *Buchanan*, and in another on the letter we have been explaining (having omitted to insert another elegiac poem of *Fruter's*, mentioning the troubles in *Scotland* and the *English* war, both poems being directed to *Buchanan*) acknowledges that as to the year in which they were written, no other conjecture can be formed, but that it was before 1566, or at farthest before the summer of 1566, because then, according to *Thuanus* (who does not speak of *summer* or *winter*, and *Burman* has proved that it was in *March* 1566) *Fruter* having drunk cold water after overheating himself at tennis, fell into a distemper which carried him off, when he was scarce 25 years old. Yet in the notes on *Buchanan's* life, pag. 8. *Ruddiman* falls a beating his brains to find out the meaning of those *gaudia regia* and the *rex pater* and *eques* in the three last lines of *Fruter*, and at last lights upon this most ridiculous, absurd and inconsistent interpretation. Without supposing the words in question to have any reference to foreign countries, in which *Buchanan* was so highly honoured, but that *Scotland* alone is pointed at, he imagines that by *eques* is to be understood the

*Scotish*

*Scotish* nobility, a collective body, who had so great a value and esteem for *Buchanan* on account of his extraordinary learning and abilities, but that by *rex* and *pater* two particular individual persons are meant, and that these must be *Henry* lord *Darnly* and his father *Matthew* *Stewart* earl of *Lennox*, as *Fruter* could not but know that we had no king in *Scotland* for upwards of twenty years backwards, till *Q. Mary* married *Darnly*, 29th July 1565 (unless we suppose *Fruter* to have been a prophet), and that therefore his letter dated 1st *February* must have been written in the year 1566.

But against this interpretation of *Ruddiman's*, *Ruddiman* himself starts an objection, viz. if this letter was written in the year 1566, how could *Fruter* say that *Buchanan* had lately gone from *France*, who, if there were no other proof of it, tells us himself at the end of his dedication of the *Franciscanus* dated *St. Andrews* 5th June 1564, that he had been in *Scotland* a year and a half before? From this difficulty the annotator can find no other way of disingaging himself but by giving further scope to his imagination, and saying that *Buchanan* having returned into his native country in the year 1563, lodged some time at his patron's the earl of *Murray's*, whose lady and family dwelt for the most part at *St. Andrews*, that in the end of the year 1564 or beginning of 1565, he went over, *Ruddiman* professes himself ignorant of the cause, into *France*, and that *Q. Mary* (*quæ se tum gravidam senserat*) who at that time felt herself great with child, which she could not then know whether it would prove a son or a daughter, had so much forecast as to recall *Buchanan* the same year, as the most learned man this country had ever produced, and inferior to none of any other then in the world, and as having taught herself the *belles lettres*, according to the opinion of some, of which opinion I find none but *Blackwood*. Tho' these things are not particularly related

lated, continues *Ruddiman*, by any good author, yet there are many arguments (he can imagine no more than three) that seem to confirm them, 1. He cannot make sense of *Fruter's* letter without such a supposition; and so fond and so full is he of these *chimæras* and *re-veries* that in his last performance where he understands the last line at least of *Fruter* in a larger sense than it can possibly admit of, he gives the late vindicator of *Buchanan* a defiance to put any other meaning on the three last lines than he has done, after having asserted that nothing else can be meant by them, but the great joy with which *Buchanan* would be received, upon his return, at the *Scotish* court, and the love and esteem that would be shewed him, by the king, queen, and (not the *equites* only or gentlemen, but) all ranks in *Scotland*. See *animadv.* pag. 64, 66.

2. He says, the story which we daily hear told of *Buchanan*, much the same with that told by the jesuit *Garasse*, only changing time and place, viz. that *Buchanan* having gone out to take a walk, happened to espy a vessel putting to sea from the port of *St. Andrews*, and without the privity of any of his friends, went straightway to *Paris*, whence he did not return till some years after, seems not to be absolutely void of foundation, *neque omni prorsus fundamento destituta videtur fabula*: tho' but two leaves after he ranks *Garasse* among the most infamous liars in the world, whose accounts of *Buchanan* are *pura puta nulloque prorsus fundamento innixa mendacia, indignatione potius quam refutatione excipienda*.

3dly and lastly, He says, *Buchanan* himself affirms that he was made preceptor to *James VI*, *Jacobo VI erudiendo præfectus*) for so all the editions have it) in 1565. As to this *Ruddiman* owns there is some difficulty. "That *Buchanan* should be pitched upon to be preceptor to a child not yet born, seemed to myself  
" somewhat



somewhat incredible ; and therefore in my notes on that author's life p. 9. I supposed, that by an oversight of *Buchanan* or his printer, an error may perhaps have crept in ; and that instead of *sexagesimo quinto* we should read *sexagesimo nono* ; *Buchanan* not having entred upon the actual exercise of that office till the end of that year 1569, or (according to our present computation) the beginning of the year 1570. But because the sentence has the words at full length, and not in letters or cyphers or figures, I would not take upon me to make any alteration, I durst not do otherwise than I have done." Scrupulous good man ! we have seen already and will see afterwards in what a multitude of instances he has made greater alterations without reason, and without authority. Being pressed with the absurdity of the queen's pitching on *Buchanan* for her sons instructor in 1565, \* when she was little more than three months gone with child, having conceived *James VI*, according to *Ruddiman* 19th September 1565 and born him 19th June 1566, and being great with child when she recall'd *Buchanan* from *France* ; to salve this absurdity, he still has recourse to imagination, and supposes that *Buchanan* followed the computation then received in *Scotland*, which began the year with the 25th of *March*, at which time she was full six

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\* *Buchanan*, according to *Ruddiman*, must have been twice in *France* in 1565 ; for he supposes him to have gone over to *France* in the beginning of 1565, and not, as he falsely quotes his own note in the *animadv.* pag. 63. that he took a trip into that kingdom a little after the queen's marriage with lord *Darnly*, which was celebrated 29th July 1565 ; and we are sure, says he, that *Buchanan* was in *Scotland* at the time of the marriage ; the foundation of which certainty must be the poems composed by him on that occasion. But we have no evidence at all that *Buchanan* was ever out of *Britain*, after his last re-  
[months]

months gone with child, and that *Buchanan*, a most zealous protestant, may have been *præceptor designatus* to *K. James* in *March 1562*, at what time *Signor Davie* the fidler, her prime minister, her confident, her all in all, was dispatched (*March 9th 1566.*) by the king and nobility for his undue familiarities with the queen and for contriving with her how to re-establish popery, at what time she was meditating revenge against those who had destroyed her idol, and principally against the king her husband, whom after causing him suffer a 1000 mortifications, she poisoned and murdered, before the year came to an end, having thrown herself into the arms of *Bothwell* the principal actor of that tragedy, a man infamous to the last degree of infamy. And here *Ruddiman* has involved himself in another absurdity, out of which he will never be able to extricate himself, and that is, how *Buchanan* should have been first pitched upon by the queen as preceptor to her son, in *March 1566*, and in consequence thereof recalled from *France*, returned to *Scotland*, and the news of his safe arrival be carried to *Fruter* at *Paris*, before he writ the letter in question, which according to *Ruddiman* is dated 1st *Febr. 1566* or, to mention another absurdity, how *Buchanan* could have been chosen, and recalled, as aforesaid, in *March 1566*, when *Ruddiman* himself will have him to have

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turn to his native country, which most probably has happened in the end of the year 1562, and *Fruter* has congratulated him on that subject the *February* following. With this agrees *Barclay's* account, as to time, tho' the character must be read backwards *suit enim hic scriptor, ut intelligas*, ominum quæ impie, immaniter & seditiose perpetrata sunt annis plus minus viginti in *Scotia*

Sator, sartorque scelerum & messor maxumus.

i. e. *Buchanan* for about twenty years had a principal hand in all the great and glorious things that were done in *Scotland* for the cause of truth and liberty.

returned

returned from *France* towards the end of the year 1565, and has observed, that it is evident from the *Strena*, or new-year's epigram he wrote to the lord *Darnly*, whom he calls king *Henry*, that he was in *Scotland* on the first of *January* 1566, according to the present computation? See *animadv.* pag. 60, 1, 2, 3.

*Ruddiman's* asserting that the reading in all the editions of *Buchanan's* life is *Jacobo VI. erudiendo præfectus anno millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto*, includes two evident falsehoods; for 1. *Ruddiman* has not seen all the editions of *Buchanan's* life, particularly the first, of which he takes no notice in his list of the editions of *Buchanan's* works, whose life was written by himself two years before his death; no not the edition 1608, the first in his catalogue. 2. In that edition of *Buchanan's* life printed by *Christopher Corvinus Herbornæ* 1616, and prefixed to *Nathan Chytræus'* notes on the paraphrase of the *Psalms*, the words *millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto* are entirely wanting. For there the last sentence stands precisely thus, *In præsentia 74. annum agens, a Jacobum sextum Scotorum Regem, cui erudienda erat præfectus, senectutis suæ malis fractæ* (others read *fractus*) *portum exoptans agit* (an. 1580.)

“There is one word of *Buchanan*” (says *Ruddiman* *animadv.* p. 61.) “That indeed sticks with me, viz. *præfectus*, which in the common acceptation of it could not be true, *K. James* being not born till several months after *March* 156 $\frac{1}{2}$ : but perhaps *Buchanan*” (than whom no author ever made a better choice of proper words) “meant no more, but that he was electus, præelectus, or designatus (appointed or pre-appointed) preceptor to *K. James*.”

There is one particular, however, in which *Ruddiman* and I are agreed, namely, that *Buchanan* was destined to that office some time before he was called by an act of privy council, soon after the earl of *Murray's* death,



death, from his mastership of *St. Leonard's* college, to attend *K. James's* education. And whoever looks into the histories of *Knox* and *Spotswood*, will soon be convinced that *Buchanan* was destined to that office, not by the queen, but by the nobility, and others who rose in arms to revenge the murder of their *K. Henry*, to save *James VI* from the cruel hands of the murderers of his father, and to set the crown upon his head ; for which *Ruddiman* and his party have so much abused them. The general assembly that met in *June 1567*, of which *Buchanan* was moderator, having been prorogued to the 20th of *July*, proposed several articles to the lords at *Edinburgh*, for the good of the church and kingdom, one of which, as it is expressed in the records of the assembly, was as follows. “ *Item*, that the prince whom  
 “ God has given us, as well for his surety as good education, shall be committed to (four, says *Knox*)  
 “ wise, ancient, godly and learned men of the realm,  
 “ to be brought up within the same in the fear of God  
 “ and virtue, whereby he may so profit in his youth,  
 “ that when he shall come to his years of majority, he  
 “ may be able to discharge himself sufficiently of that  
 “ honour and place whereto he shall be called, and  
 “ prove that good king which with all their hearts they  
 “ wish him to be.” To this and the other articles subscribed about eighty earls, lords, barons and commissioners of boroughs at *Edinburgh*, *July 25th 1567*. As to the choice of *Buchanan* for the king's instructor, it is highly applauded by *Ruddiman*, who says there was hardly a man in all the world so fit for the office, and that he fully answered the expectations of his countrymen : sir *Thomas Randolph* in a letter to Mr. *Peter Young*, *Buchanan's* colleague, pronounces *James VI* more happy in having *Buchanan* to his master, than *Alexander the Great*, that had *Aristotle* for his instructor : and the *English* have a proverb that *experience is a better tutor than Buchanan*.

PATER.

PATER (2.) *hist. lib. 5. cap. 16. pag. 78. e 79. a. Eugenio defuncto.*——— *Suffectus est frater Dongardus, homo planè fraternorum morum*——— *ad quas* (hæresis Pelagianæ reliquias) *refutandas missus erat a Celestino Pontifice Romano* hujus patre Eugenio regnante *Palladius*,——— there is a peculiar force and emphasis stamp'd upon the word *patre*: it not only imports that *Eugene* was *Dongard's* predecessor and elder brother, but that they had as perfect a likeness of character, as ever had father and son, and that *Dongard* strictly followed the manners way and example of his brother, who was a prince as eminent for his piety as for other great and noble qualities. I have shew'd before, that *avus, abavus, proavus* are used in the singular to signify a predecessor; and there is the same reason for using *pater* in that sense, as it very commonly is in the plural, *patres majoresque nostri*, and *patrum nostrorum memoria*, and the like. There were four sorts of sonship among the antients, by nature, by imitation, by adoption, and by learning; and not to repeat what I observ'd a little before, that *pater* was a term of honour and respect given to those who had deserv'd well of others, nor to mention that *Plin. 7. 3.* grandfathers and fathers in law are call'd *patres*, *pater* is the same as *senior* and *magister* in any respect. Hence the philosophers call'd the founders of their sects *patres*, hence also *Horace* and *Propertius* call'd *Ennius* father, and for the same reason we call the first teachers of our religion *the fathers*. Such as were elder in age were also wont to be saluted *fathers*; for those of the same age were call'd *brothers* and such as were younger sons. *Hor. ep. 1. 6. 54.* *frater, pater, adde Ut cuique est ætas, ita quæque facetus adopta.* And agreeable to this is the character which *Ful. Capitolinus* gives of *M. Antonine* the philosopher. *Quum igitur in amore omnium imperasset, atque ab aliis modo frater, modo pater, modo filius, ut cuique ætas sinebat, & diceretur & amaretur, octavo decimo an-*

*no imperii sui, sexagesimo & primo vitæ, diem ultimum clausit.* This way of speaking was not only practised among the *Latins*, but also among the *Greeks* and *Hebrews*, and by some is thought to be common to all nations. *Mater* is likewise a term of honour which was used in accosting women elder in years, who were saluted *matres*, mothers. *Plaut. Rud. 1. 5. 5. Jubemus te salvere, mater.*

And as to that of sonship by resemblance or imitation, *Ter. Adelp. 5. 7. 4. Tuus hercle vero, & animo & natura pater. Cic. de finibus 2. 18. effigies & humanitatis & probitatis paternæ filius.* And *Fam. 6. 6. imago animi & corporis filius. Ruddiman*, ignorant of all this, has defaced the above cited passage of *Buchanan*, for *pater* reading *fratre*, contrary to all the editions, as he owns himself. Had *Buchanan* used the word *predecessor* or *anteccessor*, there might have been some colour for censuring him as following the writers of the barbarous ages; or had he said *genitore*, there might have been reason for inducing a new reading: for, according to *Nonius*, there is this difference between *genitrix* and *mater*, that she who has brought forth the child is always called *genitrix*, but *mater* is sometimes put for a nurse; as *Virg. lib. 8.——Geminas huic ubera circum Ludere pendentes pueros, & lambere matrem. Plaut. Mænec. Ita forma similes pueri, ut mater sua Non internosse posset, quæ mammam dabat, Neque adeò mater ipsa, quæ illos pepererat.*

57. *PAX. lib 9. cap. 65. p. 176. d 4.* at this very time (that is near the end of the reign of *Robert II*, the first of the *Stewarts*) there being hopes that after the truce a peace would be made between the *French* and *English*, by the mediation of the pope and neighbouring princes, on this condition, that the friends and allies of both should be included, namely the *Portuguese* as friends of the *English*, and the *Scots* and *Castilian Spaniards*



*Spaniards* as allies of the *French*; to which *K. Robert* agreed, but in vain; since all his subjects opposed it: for he himself could neither make peace nor truce without the advice, nor promise that they would be firm and lasting without the authority, of the parliament. *Robertus Rex omnibus suis repugnantibus unus frustra assentiebat*: neque enim ipse pacem, vel inducias facere poterat, nisi ex sententia publici conventus, neque firmas polliceri sine publico decreto: — As this passage overturns *Mr. Ruddiman's* political system, it has provoked his choler to a high degree, which he has discharged in the following note. “ Nothing is more false: for “ that the kings of *Scotland* in all ages have been sovereign and sole arbiters of peace and war, is evident “ not only from our other historians, but also from the “ *publick acts themselves*, ipsa acta publica demonstrant. But sure when he wrote this, he has either had no eyes or no forehead. For in that collection of publick acts, commonly called the *black acts*, extracted from the register by the clerks of register, by whom they are respectively attested, printed by *Robert Lekprevik* in 1566 with privilege of *K. Henry* and *Q. Mary*, to whom *John Lesly*, the popish bishop of *Ross*, lord of the secret council and of the college of justice, one of *Mr. Ruddiman's* own principles, suggested the *notable purpose* of printing them, and had a very active and liberal hand in the publication: I say, in that collection we have the following most express act of the parliament holden at *Edinburgh* 4th of *June* 1563, ca. 18. the title of which is, that five or six of the principal boroughs be warned for concluding of war, peace or taxations.

“ The Queen's grace being of will and mind, that “ all provests, aldermen, bailles, council and community, and inhabitants of boroughs of this realm, be “ rather augmented in their privileges made by her “ grace and her predecessors to them, nor diminished “ thereintill,

“thereintill, has statute and ordained by the advice of  
 “the three estates of this present parliament, that five  
 “or six of the principals, provests, aldermen, and bail-  
 “lies of this realm, shall in all times to come be warn-  
 “ed to all conventions that shall happen the queen’s  
 “grace and her successors to conclude upon peace or  
 “war, with whatsoever her highness confederates or  
 “enemies, or making or granting of general taxations  
 “of this realm. And that her highness or council  
 “shall not conclude nor depcern upon peace, war nor  
 “taxations foresaids, without five or six of the said  
 “principals, provests, aldermen, and baillies of boroughs  
 “be warned thereto lawfully as effectirs.”

May I not now say in the words of *Buchanan* to *H. Lhuid* on a like occasion, *Fugit te ratio, Ruddimanne, aut certè acta publica non legisti?*

58. POSSESSOR. *lib. 15. cap. 1. pag. 281. b 11.*  
 c 2. cardinal *Beton*, having bribed *Henry Balfour* a pal-  
 try mercenary priest, forged a will in name of the dead  
 king *James V*, according to which he himself was ap-  
 pointed first and principal regent of the kingdom, and  
 three of the principal of the nobility associated with him  
 as assessors, *tribus assessoribus à potentissimis procerum ad-*  
*jectis*. What gave him hopes that this design would  
 succeed, was the earl of *Arran*’s indolent and quiet  
 temper, and their being related by blood. For he was  
 a son of the cardinal’s father’s sister; and was also one  
 of the usurpers of the government or sovereignty in  
 which he was to have a share, & *ipse unus ex possessoribus*,  
*velut in partem dominationis assumptus*. *Ruddiman*,  
 not pleased with *Melvin*’s emendation of *proceribus* for  
*possessoribus*, reads *assessoribus* after *Crawford* and the MS.  
 which correction he thinks is confirmed by *Buchanan*’s  
 using the word *assessoribus* a little before. But to one  
 that understands the meaning of the word *possessor* in  
 this place, i. e. an unjust seizer, whether by force or  
 fraud,

fraud, Buchanan's using the word *assessor* before will be an argument for retaining the reading of the former editions, as the author ever loves to vary his expression, than which he could not have chosen a more apposite one in this place, and that in putting his last hand to this work, he has turned *assessoribus* into *possessoribus*.

That Cicero in his oration *pro P. Quinctio* uses the word *possessor* for a violent or fraudulent possessor, or an unjust seizer, is plain by the tenor of his discourse, and the words adjoined. *Iste homo accerrimus, bonorum possessor, expulso, ereptor.* Also in *Verr. lib. 3. Cum in his rebus omnibus publicanus petitor, ac pignerator: non ereptor neque possessor soleat esse.* Id. 2. contra Rullum *et vos non dubitatis quin vectigalia vestra vendatis, plurima majorum vestrorum sanguine et sudore quaesita, ut Syllanos possessores divitiis augeatis, periculo liber etiam de lege agraria 3. oration. contra Rullum haec tribunus plebis promulgare ausus est, ut quod quisque post Marium et Carbonem Coss. possidet, ideo jure teneret, quo optimo, privatum? etiamne si vi ejecit? etiamne si clam, si precario venit in possessionem?*

59. POSTICA detect. pag. 5. lin. 53. *Is, cum caeterae diversorii claves penes Regios ministros essent, confictis causis, neque satis justis, nec idoneis, claves anterioris januae, et posticae, a Bothuelio retentas, custodiebat; whereas the other keys of that lodging were in custody of the king's servants, Paris, by feigning certain fond and slender causes, had in keeping the keys which Bothwell kept back, of the foregate, and the postern. Here Ruddiman informs us, that januae is elliptically understood to posticae, as anterioris januae is just before it, and that otherwise it should have been postici; because he never finds postica taken substantively. However he much doubts whether the antients spoke in that manner, in respect, for ought he knows, they always by the word janua meant the fore-door of a house or lodging.* Up-

on



on this I would ask him, 1. whether he can prove that *posticum* is any thing more of a substantive than *postica*, as *ostium* must be understood to the former, and both signify *ostium* (or *occultius ostium*) or *aditus in posteriore* or *adversa ædium, sive cubiculi parte, quo accedere vel recedere solebant, qui clam volebant id facere, atque sic fallere?* And, 2. without inquiring whether his criticism on the word *janua* be just, whether *pars* is not a more proper *ellipsis* to *postica*; and if it does not appear to be so from the following examples? *Plaut. Stich. 3. 1. 40. 1, 2. est etiam hic ostium aliud posticum nostrarum harum ædium, (Posticam partem magis utuntur ædium)* *Liv. 23, 8. hortus erat posticis ædium partibus.* *Suet. Octav. 6. proripuit se postica parte palatii.* *Lucilius lib. 3. quoted by Nonius, non peperit, verum postica parte profudit.* And *Varro* quoting *Plautus*, *perrexit interiores partes domus posticæ penitissimè.* The same *Varro L. L. lib. 6. speaking of the great temple of Jupiter, ejus templi partes quatuor dicuntur. Sinistra ab oriente: dextra ab occasu: antica ad meridiem: postica ad septentrionem.* *Sext. Pomp. Festus, quæ ante nos sunt antica, & quæ post nos postica dicuntur: & dexteram anticam, sinistram posticam dicimus,* and immediately we have the same account given of the parts of heaven as *Varro* gives of the parts of *Jupiter's* temple. So *Pliny*, *postica pars mundi.*

60. **POTESTAS.** In the dedication of the history to *James VI*: among your ancestors are men eminent for every thing that is virtuous and praise-worthy, and such of whom no succeeding generations shall ever have cause to be ashamed. And, not to mention the rest, in no history shall you find any one comparable to our *David*. *Quod si illi non modo miserrimis, sed etiam flagitiosissimis temporibus divina benignitas est elargita, (ut ait vates Regius) ut matribus tu quoque mensura fias vult, quoties bene precantur liberis, jure poterimus sperare, hanc potestatem in omnium rerum exitium, & ruinam pro-*  
perantem

*perantem posse interim etiam sufflaminari, donec ad ea tempora veniatur, cum ex æterno res humanæ consecutæ decretum certum suum finem sint habituræ.* And if in the worst and wickedest of times the divine providence was pleased to raise up a prince possessed of so many excellent qualities to such a degree as (to express myself in the words of the royal prophet) that thou, O *David*, art become the measure and standard of the prayers of mothers, when they bless their children, saying, *God bless you as he did K. David*, or, *God make you as good a man as he was*; we may justly hope that this despotic, arbitrary, tyrannical power of kings and their wicked ministers posting fast to the ruin and destruction of all things civil and sacred, may from time to time be checked by controul, till we come to these times, when the things of this world, according to the original plan laid down from eternity in the divine decree, shall have their final determined period: that is, to borrow an expression from lord *Bolingbroke*, if God of his infinite goodness was pleased in the very worst of times, to raise up a *patriot king*, we have ground to hope from the same divine goodness, that when kings abuse their sovereign power to the destruction of the publick happiness, he will from time to time raise up a *patriot nobility* to stop the career of such tyrants so long as the world lasts, untill the time of the consummation of all things.

Of this passage, the last, for ought appears, that ever the author wrote, which breathes such noble sentiments of piety and liberty, Mr. *Ruddiman* owns himself utterly at a loss to find out the meaning. He looks upon it as not only obscure and intricate, but also maimed and imperfect. And, what may keep his countenance, we have already adduced a passage from the life of Mr. *James Melvil*, by which it appears that his uncle Mr. *Andrew*, when the author shewed the epistle dedicatory to the king, passed the same censure upon it, namely,

ly, that it was obscure in some places, and wanted certain words to perfect the sentence. And, if *Buchanan* had not been meditating on so grave a subject, I should be strongly tempted to think from his answer, that he was playing upon his scholar *Mr. Andrew*. Said he, *I may do no more, for thinking on another matter*. And when the other asked him, what that was? *To die*, said he, *but I leave that and many more things to you to help*. Had *Melvin* attended to the figure *apostrophe* which *Buchanan* uses, speaking to *K. David*, instead of speaking of him, of whom he gives a character so extremely high that nothing can exceed it, the obscurity of this passage would have vanished. Thus *Cic pro Mil. quid respondebo liberis meis? Quid tibi, Q. frater, qui nunc abes?* Thus *Pliny lib. 7. cap. 30.* in his elogy of *Cicero*, (to which *Mr. Gilbert Gray* in his oration on the famous *Scotish* writers has had an eye in his character of *Buchanan inter testimonia pag. 15.*) *Sed quo è te M. Tulli piaculo taceam? quove maxime excellentem insigni prædicem?* — *Te dicente legem agrariam, hoc est, alimenta sua, abdicaverunt tribus: te suadente, Roscio theatralis authorilegis ignoverunt;—te orante, proscriptorum liberos honores petere puduit, tuum Catilina fugit ingenium: tu M. Antonium proscripsisti: salve primus &c.* And this very figure of rhetorick has been used by no less an orator than *Mr. Ruddiman* himself in our mother tongue, in his *vindication of Buchanan against Benson*, pag. 189. “Ah! poor *Buchanan*! from what an height, and  
“how low art thou now fallen? But take courage, man!  
“for all these are *bruta fulmina*, which may well re-  
“bound on the thrower, but cannot in the least hurt  
“thee.” It had been well for *Ruddiman*, if he had extended this assertion concerning *Buchanan* a little further, and that he had been sufficiently aware that the attacks he and others of his kidney have made upon *Buchanan’s* character as an historian and an honest man, any more than



than those made upon him as a poet, cannot in the least hurt him, but do rebound most terribly upon the assailants.

As to the other part of M. Andrew Melvin's censure of the epistle dedicatory to the king, viz. that it wanted certain words to perfect the sentence, I can discover no ellipses in it but such as are common in the best writers, nor, bating what I have observed before, any one ellipse that could stop any reader, but that in the sentence where the author makes mention of the arguments his friends made use of to persuade him to apply himself to the writing of our history, *Id enim & ætate, & civium de me expectatione dignum esse*; for, said they, such a work or undertaking was suited both to my years and to the expectations my countrymen had conceived of me: where there is an ellipse of *quæbant, dicebant, asserēbant, affirmabant, dicitabant, differebant, memorabant, commemorabant, pronunciabant*, or the like, than which nothing is more common in *Livy* in his accounts of speeches, instructions to ambassadors, remonstrances, reproofs, accusations, advices and the like, particularly, *lib. 1. & 2.* and above all *lib. 24.* and some such examples are to be found in *Cæsar* himself, a very clear and copious writer.

On the words *ut ait vates regius, Ruddiman*, tho' confessedly ignorant of the *Hebrew* language, has the modesty to tell us, that *Buchanan* had not the words of the royal prophet so much in his mind, as the words of his own paraphrase of the *Psalms* 21. v. 6. that *David's* words are generally rendered thus, *posuisti eum in benedictiones in sæculum*, and that for ought he knows, *Buchanan* owes this interpretation to *Vatable* alone, who understands them in this manner, *Effecisti ut alii per eum benedictionis formulam accipiant*: for they will say, *Diligat te Deus proinde atque Davidem dilexit. Tanto rerum successu polleas, quanto David*: but as great a critick in the

the *Hebrew* as Mr. *Ruddiman* professes himself to be, he has not obliged us with any other interpretation. I have three *Latin* translations of the *Hebrew* psalter before me, and each of them vary a little from that which he has favoured us with. *Pagnin* thus, (*teshithebu bera-choth lagnad*) *posuisti eum benedictiones in seculum* : *Cocceius*, *ponis ipsum benedictiones in æternum* ; *Harry Stephen*, *magnificasti eum benedictione in seculum*, or as *Pagnin*, *Stephen* in his *catholica expositio ecclesiastica* (in the preface of which printed in 1562 he gives a part of *Buchanan's* version, which he proposed to publish intire foormaster, of the 104. Psalm) tho' he thinks this *Hebraism* signifies, *thou hast set him in such a place as that he shall always abound in all manner of good things*, yet he is positive that this is not the whole of what is intended thereby, but that it has this farther meaning, namely, that the king should overflow with such plenty of blessings as that he might justly be a pattern of divine favour or even that his name should be famous every where for a model in prayer. For the *Hebrews* say those are set for a curse who are rendered so detestable, and on whom the dreadful vengeance of God is inflicted to such a degree, that their name serves for curses and imprecations. In like manner he is said to be set for a blessing, under whose name we conceive desires or wishes ; as if one should say, God grant you the same grace as he did to his servant *David*. \* A like expression we have, *Gen. xii. 2.* concerning *Abraham*, to-whom the Lord said, *I will bless thee, and thou shalt be a blessing.*

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\* *Buchanan* speaks as in a rapture of and to *David* I of Scotland. *Quod si illi (Davidi nostro) divina benignitas est enlargita, ut tu quoque (tu æque ac David rex Judæorum) fias mensura voti.*—— If God of his goodness was pleased to bestow such uncommon measures of his grace on our *David*, as that thou, even thou, our *David* king of Scotland, as well as the royal prophet *David* king of Israel. Because

Because Mr. *Ruddiman*, after racking his invention and refuting the opinions of others, could make no sense of the passage I have been explaining, he will needs notwithstanding, rather than do nothing at all, make black nonsense of it; by *hanc potestatem*, understanding not the royal authority or monarchical government, as he tells us some have done, but the kingdom itself or common-wealth of *Scotland*, (in which sense it is never taken by any good author, but for power, dominion, lordship :) whereas the plain meaning is, the sovereign power of princes, and of *James VI* in particular, abused to the ruining of the religion and liberties of the kingdom, arbitrary unlimited power, power directed not by the rules of law and justice, but by mere will and pleasure.

Lastly, on the words *decretum certum suum finem*, Mr. *Ruddiman* observes that the order of them is so confused that one cannot know with what word to join *certum*: and yet he thinks with *Melvin* that it refers to *decretum*, and that the sentence should be read thus, — *cum ex æternis res humana decretum certum consequatur, suum finem sint habiturae*. He adds, that from his above notes it evidently appears that *Buchanan* had not put his last hand to this epistle dedicatory, (tho' he had written it some days before he shewed it to the two *Melvils* and his nephew Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, when he was not confined to his bed ;) in respect that being near his end, and having lost his wonted vigour, he could

should it become the standard of the prayers of mothers when they bless their dear children — It gives *Buchanan* great pain that *John Major's* severe censure of *David's* being so profusely liberal to the monasteries, had so much foundation in truth. See the character of this prince, *hist. lib. 7 cap. 36*. Having laid aside contending with, or the rivaling of others in all the parts of virtue, he proposed to contend with and outdo himself; and prevailed



not bend his thoughts to these things ; for he scarce lived a full month after. And yet whoever compares the best of *Ruddiman's* productions when at his best estate with this passage of *Buchanan*, will soon be convince that the former was never capable to pen any thing that comes near the passage in question, than which no thing can be finer or more beautiful or couched with better address and art. In it the author proposes one of the best of princes that ever was as a pattern for his pupil's imitation : he rebukes *James VI* for his late misadministration in suffering himself to be misled by *Lennox* and *Arran*, who grievously oppressed both church and kingdom ; he tacitly approves of the enterprize of the nobility at *Ruthven* and their giving a check to the tyranny of the king's wicked ministers, and hindering himself from running upon his own ruin : he gives the prince, and in him all his successors, a caution and admonition not to abuse their power, seeing the goodness of divine providence so signally manifested to this kingdom in former times, laid a foundation of hope, that in succeeding ages the career of *British* tyrants would be controlled ; as in fact it has since *Buchanan's* time, and was eminently so by the glorious revolution that happened in 1688, about an 100 years after his death.

61. PRÆSES, hist. lib. 19. cap. 48, p. 283. e 5. *William Maitland* of *Lettington*, the very life and soul of the deposed queen's faction, having been delivered by his keeper to *William Kirkcaldie* of *Grange* capt. of the castle

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so far in this contest, that men of the greatest parts and learning that have used their efforts to draw the picture of a good king, have not been able to form in their mind the idea of such a one, as *David* shewed himself to be during the whole course of his life, *ut summo ingenio hominum doctissimi, qui boni Regis imaginem exprimere contenderunt, talem non potuerint animo cogitare, qualem se David toto vitæ cursu præstitit.*

at *Edinburgh*, upon a warrant forged by *Kircaldie* himself in name of the earl of *Murray*, and *Kircaldie* refusing, when called next day, to come to the regent, at a very unseasonable time, when *Howard* and the queen were daily expected; this raised the spirits of the opposite faction; and very bad reports were spread abroad, namely, that the regent was forsaken by his intimate friends in a time of danger, and abandoned to the will of his enemies, and that the castle being disaffected, others would follow so notable an example; and the innocent king, and the maintainers of his authority, when their patron and defender, their guardian and protector (meaning *James Stewart* earl of *Murray*, the good regent) was cut off, would in a short time be delivered up to all the torments which the most cruel tyrants should wish to inflict. *Ac brevi fore, ut præside sublato, Rex inermis, ejusque fautores in omnia, quæ sævissimis tyrannis haberet, supplicia traderentur.* This passage has been grossly corrupted, on *Thomas Crawford's* authority, by *Ruddiman*, who very ridiculously pretends that tho' *Ovid Met. 15.* speaking of *Augustus*, said — *Quo præside rerum Humano generi superi cavistis abundè*, yet *Buchanan* never used the word in this sense: and that he ought not in this place to have called him *præses*, whom in many other places he had called by the usual and in a manner peculiar title of *prorox*. But has not this bungler himself told us in another place, that the reading of all the editions is probably that which came from the author's hand, and that it ought to be retained, tho' *Crawford* and *Ruddiman* think another preferable? Did he not know that the greatest masters of style love to vary their expression, than which none more apposite could have been chosen in this place; since *præses* does not only signify a magistrate, or one who presideth in the administration of affairs, but principally a patron, protector or defender? *Præses*, says *Perottus*, is derived

from *præsideo*. *Præsidere est ad opem præstandam præesse, quam præstant proprie, vel Dii precantibus hominibus, vel homines ipsi aliis hominibus injuriam patientibus, vel in discrimen adductis*. Hence the *Dii præsides* the tutelar deities so often mentioned by the *Roman* writers. *Cic. pro domo sua. Dii immortales suorum templorum eustodem ac præsidem secleratissimè pulsum* (meaning probably *Horatius Pulvillius*) *cum viderent ex suis templis in ejus ædeis immigrare nolebant.*--*patrii penates, familiaresque qui huic urbi & reip. præsides estis. Ovid Met. 14. 809. quoniam fundamine magno Res Romana valet, nec præside pendet ab uno, i. e. has more than one tutelar deity to protect and defend it. Id. ib. 1. 594. Jupiter to Io, præside tuta Deo nemorum secreta subibis, 10. 168. caruerunt præside Delphi, i. e. rectore, 14. 88. orbataque præside pinus, i. e. navis spoliata nauclero. Cic. pro Sext. Speaking of the old Romans and their constitution, senatum reip. custodem, præsidem, propugnatorem collocaverunt, Id. Verr. 5. 72. Mercurius juventutis præses & custos, in Rull. 2. 6. Tribunus plebis custos præsesque libertatis. Sen. de Ira. 1. 5. legum præsidem, civitatisque rectorem decet, quamdiu præses, verbis, & his mollioribus, ingenia curare, ut facienda suadeat, transeat deinde ad tristiores orationem, novissimè ad pœnas. Florus 4. 3. speaking of *Augustus*' settling the disturbed body of the *Roman* empire, *Quod ita haud dubiè nunquam coire & consentire potuisset, nisi unius præsidis nutu, quali anima & mente regeretur. Plaut. Cas. 5. 1. 11. locum illi nunc præbet præsidem, i. e. tutum, præsidarium or principem, a garison, a safe place.* \* These authorities are abundantly sufficient to justify *Buchanan*'s use of the word *præsides* here (as in the *Psalms**

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\* *Martial* in a good many places calls the *Roman* emperors *Domitian, Nerva, Trajan*, each *præsides*. And *Curtius* 10. 16. where, *Perdiccas* is speaking of *Alexander*, *haud oblati, in qua urbe, inter quos sumus, quali rege ac præside orlati.*



he has *præses orbis*, meaning God Almighty) and likewise the interpretation I have given of it.

If it were not for such a multitude of similar instances I should be tempted to accuse *Ruddiman* of design rather than ignorance in corrupting this passage, considering how grossly he has abused the most amiable character of the person there spoken of, I mean of that blessed man *James Stewart* earl of *Murray*, upon no better authority than that of *Blackwood* and other such infamous writers as the sober *Roman* catholicks are greatly ashamed of, as *Ruddiman* himself would, if he were not past shame and past feeling. *Thuanus* calls the earl of *Murray* a most innocent, a most upright man, to whose nature all flattery and dissimulation was foreign, a man of a strictness and severity resembling that of the ancients, *priscæ severitatis vir*, which is *Livy's* character of *T. Manlius Torquatus* lib. 22. cap. 60. There was no part of *de Thou's* history that had cost him more pains, or about which he had made more diligent and impartial inquiries than about the earl of *Murray's* character, whose very enemies, those popish *Scots* gentlemen who were obliged to leave their native country for the sake of their religion, found no fault in him but that he was a protestant. They said he was a man free of all ambition, covetousness and injustice, eminent for virtue, gentleness, beneficence and innocence of life, and that had it not been for him, his nephew *James VI*, who hated his memory so much, would never have enjoyed the crown. It was not from one *Colvil* (against whom *Ruddiman*, playing at blind and buffet, has vented so much of his fury, without knowing who or what he was) but many (as *Casaubon* acknowledges in a letter to him, *neque aliud comperisse multis interrogatis quàm quod scripsisti*) that Mr. *de Thou* had his informations. Sir *William Cecil* secretary to *Q. Elizabeth* in two of his letters to the *English* ambassador at the court of *France* dated *Novem-*

ber 1567 and Feb. 1568, quoted by *Keith*, "In *Scot-*  
*" land,"* says he, "all is quiet, and the earl of *Mur-*  
*" ray* ruleth quietly as regent. And again; in *Scot-*  
*" land* things are quietly governed by the regent, who  
*" doth* acquit himself very honourably, to the advance-  
*" ment* of religion and virtue, without respect of per-  
*" sons." Archbishop Spotswood and sir Jas. Melvil* agree  
 with *Thuanus*, the latter asserting in express terms that  
*Murray* was and ever will deservedly be called *the good*  
*regent*. But passing the testimonies of particular persons,  
 Mr. *Jas. Melvil* in the MS. account of his own life tells  
 us, that during the two years he was at the school of  
*Montrose*, being then about twelve or thirteen years of  
 age, the common news that he heard was of the great  
 praises of the government, and in end the heavy moan  
 and pitiful regret among men in all estates for the trait-  
 terous murder of *James* earl of *Murray*, called *the good*  
*regent*. *Ruddiman* was once of opinion, that the gene-  
 ral assembly's choosing *Buthan* for their moderator was  
 of itself sufficient proof of his being a religious good  
 man: and we have the testimony of that same véné-  
 rable body that met in *December 1567* at *Edinburgh* in  
 their last session, in which they appointed a letter to be  
 written to *Willcock*, inviting him to return from *Eng-*  
*land*, very express in favour of the earl of *Murray*;  
 which may be seen in *Keith* at full length: "our ene-  
 mies, praised be God, are dashed; religion establi-  
 ed; sufficient provision made for ministers; order  
 taken, and penalty appointed, for all sort of trans-  
 gression and transgressors; and above all, a godly ma-  
 gistrate, whom God of his eternal and heavenly provi-  
 dence hath reserved to this age, to put in execution what-  
 soever he by his law commandeth." Nay, in *Camden's*  
 annals as we have them manufactured by *Cotton* and *K.*  
*James*, we have an account of what was said for and a-  
 gainst the earl of *Murray*, without a positive determina-  
 tion

tion which side deserves most credit. And *David Camerarius*, whose fury and bigotry for popery is extreme, is forced to own, that the earl of *Murray* and the 3 regents that succeeded him, viz. the earls of *Lennox*, *Mar* and *Morton*, were *four most excellent men*, and that they had no fault but the heresy and rebellion they were involved in the guilt of, that is, their standing in the gap against popery and tyranny. So that the president *de Thou* had good reason in his letter to *Camden*, to insist on the high esteem and veneration the earl of *Murray* was held in by persons of all ranks as a man of singular piety and virtue, for justifying what he had wrote of *Q. Mary*, whatever *Mr. Ruddiman* (who, as he has told us himself in his printed books and caused publish before all the world in the publick news papers, scorns to be behind any man in assurance and confident boasting) may, without any manner of proof, assert to the contrary, *animadv.* pag. 77.

62. PRÆTENTU. lib. 15. cap. 64, 65. pag. 302. d 9, 10. 303. b 4, 5. where we have an account of the mal-administration of *James Hamilton* governour of the kingdom, who was intirely governed by the counsels of his base brother *John Hamilton* archbishop of *St. Andrews*, both being men of great cruelty and avarice. *Archiepiscopus etiam in omnem libidinem solutus, quasi jure permessa in omnes omnium rerum licentia, suis cupiditatibus obsequabatur.* *Ruddiman* has quite spoiled this sentence by leaving out the half of it almost, that is the eight words which you see here in *Roman* characters, not one of which appears in his edition. *William Crichton* lord *Sanquhair* having been murdered by *Robert* lord *Semple* in the governor's lodging and almost in his very presence, the murderer was spared at the intercession of the famous lady *Gilton* the archbishop's principal whore, wife of *William Hamilton* of *Stanehouse* his relation, and a daughter of *Semple's*. *John Melvil* & *Fife* gentleman, (laird



(laird of Reth, says *Thomas Crawford*, great-grand-father to this present lord *Melvil*) who was looked upon as one of the late king's greatest intimates, was next put to death, for no other crime, but because he had written a letter recommending a friend of his, who was a prisoner, to a certain *Englishman*, and his estate was given to *David* the governor's youngest son. Justice courts were held all over the kingdom, under pretence of repressing thefts and robberies, tho' a publick plunder was really designed. For money was extorted from all in general; fines were exacted of thieves and honest men without distinction: and both were punished, not according to the greatness of their crimes, but of their riches. And the professors of the reformed religion felt the effects of his cruelty and avarice, tho' he himself (that is, the governor) had once been of that party: and they (that is, he and his brother the archbishop) had not the cardinal at that time, under the cloke of whose name they might cover their vices. And the money was as scandalously gotten in the governor's name, as it was infamously squandered away by his brother's lewdness. *Nec à sinceræ religionis cultoribus abstinebat crudelitatem, & avaritiam, etsi ipse aliquando eam sectam professus fuisset: nec tum haberent Cardinalem sub cuius nominis prætextu sua vitia tegerent. Nec proregis nomine pecunia turpius quærebatur, quam flagitiosius libidine fratris profundebatur.* It was necessary to set before you the connexion and tenor of the whole of this discourse, that you may the better be enabled to judge of the vanity of *Ruddiman's* pretence for corrupting this passage, and for reading *haberet* and *tegeret*, without any authority, instead of *haberent* and *tegerent*. He says *Buchanan* in that sentence, wherein are the words *nec tum haberent Cardinalem*, is severer than he ought to have been on the governor's cruelty and that in the following sentence he censures his brother's leachery, tho' the

the author taxes the governor *Hamilton* and his brother both alike with cruelty and covetousness ; only he insinuates that the former was more weak (as indeed he was to a prodigy) and the other more wicked. As for the annotator's brags in several places about vindicating governor *Hamilton* from the reproaches thrown out against him by *Buchanan*, we need not be over much afraid, as these bravadoes have hitherto been followed with no real effects, and as one who attempted such a vindication of governor *Hamilton*, in the height of his cavalierism, who had a peculiar attachment to the family, and whose books Mr. *Ruddiman* was never worthy to carry, has come so poorly off ; I mean Dr. *Gilbert Burnet* in the preface to the memoirs of that family.

And as for the turning *prætentu* into *prætextu*, in opposition to the authority of the oldest editions, because *Ruddiman* no where else found that word, it is contrary to one of the canons of criticism laid down by himself. And why, I pray you, may not *prætentu* be derived from *prætendo* as well as *obtentu* from *obtendo*, especially as it very appositely expresses the author's meaning, viz. that cardinal *Beton* was now no more, whose name the governor and his brother might spread before them, or hang up as a veil to cover their own faults ?

63. PROCURATIO. lib. 12. cap. 34. on *Patrick Graham* bishop of *St. Andrews*, which passage has been already quoted under the word *edictum*, in *bona ejus* procuracionem *fisci* immittunt, where *Ruddiman* on the authority of the MS. reads *procuratorem*, not attending that the author here, as in several other places, has added a new beauty to his work, or a figure very common in the best writers, which renders the expression stronger, which *Ruddiman* was incapable to discern ; as *amicitiæ*, *antiquitas*, *clientelæ*, *conjugium*, *consuetudo*, *crimen*, *custodia*, *dominia*, *equitatus*, *ergastula*, *familiaritates*, *hospitia*, *judicium*, *juventus*, *literæ*, *luxuria*, *medicina*, *necessitudo*,

*situdo, operæ, peditatus, possessio, posteritas, scelus, servi-*  
*tia, sodalitates, vastitas, vicinitas, for amici, antiqui, cli-*  
*entes, conjux, familiaris, criminosus, custodes, domini, equi-*  
*tes, stigmatæ, familiares, hospites, judices, juvenes (or mi-*  
*lites), literati, luxuriosi, medici, necessarius, operarii,*  
*pedites, ager sive fundus, posteri, scelestus, servi, sodales,*  
*loca vasta vicini :* just as Buchanan in the psalter uses  
*impietas, vanitas, for homines impii, vani,* in the hi-  
 story *familia* for *famuli*, *legatio* for *legatus*, and in the de-  
*fectio*, pag. 6. l. 25. *Stationes militum* for *militēs stationa-*  
*rii, stationes militum sequi jubet,* she commanded the  
 soldiers that watched to follow. So Livy 6. 3. *Inve-*  
*nit nullam stationem ante mœnia, patentes portas, victo-*  
*rem vagum prædam ex hostium tectis egerentem,* he found  
*no guards* before the walls of the town, the gates open,  
 and the conquerors wandering about the town and gut-  
 ting the houses. Suet. Nero. 47. *ut comperit stationem*  
*militum recessisse, profiluit è lecto,* finding the guards with-  
 drawn, he jumped out of bed. Of this figure or idiom  
 as I said, by which *the thing or state* is put for *the per-*  
*son*, or, to speak in the language of the schools, the *ab-*  
*stract* for *the concrete*, Ruddiman seems to have been ab-  
 solutely ignorant, tho' we have some examples of it in  
 our own language, as *nobility, gentry, cavalry, infantry,*  
 and *venison*, which last, according to Lipsius, is from  
 the *French*, as they have it from the *Latin*, Senec. de be-  
 nef. 1. 12. *Nemo tam stultus est, ut monendus sit, necui*  
*gladiatores aut venationem jam munere edito mittat, &*  
*vestimenta æstiva bruma, hiberna solstitio.* Here *venatio*  
 is used for wild beasts taken in hunting, as Liv. 25. 9.  
*Dux Philomenes erat cum solito, captæ venationis onere,*  
 i. e. with a boar, as it is in Polybius : *grandi bestia,* as  
 Livy himself immediately after. Spartianus in Hadria-  
 no : *venationem semper cum amicis participavit.* Frontin.  
 III. *stratag. venationi quoque & pecoribus quidem insue-*  
*runt literas.* Sidonius lib. IV. *venatu utitur, nec utitur*  
 venatione,



venatione, that is, he uses hunting, but makes no use of what he gets in hunting. *Juvenal. Sat. 14. v. 86. — festinat ad illam Quamprimum rupto prædam gustaverit ovo*, i. e. according to the old gloss, ad venationem, unde nutrita est. See *Ainsworth*, who quotes *Celsus* and *Livy*, and observes that *Casaubon*, *Salmasius* and others falsely ascribe this idiom to later writers.

64. PRONEPOS. *Bapt. Malch. v. 12. Rex Antipatri Semiarabis pronepos.* Here *Ruddiman* thinks the reading should be nepos, and refers us to pag. 13. of his dissertation *de metris Buchananæis*, where we are told, that if we read *pronepos*, the 5th foot will be a trocheus, which, by universal consent, ought to be banished from *Iambic verse*; and further that it would be contrary to historical truth, because that *Herod* was a son of *Herod the Ascalonite*, the son of *Antipater the Idumæan*. But without inquiring how far the *licentia poetica* may be extended, which *Ruddiman* himself proves to be pretty large, and without insisting on the peculiar signification of the word *pronepos*, which I have already shewed may, by analogy at least, signify a descendent indefinitely, I maintain that *Ruddiman* is a little out here in his history, and that he has not been thoroughly acquainted with the genealogy of *Herod Antipas* that beheaded *John Baptist*: for he was a son of *Herod* surnamed the great that murder'd the innocents at *Babylon*, who was a son of *Antipas* or *Antipater*, of a noble family in *Idumæa*, whose father called also *Antipas*, was governor of *Idumæa* under king *Alexander Jannæus* and *Alexandra* his queen: so that, in the common acceptance of the word, *Herod* that beheaded *John Baptist*, whom *Buchanan* must be understood to mean, was the *pronepos* i. e. the great-grand-son of *Antipas* or *Antipater* governor of *Idumæa*. See *Prideaux* in his connection book 6. and 9. of part 2d. vouching what he says from the holy scriptures and *Josephus*, under the years before *Christ* 72. and 3.

65. RESTIS.

65. RESTIS. Iamb. XI. v. 18. *Hi lacrymosa ad facta recte nexili Solis relinquunt sponte lumen.* i. e. some hang themselves in a tow. *Ruddiman* for *recte* reads *rete*, and gives us a learned note upon it, telling us that *rete* seems here to be put in the ablative case, from the nominative *retis*; and that otherwise there was nothing in the nature of the verse to hinder the author from having said *reti*. But in the *errata Ruddiman* is for expunging the above note and substituting the following one in its place, "so all the editions have it; yet Henry Stephen's reading *recte nexili* in his edition of the Greek lyric poets of 1566 is much better." And here we see very evidently how bunglingly and carelessly our editor has executed this part of this commission, I mean the giving us a most correct edition of *Buchanan's* poems. For it appears he has never consulted any edition of the Greek lyric poets (of which there was a 4th printed by *Paul Stephen* in 1600, a copy of which I have before me) till *Freebairn* had finished his edition of *Buchanan's* works. In *Stephen's* edition of the Greek lyrics we have five poems of *Simonides apud Stobæum* and 1 *apud Clement. Alexander*, also 1 of *Alpheus ex lib. 1 anthologiæ epigrammatum*, translated into Latin verse by *Buchanan*, which *Ruddiman* not having seen, besides omitting to give us some various readings, has asserted no less than three falsehoods. The first poem intituled *apud Stobæum in tractatu de vituperio mulierum*, of which there is also an admirable *English* translation in one of the *Spectators*, answers to *Buch. Iamb. X.* and in one of the lines the reading is *Patiens adiri propius, indomitum furit*, tho' *Ruddiman* asserts that all the editions have *indomitumque*, and in the same poem where *Stephen* reads *Depygis, arens offeis crurum artubus*; *Ruddiman* reads *crura* without knowing of any other reading. The next is that, in which he reads *rete* for *recte* (which blunder the looking at the Greek word *anchone* for

a rope might have prevented) is intituled, *apud eundem* (Stobæum) in *tractatu de brevitæ vitæ*, G. B. The 3d answering to *Miscellan.* 32. has this title, *apud eundem in consolatoriis*, G. B. The 4th with this, *apud eundem de incertitudine felicitatis humanæ*. G. B. is the same as *epigr.* 1. 68. where we have it asserted that it is only in *Taurin's* and the *Basil* edition. The 5th answering to *Miscellan.* 38. if we were to believe *Ruddiman*, is only to be found in the *Basil* edition. The 6th and last of *Simonides* of *Buchanan's* translating has this title *apud Stobæum in tractatu de vitæ brevitæ*, *Interprete Georgio Buchanano Scoto*, and answers to *Miscel.* 37. The poem of *Alpheus* taken from the *Anthologia* translated also by *fir Thomas More* ends thus, *to methen gar agan agan me terpei, illud nil nimium, nimis suave est*; but *Ruddiman* knowing no other reading has *nimis juvat me*, and falsely asserts that *Buchanan's* version is only to be found among the *selecta carmina doctissimorum poetarum* published by *Israel Taurinus* in 1590.

66. REX (1.) *hist. lib.* 5. *cap.* 34. *pag.* 85. b8. *Adveniebat enim Ceulinus* orientalium Saxonum Rex vir bellicosissimus cum magnis copiis. i. e. *Ceaulin* monarch and general of the *Anglo-Saxons*, of *Essex* as well as *Wessex* (as *Cenric* his father had been before him) to whom the neighbouring *Saxon* princes, particularly the kings of *Kent*, *Essex* and *Sussex* were forced to submit as his subjects and vassals, a very warlike prince, was coming against the *Scots* (headed by two of king *Aidan's* generals) and *Britons* with a mighty army. *Tyrell* and *Ruddiman* both ignorant of the *Saxon* constitution, according to which *Ceaulin* was elected monarch after his father's death, and both likewise ignorant of the meaning of the word *rex*, have both censured, as the latter has corrupted, this passage of *Buchanan*, turning *orientalium* into *occidentalium*. For the *Saxon* constitution see *Rapin*, vol. 1st, books 2d and 3d, where we are particularly told

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concerning



concerning *Ceaulin*, that he carried the prerogatives of the dignity of monarch to a very great height. The same constitution seems to have been as antient among the *Britons* as *Julius Cæsar*, who informs us *B. G. lib. 5. cap. 11, 22.* that tho' *Cassivelaun* and the other states or kingdoms of *Britain* (of which there were no less than four in *Kent* alone) had before been at perpetual war, yet, upon *Cæsar's* arrival, they elected *Cassivelaun* their monarch and general, *Summa imperii bellique admistrandi, communi consilio, permissa Cassivellauno.*

That *rex* signifies a general of an army is plain from *Horace Sat. 1. 6. 3.* compared with *Od. 1. 1. 1.* (quoted under the word *Avus*) and beginning of *lib. 3. Od. 29.* In the odes he calls *Mecænas Tyrrhena regum progenies*, and *atavis edite regibus*, which in the satyrs is thus explained, *quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarint.* *Mecænas* both on his father and mother's side was descended of ancestors that had the command of armies; and, as *Dacier* observes, they are these captains or generals, whom in other places he calls *reges*. The same *Dacier* on the same author, *Od. 1. 1.* and *Satyr. 2. 2. 45.* assures us, that in the best authors, especially in the poets, *reges* signifies almost always *rich men, great lords, men and women of quality.* And this brings me to

**REX**, (2.) *lib. 5. cap. 43. p. 87 d 5.* *Eugenius quintus, Dongardi Regis filius*, *Eugene* 5th son of *Dongard* a prince of the blood, as having been brother of *Malduin* the late king; which passage *Ruddiman*, ignorant of the meaning of the word *regis*, has miserably defaced, by foisting in the two words *fratris* and *Malduini* in this manner *Eugenius Quintus, Dongardi, [fratris] Regis [Malduini] filius.*

*Julius Cæsar*, *B. Civ. 3. 109.* speaking of the controversy between the children of *Ptolemy Auletes* king of *Egypt*, who were contending for that crown, uses *rex* for

for a prince or princess of the blood, or *reges* for the children of a king, who were *Ptolemy* the eldest son and *Cleopatra* (afterwards so infamous for her lascivious amours) the eldest daughter of *Auletes*; *quum maximè vellet pro communi amico atque arbitro controversias regum componere*. And the term *rex* in *Buchanan. lib. 7. cap. 22. pag. 117 e ult. 118. a 1. Scoti gemina clade ex duorum Regum morte turbati soluta obsidione domos abeunt, — Corpora Regum e Tinmutho, ubi primum fuerant sepulta, Fermelinodunum relata sunt*, must be understood in the above sense or in that of *general*. The *Scots* being confounded at the double discomfiture they had received in the death of their two *generals*, (or of their king *Malcolm 3d* or *Canmore*, and his son *Edward*), raised the siege of *Alnwick* and went home. — The bodies of the two princes (father and son) were brought back from *Tinmouth*, where they had been first buried, to *Dunfermline*.

REX (3.) Psalm 45. v. 60. *Nec tu carminibus, Rex magne, tacebere nostris*: so *Ruddiman* tells us two of the *London* editions have it, viz. that of *Tho. Vautrollier* 1580 and that of *Alexander Yule* 1620; he thinks it the preferable reading, because most part of commentators refer these words to *Jesus Christ*; and yet he has not followed it, but instead of *Rex magne* reads *Regina* with other editions.

67. RITUS. This word is used by *Buchanan* sometimes in a larger, sometimes in a more restrained sense; i. e. sometimes for the christian religion in general, and sometimes for the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist duly administered and purged from the *Romish* corruptions, idolatry and superstition. In the former signification *hist. lib. 4. cap. 36. p. 65. a 9. of Donald I.* about the beginning of the 3d century, when the christians had no liturgies, *Donaldus Regum Scotorum primus Christianos ritus receperat*; he was the first of the *Scots* kings

kings that received the christian religion. So the word is used by *Amm. Marcellin.* in these passages where he speaks of *Christiani ritus solennitas*, *Christiani ritus dies festus*, *Christiani ritus antistites*, *Christiani ritus presbyter.* lib. 27, 28, 29, 31. \* *Prudentius de Epiphania* y, 193. *Quin & propago degener, Ritum secuta inconditum* : *propago degener* denotes the Gentiles, *ritum inconditum* paganism or the heathen religion, as *Christiani ritus homines*, those who profess christianity.

And as *ritus* in the above cited passages signifies religion in general, so in other places it is of the same import as *sacrorum mos* or *ceremoniæ*, holy rites or mysteries or solemnities of religion, as *Ovid. Met.* 6. 591. *Deique Ritibus instruitur.* *Virg. Æn.* 12. 836. *Mores ritusque sacrorum adjiciam.* *Buchanan* in the two passages I am going to cite, seems to understand the word *ritus* chiefly of the two sacred rites or sacraments of the reformed religion. *hist. lib.* 18. *cap.* 56. p. 336. b 7. where we are told that *James* earl of *Morton* and *Alexander* lord *Hume* took the coronation oath for *James VI.* *Juravunt pro eo in leges Jacobus Mortonii comes, & Alexander Humius*: eam doctrinam, (*Ruddiman* upon the bare authority of *Peter Elzevir's* edition 1668 and *Mosman's* 1700, reads *eum*) et ritus religionis, qui tum publicè docebantur, quoad posset servaturum, et contrarios oppugnaturum polliciti. I cannot better explain the meaning of

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\* *Amm. Marcellin. lib.* 15. *conventiculum ritus Christiani.* lib. 22 of *Julian* the apostate ; *illud autem inclementi perenni obruendum silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos & grammaticos, ritus Christiani cultores.* lib. 26. of *Hilarius* a charioteer condemned to death, his slipping away from the executioner, *confugit ad ritus Christiani sacrarium.* And lib. 27. of the bloody contest between *Damasus* and *Ursicinus* for the episcopal see in which *Damasus* had the better, *constatque in basilica Sicinini ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die 137. reperta cadavera peremptorum.*



this sentence, than by quoting an act of parliament concerning the king's oath to be given at his coronation made in *December* the same year 1567. " Because  
 " that the increase of virtue, and suppressing of idola-  
 " try craves, that the prince and the people be of one  
 " perfect religion, which of God's mercy is now pre-  
 " sently professed within this realm : therefore it is sta-  
 " tute and ordained by our sovereign lord, my lord re-  
 " gent and three estates of this present parliament, that  
 " all kings and princes, and magistrates whatsoever,  
 " holding their place, which hereafter in any time  
 " shall happen to reign, and bear rule over this realm,  
 " at the time of their coronation, and receipt of their  
 " princely authority, make their faithful promise by  
 " oath, in presence of the eternal God, that induring  
 " the hail course of their lives, they shall serve the  
 " same eternal God, *to the uttermost of their power*, ac-  
 " cording as he has required in his most holy word, re-  
 " vealed and contained in the new and old testaments :  
 " and according to the same word shall maintain the  
 " true religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his holy  
 " word, and due and right ministration of the sacraments  
 " now received, and preached within this realm : and  
 " shall abolish and gainstand all false religion contrary to  
 " the same :"

A 3d passage where *Buchanan* uses the word *ritus*, is  
*lib. 19. cap. 39. p. 380. b 2. Scoti ante aliquot annos An-*  
*glorum auxiliis è servitute Gallicu liberati religionis cul-*  
*tui, & ritibus cum Anglis communibus subscripserunt.*  
 The Scots having some years before been delivered from  
 the French tyranny by means of the English auxiliary  
 forces, subscribed to the maintaining and setting for-  
 ward the reformation of the same religion, and due ad-  
 ministration of the same sacraments which the English  
 professed and held in opposition to the Roman doctrines,  
 abuses and profanations. For this must refer either

to the last band (as *Knox* calls it) made at *Leith* 27. *April* 1560, by which the *Scots* promised, in the most solemn manner, to set forward the reformation of religion, according to God's word, and to procure, by all means possible, that the truth of God's word may have free passage within the realm, with due administration of the sacraments, and all things depending upon the said word : or must refer to what passed in the parliament in *July* and *August* the same year when the reformation was legally established in this kingdom. In that lawful and free parliament, the pestiferous, damnable *Romish* doctrines of transubstantiation, adoration of the *hostie*, the merit of works, indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimage, and praying to saints departed, were abolished, the confession of faith, as we have it in *Knox* and *Calderwood*, was ratified, and the pope's supremacy, and the *Mass*, which profaned the sacraments of baptism and of the body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, were nulled.

Mr. *Ruddiman* informs us that our countrymen have had a sharp dispute about the meaning of the above cited words of *Buchanan*, that the *presbyterians* would have nothing else to be signified by them, but that, according to the terms of the conference at *Leith* or *Edinburgh* in the year 1560, the *Scots* promised in general, that in time coming they would maintain and establish by laws the same worship of God and the same doctrines of religion purged from the popish errors, which were then prevalent in *England*; but that on the other hand the *episcopalians* and liturgies contend that *Buchanan*, by adding the word *ritibus*, intended something more, and think that not the same heads of religion only, but also the same rites and ceremonies, and consequently the church of *England's* set forms of prayer, which now they so much dislike, were then introduced and some years after in use among the *Scots*. "For my own part," continues he, "tho' I (being disposed to believe implicitly and without e-

"vidence)

vidence) incline more to the latter opinion, yet lest  
 "I" (who have so often meddled with affairs that lye out  
 of my sphere and particularly such as are theological)  
 "should seem to be acting out of character, I leave the  
 whole matter to the divines to dispute about it," *tho'*  
*it may be easily decided by one that knows a little Latin and*  
*has looked into our history and records, in which never man*  
*was better versed than I am.* "however," as an evi-  
 dence of my partiality. "I refer you" not to any writer  
 among the naughty presbyterians but "to Sage's funda-  
 mental charter of Presbytery, and his answer to the dialogue  
 between the countryman and the curate."

M. Ruddiman may the more readily pardon the pres-  
 byterians their aversion to the book of common  
 prayer of the church of *England*, for which upon many  
 occasions they have not been wanting to give good sub-  
 stantial reasons, that his own divines, of whom *Robert*  
*Keith* his ghostly father and dearly beloved brother and  
 fellow labourer is a principal one, have discovered full  
 as great a dissatisfaction, for which no just reason can  
 be given but their affection to popery. Mr. *James Dun-*  
*dals* in his impartial enquiry into the rise and progress  
 of the ancient usage of *prayers for the dead*, printed in  
 1743, a pamphlet very well worth the perusing, tells  
 us, that the *usage-men* drew up and published and dis-  
 persed a spurious and corrupt communion-office of their  
 own, falsely intitling it, *The communion-office, for the use*  
*of the church of Scotland, authorized by K. Charles I. an-*  
*no 1636*; "wherein, by an abominable crime of lese-  
 majesty, they calumniated the glorious memory of  
 that royal martyr, fathering their own depravations  
 upon his authority, in order to palm them upon the  
 nation with the less suspicion." Of these depravati-  
 ons *Dundals*, who you see is no presbyterian, gives se-  
 veral instances, the last of which makes the holy sacra-  
 ment not a memorial only, but a true and real sacrifice of  
 the



the body and blood of our Lord. He proves by the authority of Mr. *Samuel Downes*, a divine of the church of *England*, who compared the offices together, that the new communion office, which Mr. *Ruddiman*'s divines design to introduce, is taken from that compiled by Mr. *Whiston*, for the use of the *Arians* in *England*. *Dundas* goes on : " And it is most certain that, agreeably " to this, some of the ministers of that party have of " late refrained, in their publick worship, to read the " *Athanasian* creed, which was made expressly against " the *Arians* : as sometime ago did one, then a presbyter, but now one of their leading bishops ; (he means *Keith*) who, being censured for it by the worthy *Alexander Ross*, then bishop of *Edinburgh*, and by him threatened with deposition, if he continued to do so, did afterwards indeed read it ; but much against his inclination, as was manifest, by his prefacing his reading of it with these words, *The Athanasian Creed by order*." The same *Dundas* goes next to prove *Keith*'s popery, idolatry, superstition and blasphemy from his translation of *Thomas à Kempis* and his preface to it.

Mr. *Ruddiman* and his divines seem to be much of a-piece, that is very inconsistent. For, according to his account of the dispute about *Buchanan*'s use of the word *ritus*, they would seem to be proud of the honour of being descended from our reformers, and of having them on their side : yet, according to *Keith* and *Ruddiman* himself, our reformers were a set of *seditious, rebels, traitors, forgers, perjurers, and in one word, infamous villains*, to whom no person or party that had any reputation to lose would be fond to claim a relation. Before the reformation had a parliamentary settlement and some time after, they had a book for their direction in discipline and external worship, called the *book of common order*, or the *order of Geneva*, by which is meant the order of the *English church of Geneva*, where *Knox* had been

been some time minister. This is quite a different book from the book of common prayer or liturgy of the church of *England*. The prayers of the former are set down as samples, none are tied to them ; as you may see in the direction set down before the confession of sins, where the minister is said to use that confession, or the like in effect.

Here I will borrow some passages from *Oldmixon*, who was no presbyterian ; and if Mr. *Ruddiman* be frightened, I cannot help it. Q. *Elizabeth* was a woman as well as a queen, and loved dress as well as any of her sex. Like other women she delighted in show and pomp, and was loth to part with any thing of that kind : by retaining so much of the *Romish* splendor, the ecclesiasticks did at once please her vanity, and their own. Q. *Elizabeth*, says bishop *Burnet*, received some impressions in her father's reign, in favour of such old rites as he had still retained ; and in her own nature loving state, she thought her brother had stript religion too much of external ornaments, &c. And sir *Simon D'ewes* in his parliamentary collections, informs us, that seven bills were prepared by the house of commons for a farther reformation in religion, but were dashed by the queen as against her prerogative.——Mr. *Osborn* informs us, that all the ceremonies used at Q. *Elizabeth's* inauguration were popish, and that the ring, cross and surplice were retained, contrary to the grain of her best friends.——A great number of the bishops and clergy, and of the laity, lords and commons, did insist upon it, that the reformation would not be, and was not compleated by the 39 articles, or the uniformity act. — The majority of the house of commons were for reforming still further, and not for drawing the least back towards the church of *Rome*. Mr. *de Maizeaux*, in the life of *Chillingworth*, writes thus : I must observe that there was at that time, when *Coleman* and *Hallingham* began

began puritanism according to our historians, a division in the church of *England*: the puritans, that is, such as were for a further reformation, desired, that some practices which had been retained upon political considerations, might be abolished, and these had the majority in parliament: so the majority of the legislature was on the *Puritan* side.——When the bill to ratify the articles was brought before them, they did in regard to those clergy-men, (who were like themselves for a further reformation,) limit the subscription to the articles which concern the confession of the true religion, and left a latitude in what relates to discipline and ceremonies. It may therefore justly be said of the *Scots*, that their religion was exactly the same with that of a very great body of the *English* at the time of the reformation. Dr. *Nicolson* bishop of *Carlisle* in his *Scots* hist. library, acknowledges that *Bond* has not rightly translated *Buchanan's* words. In that celebrated passage, says he, about the conformity of the *Scots* to the *English* church-discipline, we are told that upon their deliverance from the *French* power, *they observed, and subscribed to the same rites in religion in common with the English*; which carries the matter of fact a little further than *Buchanan* himself had done: and sufficiently proves that the translator had no mind to conceal any part of the good temper the *Scots* were in then, towards the established *Liturgy*, and canons of the church of *England*.

68. SACRIFICIUM. In the account of the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper by that blessed martyr Mr. *George Wishart*, immediately before his being brought forth to execution, *Lindsay of Pitscottie* has these words, taken from a MS. and not from the printed copy of that author. "Be this the table being covered and bread set thereon, Mr. *George* began his exhortation, whilk declared to them" [of the castle of *St. Andrews*.] "Christ's last supper, death and passion,"



sion, which continued the space of half an hour, exhorting them to leave [forsake] malice, rancor and envy, and affix love and charity in their hearts one to another, that they may be members in Christ, and be their advocate to his father." Here is Buchanan's Latin translation of this passage. *hist. lib. 15. cap. 36. p. 294. a. Interea mensa, ut mos, linteo operta, impositoque pane, Georgius differere breviter, ac dilucidè cœpit de Christi cœna, tormentisque, & morte circiter horæ dimidium loqui. Hortatus est autem præcipuè, ut abjecta ira, invidia, ac malitia, in animos imprimerent mutuum amorem, ac perfecta fierent membra Christi, qui assidue pro nobis interpellat patrem, ut nostrum sacrificium apud eum propiciat in vitam æternam.* The last words are thus rendered by the author of the *histoire des martyrs* printed in 1608: *lequel intercede continuellement pour nos envers son Pere, afin que nostre sacrifice de reconnoissance & action de graces luy soit agreable, à vie eternelle, i. e.* who makes continual intercession for us to his father, that our *sacrifice of gratitude and thanksgiving* may be accepted by him unto life eternal.

Ruddiman informs us that *Melvin* on these words has the following marginal note, "I know not," says he, whether *Wishart* called the supper *sacrificium*; it is not likely, unless you add *eucharisticum*; and this is taken notice of, because of the great controversy raised in *England* about that matter, and not then settled, some very eminent divines contending that the Lord's supper is a true and proper sacrifice, and others' maintaining the contrary. And we are referred to *Hickes'* christian priesthood and *Hancock's* animadversions upon him. Those divines, followers of *Johnson, Hickes* and *Laud*, are now Mr. *Ruddiman's* spiritual fathers, directors of his conscience, whose principles, particularly the right reverend *Rob. Keith's*, are thus described by Mr. *Dundas* pag. 37. It is too well known, that they are

devoted to the *usages*, that is to say, they are, 1. for *prayers for the dead*, in the *unscriptural* and *superstitious* way. 2. They are for *mixing the Eucharistick cup with water*, which hath no foundation in scripture, nor in apostolick institution ; but was introduced after the apostles deaths by *Alexander I.* bishop of *Rome*, as Mr. *Collier* acknowledgeth in his *historical dictionary*, under the name *Alexander*. 3. They are for consecrating the eucharistick elements, by the *invocation of the descent of the Holy Ghost*, to infuse the virtue of Christ's body and blood into the bread and wine, by which descent these elements (as they say) receive their quickening and life-giving virtue : and accordingly they pray, that the elements may be made Christ's body and blood ; not *relatively* and *conditionally*, to us, or to the *faithful*, on account of their *faith* ; but *absolutely* and in *themselves*. Now, who can distinguish such a change from *transubstantiation* ? 4. and *Lastly*, they are for the *oblation* of the elements, I should rather say, *the very body and blood of our Lord*, (for their prayer of *oblation* comes after the consecration), as a *true, real sacrifice, propitiatory*, not only for the living, but the dead : for their *prayer for the whole state of Christ's church*, in which are their prayers for their dead, comes after their prayers of consecration and oblation, as one of the ends and designs of them. What is this different from the *mass* ? And therefore they omit the *commemorative clause* in the words of distribution, as too much favouring a *memorial*, and not a *sacrifice* ; although that commemoration be exactly agreeable to our Lord's command at the institution : *Do this in remembrance of me*. Thus far *Dundas* on the principles of the *usage-men*, who are making shameful advances to popery, of which that of a *real propitiatory sacrifice* in the eucharist was a distinguishing tenet for about half a century after the reformation of *England* and *Scotland*. Nor can we suppose that *Buchanan*, who was

a consummate divine, and spent about five years or most of the time he was in the Mareschal de *Brissac*'s service in the study of the holy scriptures, with this particular view that he might the more perfectly judge of the controversies between the papists and the reformed, could possibly misrepresent Mr. *Wishart*'s doctrine on the subject of the eucharist, or mean any thing by the word *sacrificium* but the sacrifice of thanksgiving offered up to God through Jesus Christ, whose merits can only render all our oblations acceptable to his father.

And here it may not be improper, in order to shew the difference between the doctrine of the papists and *usage men* and that of our reformers, to mention the grounds of the latter as we have them laid down in the holy scriptures, which often speak of prayer, alms, holiness and repentance, in one word, of all the spiritual service we owe to God, as so many *sacrifices* which we are bound to present to him through Jesus Christ, 1 *Pei.* ii. 5. By him (i. e. Christ *Heb.* xiii. 15, 16.) let us offer the *sacrifice* of God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name; and in the same place the same apostle recommends to the rich *Hebrews*, not to forget to do good, and to communicate, because with *such sacrifices* God is well pleased. And in another place, he comprizes the whole extent of the duties of holiness in this term, when he exhorts the *Romans* (xii. 1.) to present their bodies, a *living sacrifice*, holy, acceptable unto God, which is their reasonable service. And therefore (*Heb.* xiii. 10. *Rom.* iii. 25.) he calls Jesus Christ our altar and our propitiation; because in him we find in spirit by the merit of his death, and by the efficacy of his intercession, all that which the carnal *Jew* sought in his propitiatory, or mercy seat. With respect to the last mentioned passage from the *Hebrews*, it ought to be remembered, that that epistle was written to the disciples of the synagogue and followers



of *Moses* that were come into the church, and had embraced *Jesus Christ* : no wonder then, if we see it full of passages of the old testament, conceived in terms of their language, expressed by ways of speaking, which to them were peculiar and familiar. Thus *Paul*, writing to the *Gentiles*, alludes to the customs and exercises which were in use among them, in order to describe the mysteries of the *Christian* religion ; as when he speaks of a *race* and a *fight*, of a *crown* and a *prize* : just so, because the *Jews*, attached to their ceremonies, spoke of nothing but altars, *sacrifices*, victims and meats ; the apostle, to make them the more easily understand the doctrine of the gospel, clothes it, so to speak, in the *Mosaic* dress, and speaks of it under those ancient names, not meaning that it was one and the same thing, but to let them know, that what they sought in vain in these weak and beggarly elements of the world, we have it perfectly in the mysteries of the gospel ; different indeed as to the exterior, but which at the bottom are the body and truth of all the ancient shadows. In this respect *Paul* often opposes the law of faith to that of works, the circumcision of the spirit to that of the flesh, the inward washing of regeneration to the purifications of the body, the propitiatory of grace to that of the law, the heavenly sanctuary to the worldly sanctuary, the *spiritual sacrifices* of our bodies and souls to the *gross sacrifices* of beasts, and the mystical altar of *Jesus Christ* to the material altar of *Moses*,

When the fathers called the sacrament of the holy supper, as they often did, by the name of altar, they did not understand it literally, as if it was a material altar, on which there should still be offered a *propitiatory sacrifice* for the sins of the living and the dead ; for, if that had been their meaning and their practice, why would they have been so oft reproached with having neither *altars*, nor *sacrifices* ; as appears by the writings of

*Arnobius*

*nobis*, Origen, *Minutius Felix* and several others? And why would they have answered, as they do, that their altars were their souls, and their victims their bodies, and their sacrifices their prayers, their thanksgivings and their alms? They might easily have refuted the accusation of the Jews and Gentiles, by letting them see that they were not without altar, nor without sacrifice. Their never having done so, is a sufficient evidence that it was not properly that they called the holy table an altar, but improperly and by a figure, because that sacrament is the representation and commemoration of the sacrifice which Jesus Christ offered for us on the cross, and a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving which we present to God in acknowledgment of the redemption which he hath given us through the blood of his Son. And agreeable to this, the expression of *sacrifice of praise* is to be found in the canon of the mass to this very day.

69. SÆVITIES. lib. 4. cap. 19. p. 59. b 9. Rege — *adversa infortunæ sævitiem conferente*. *Ruddiman* finds the word *sævities* in *Apuleius* alone, who wrote when the Latin language was not in its purity, *Metam. lib. 6. Canis sævitiem offula reliqua redime*. All others, as far as he knows, write *sævitia*. If *Harry Stephen*, no mean judge, is to be credited, *Apuleius' Latin* is none of the worst, *fortasse non tam malus est Latinitatis autor quam vulgus putat*: but let it be as bad as Mr. *Ruddiman* pleases, are not the following words in *Lucretius*, *Cicero*, *Horace*, *Virgil*, *Livy*, *Varro*, &c. *amicities*, *avarities*, *canities*, *desidies*, *durities*, *maceries*, *mundicies*, *muries*, *nequities*, *notities*, *planicies*, *proficies*, *segnities*, full as impure and uncouth as *sævities*. To which words enumerated by *Vossius*, lib. 3. c. 35. *amarities* in *Cic.* and *Catull.* (for which others have *amaritas* or *amaritudo*) *barbaries*, *diligenties* in *Cic.* *luxuries* in *Cæs.* *materies* and even *segnitas* in *Cicero* might be added. *Cic. Fam. 16. 9. In hoc omnem diligentem si adhibueris, teque nobis in-*

*columem præstiteris, omnia à te habeo.* Id. de Invent. lib. 2. or de oratore lib. 1. & *quoniam de imprudentia diximus, castigemus etiam segnitatem*; so it is quoted by *Nonius* and *Perottus*. What greater harm is there in writing sometimes *sævitia* and sometimes *sævities* than in using *contagium, contagio, contages* in the same signification in three different declensions and with three different terminations? Or is *sævities* a whit worse than *sævitus* in *Plautus Bacchidibus*, as quoted by the same *Nonius* and *Perottus*? *Vincla, virgæ molæ* (others *molle* or *mole*) *sævitus mala fit pejor*. But to let you see that Mr. *Ruddiman* is not so thoroughly acquainted with the *Latin* writers as he would have the world to believe, I shall give you a quotation from no less an author than *Tacitus*, where we meet with the word *sævities*. Annal. 11. 10. 8. *Deinde prævaluit Gotarzes. potitusque regia, per sævitiem ac luxum adegit Parthos mittere ad principem Romanum occultas preces, quís permitti Meherdatem patrum ad fastigium orabant.*

70. SEDES. See under the verb *cæpi*.

71. SINUS. lib. 1. cap. 23, 29. pag. 10. c 7. and pag. 12. b 11. *multis sinibus angustis* and *sinibus maris*. From these two passages *Ruddiman* proves that *Buchanan* always wrote *sinibus*, and acquaints us that he could never see *Sinus* in any good author in the dative or ablative plural, that in the oldest editions of *Bede* the reading is *sinibus*, but that the later editions and best MSS. have *sinibus*. Because this critick has favoured us with such important remarks on the word *sinus*, I shall help him to two passages where it occurs in the dative or ablative plural, and is written *sinibus*, and let him improve them to the utmost against *Buchanan*. Ann. Marcell. lib. 19. speaking of the sudden and unexpected assault of a multitude of *Persians* on the *Roman* army in their march, *Quo exemplo terrigenas illos, non sinibus terre emerfos, sed exuberanti pernecitate credimus natos*: —

Id.



Id. lib. 20. *abreptique finibus matrum parvuli, ipsæ quoque matres trucidabantur.* Yet Buchanan's reputation is not in the least shaken by these authorities and criticisms; for Vossius has observed from Servius on Virgil Georg. lib. 3. that the dative and ablative plural is expressed by *ubus* for the sake of better sound, as *specubus, tribubus*, (no one says *tribibus*) *lacubus, genubus, portubus, verubus* in Ovid, Seneca, Cæsar, &c.

72. SORS. *Franciscan. pag. 11. v. 19. nova cui fuerit provincia tradita sorti.* Ruddiman conjectures it should rather be *sorte* according to that of Ovid Met. 2. — *cur illi tradita sorte Æquora decrescunt.* — Not to repeat what has been before observed that our critic is offended at those who call Buchanan a servile copier, had he consulted Vossius de arte Grammat. lib. 2. cap. 12. he would have found many such ablatives in *i*, and *sorti* among the rest in very good old authors, as *affinitati, alipedi, amni, angui, avi, cani, civi, fini, fusti, igni, imbri, labi, lapidi, luci, messi, monti, mugili, navi, occipiti, ovi, parti, posti, sordi, sorti, suppellectili, ungui*, besides nouns used adverbially as *vesperi, tempori*. Vossius' authority for *sorti* is an uncontested passage of Plautus Casin. act. 2. Scen. 7. v. 5. *equidem tamen Sorti sum victus.*

73. SPES. *hist. lib. 9. cap. 65. Hoc ipso tempore cum ex induciis in spem pacis inter Francos, & Anglos per Pontificem, & vicinos principes ventum esset,* — It was not peace, says Ruddiman without naming his voucher, but a three years truce that was made at that time between the kings of France and England, which was to laste from 19. of June of the year 1389 to the 16. of August of the year 1392. It is hard to determine whether the annotator in this place knew what he was writing, or not. If he knew what he was saying, we have an instance of his unparalleled vanity and impudence, and a plain proof either that he thought his readers

ders had no eyes, or would so far indulge their laziness and be so far prepossessed with an opinion of his infallibility, as, without turning to *Buchanan's* text, of which he shews them no more but these two words *spem pacis*, that they would swallow any absurdity he should think fit to impose upon them, namely this, that hope and enjoyment are precisely one and the same thing; for without such a supposition his note is altogether impertinent.

In *Rymer's foedera* there are numberless instances of truces made in expectation of peace to follow: and in above 100 pages of Tome VII, that is from page 608 to 725, from the year 1388 to 1392, you cannot turn many leaves without meeting with a confirmation of what is here said by *Buchanan*. *Richard II's* safe conduct for the ambassadors of *France* dated at the palace of *Westminster* 16. *Novr.* 1388, of his reign the 12th year, bears expressly, that to the honour and for the fear of God, and for avoiding the effusion of christian blood, and the other evils that proceed from war and *a la priere & requeste de plusieurs notables parsonnes de grant estat*, at the prayer and request of several eminent persons of high rank, he had condescended to treat of peace with his adversary of *France*. Ten days after, that is *Novr.* 26. he names commissioners to treat, not only of truce, but also of a good lawful true and final peace with the same adversary of *France*. The truce taken at *Lenlyngham Jun.* 18. 1389, was to commence in *Guyenne, Gascogne*, and the parts between the *Loyre* and the *Rosne*, the 1st of *August*, and in all other parts both by sea and land belonging to the kings of *France* and *England* and their allies, the 15th of *August* at sun rising that year, and to laste till the 16 of *August* 1392 at sun rising; where you see *Ruddiman* has confounded the time when the truce was made with the time of its commencement; nay he has the date of the record wrong, *June 19* for *June*

June 18. See Rymer pag. 626, 630. The safe conduct for Mr. Peter Fresuel and Hennart de Campheruart ambassadors of France going to Scotland is dated Westminster July 3. 1389, and the order for proclaiming the truce between England and France is dated July 8 that year. In the safe conduct (pag. 667) for the commissioners of France (dated Westminster 20 March 1390) named to treat of peace 15 days after Easter next with those of England on the marches of Picardie and Artoys the late truce is said to have been granted to a certain time *en esperance de traicter ce pendant de bone paix*, in hope of treating the mean while of a good peace. There are two commissions, dated Westminster, April 8 1390, to agree to a truce between the adversary of France and his friends, and Richard says of himself, desiring to come to a good peace with our said adversary, we have ordained our men to assemble with his *surlesaiot de traicte de paix*. Of the same date are two commissions or powers to the same persons (and a 3d by which others are joined in the commission) to treat, and fully and finally to accord and come to a good final and true peace and accord, between Richard and his allies and the adversary of France and his friends, see pag. 668, 9, 670. And not only was the truce made at Lenlyngham, which was confirmed by Robert III. of Scotland at Perth July 16 1390, prorogued from 16 August 1390 to Michaelmas next to come, and from Michaelmas to a year ensuing, but two commissions were granted by Richard at Nottingham 20 June 1392 to treat of peace between him and the king of France, see Rymer from pag. 714 to 729. And here we may by the way take notice of Ruddiman's want of exactness in the very place where he is accusing Buchanan of that fault, or rather of not saying every thing or relating every circumstance that is to be found in Rymer. For on the words *lib. 10 cap. 1 p. 177 c 6. Initio regis i foris quies fuit induciis trien-*



nalibus cum Anglo factis : ac paulo post in quatuor annos præterea prorogatis, the note is, it should rather have been said, *ac paullo post in duos, ac deinde in quatuor annos præterea prorogatis*, for which we are referred to Rymer tome 7 p. 714 and 769. And in pag. 714 and 725, 748, 9, 758, 770, we have three or four, instead of two prorogations of the truce taken at *Lenlyngham* 18 of *June* 1389, which commences the 15 *August* that year and ended 16 *August* 1392. First it was prorogued from 16 *August* to *Michaelmas* 1392. 2ly, From *Michaelmas* 1392 to *Michaelmas* 1393. 3ly, On the 28 of *April* 1393 the truce was prolonged from *Michaelmas* 1393 to *Michaelmas* 1394. And 4thly and lastly, at *Lenlyngham* on *Wednesday* 27 *May* 1394 the truce was prorogued from *Michaelmas* that year to *Michaelmas* 1398. So that *Ruddiman's* proposed correction of this passage of *Buchanan*, (which is not contradicted by the *foedera*, and which, tho' the author had seen these records, he needed not to have altered) would not improve it into all possible perfection. To return,

*SPES expectatio futuri boni est.* This is *Cicero's* definition *Tusc.* 4, 37. And to make it sensible to M. *Ruddiman* himself that hope and enjoyment are not precisely one and the same thing ; frail as his memory is now become, he may remember the time about which his edition of *Buchanan's* works was finished, when *Freebairn* his employer, at that time printer to his late majesty K. *George I*, repaired to the army of the popish pretender at *Perth*, and following his camp, printed the rebels papers ; I say he may remember the high expectations he had at that time of the pretender's being set upon the throne. But though he could be supposed capable of forgetting that time, yet surely, as long as he remembers any thing in this world, he must remember the time when he saw the most glorious sight that ever his eyes beheld, that is the young hero

hero possessed of the capital of this kingdom, and upon the point of seizing the crown of other two kingdoms, when hope was raised to the greatest height possible : and even after the fatal battle of *Culloden* there was still hope that the *French* monarch would continue the war with his *Britannick* majesty, by which means these kingdoms being made a new scene of blood and confusion, the young adventurer's affairs, seemingly in so desperate a situation, might be retrieved. And even at this very day we may suppose that Mr. *Ruddiman's* hopes of the coming of his deliverer, any more than those of the *Jews* about their *Messiah*, have not altogether left him, especially when buoy'd up by so many visions and revelations and prophecies and signs and wonders. But it would be hard to suppose him so perfectly chimerical as to dream that his *hope* was turned into *fruition*.

After all, one would be tempted to suspect that *Buchanan's* context (which you may see quoted under the word *pax*) had put him into such a furious fit of passion, that his reason was over-clouded by it, and that he knew not well what he was writing. For there, I mean in *Buchanan's* text, the first article of Mr. *Ruddiman's* creed is quite overturned, that is, the absolute uncontrollable power of our *Scottish* kings, which together with their divine hereditary right, (no older, by his own confession, than the days of *Kenneth III*, when the kingdom was of about 1300 years standing,) rather than disbelieve, he has in effect declared before all the world in his late writings, that he would almost choose not to believe in *God the father almighty maker of heaven and earth, nor in Jesus Christ his only son our Lord.\**

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\* In the answer to Mr. *Logan's* treatise on government, page 64, 5. after a furious declamation against our reformation, and what he calls another reformation of that reformation in the days of *K. Charles I* ; " if, says *Ruddiman*, our religion now is to stand upon the same bottom,

74. SPIRITUS. See under the conjunction et.

75. SPONSALIA. *lib. 14. cap. 49. pag. 275. c. 5*  
 on the match proposed between king James V and Mary de Bourbon daughter of Charles duke of Vendosme, *cætera quidem facile convenerant : tamen legati veriti non animo Regi hæ nuptiæ forent, Sponsalia eo inconsulto facere non audebant.* And tho' as to other points the duke or the king of France and the king of Scotland's ambassadors easily agreed ; yet the latter fearing lest the match should not be to their master's liking, durst not venture to perform or make good what had been promised in the contract of marriage, that is to celebrate the marriage, to marry the young lady as proxies for their master, and so conclude the bargain, without acquainting him, for says *Lindsay*, they had no commission to end, to conclude or finish the bargain, till the king saw the gentlewoman himself. *Buchanan's* words suppose that there was a contract, as does what he says in the very next sentence, *rem tantum non transactam*, an affair well nigh ended and concluded.

*Sponsalia* signifies not only the contract or espousals but whatever relates to the bride and bridegroom : and the following examples will make it plain, that it de-

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“ one would be almost tempted to think, that we had a  
 “ good fall back to our most antient religion. I do not  
 “ mean *popery* (for that has been chiefly propagated and  
 “ supported by the same means) but honest plain *Pagan-*  
 “ *ism* ; in which however various its schemes might be  
 “ yet there were no such contests about them, nor were  
 “ they attended with such dire consequences.” But since  
 “ *Buchanan* took his pattern from the *Roman* and other  
 “ antient histories, in which kings are treated very con-  
 “ temptuously, and the opposers, or even murderers, of  
 “ such of them as were bad, are highly commended by  
 “ these *heathenish* writers,” (*ibid.* page 62.) black *Atheism*  
 must be our last resort.



notes a wedding or marriage-feast or solemnity ; and that the celebrating of it may be expressed by *facere sponsalia* alike as the preceeding contract. *Suet. Claud. 12.* In instance of oeconomy, *sponsalia filiae, natalemque geniti nepotis silentio, ac tantum domestica religione transegit.* He celebrated the wedding of a daughter, and the birthday of a grandson, with great privacy at home. *Clarke.* *Id. Aug. c. 53. officia cum multis mutuo exercuit : nec prius dies cujusque solennes frequentare desiit, quam grandis jam natu, & in turba, quondam sponsaliorum die vexatus.* *Juvenal. Sat. 6. 25.* *Conventum tamen, & pactum, & sponsalia, nostra tempestate paras,* i. e. as *Lubinus* explains it, *tu nihilominus ævo nostro moliris cœtus atque contractus, ac matrimonia.* *Plin. epist. 1. 9.* *Sponsalia, aut nuptias frequentavi.* *Sen. de tranquil. animi, c. 12* speaking of those who live at large, and ramble about without proposing any particular design to themselves, whose time lies heavy on their hands, and who seem very silly, *quorundam, quasi ad incendium currentium, miserebentur : usque eò impellunt obvios & se aliosque præcipitant : interim cucurrerint, aut salutaturi aliquem non resalutatum, aut funus ignoti hominis prosecuturi, aut judicium sæpe litigantis, aut sponsalia sæpe nubentis, & lectum affectati, quibusdam locis & ipsi tulerint.* *Cicero ad Q. fratrem lib. 2. epist. 4.* *Dederam ad te litteras antea, quibus erat scriptum, Tulliam nostram Crassipedi prid. non. (i. e. the 4th) April. esse desponsam.* It appears from the next letter of *Cicero's* to his brother *Quinctius* that *Tullia's* wedding was solemnized two days after the contract. *Ad. VIII. id. (i. e. the 6th,) Apr. sponsalia Crassipedi præbui.* *Huic convivio puer optimus, Qu. tuus, meusque, quod perleviter commotus fuerat, defuit.* Here *sponsalia*, as is plain from the words following *huic convivio*, signifies the marriage feast or entertainment, the expense of it having been furnished by *Cicero* the bride's father.

father. \* And tho' in the account of *Scipio's* younger daughter being married to *Tib. Gracchus*. *Liv.* 38. 57. *Sponsalibus rite factis* may possibly signify the marriage contract, yet in *Cic. ad Attic* 6. 6. there is nothing to limit the expression to that precise meaning. *Ego dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, subito sum factus accusatoris ejus socer*———*certos homines ad mulierem miseram, qui Roman venerunt factis sponsalibus.*

*Ruddiman*, and *Keith* after him, opposes *Mexera's* testimony to that of *Buchanan* concerning the intended match between *James V* and *Mary de Bourbon*, imagining that *Sponsalia facere* can mean nothing else but signing a contract of marriage, and *Keith* adding, (what *Buchanan's* words imply, viz. that they agreed on all other points save one, which must have been the concluding point or actual celebration of the marriage *per verba de presenti*) that he has seen a copy of the contract in the lawyers library, dated at *Cremien* in the dauphinate 6th of *March* 1535-6, signed both by the king of *France*, the adoptive father of the princefs, and by all our king's ambassadors. *Keith* makes finishing the marriage contract (which is his *English* for *facere sponsalia*) to be the same as signing it.

76. *SUCCESSUS*, *lib.* 8 *cap.* 35 p. 144. b *successu Bruffianorum partium in Scotia animadversa*, *Ruddiman* looking upon this as a typographical error, reads *animadverso*, after the foreign editions, tho' it reads easier the other way. I have already observed on the word *cla-*

\* Tho' *Sinsuorib* after *Littleton*, translates marriage-gifts, which seems to be the meaning of *M. Sen. Snafor.* 1. when the *Athenians* proposed to *M. Antony* to marry their *Minerva*, *dixerunt despondere ipsos in matrimonium Minervæ suam, & rogaverunt ut duceret. Ac Antonius ait ducturum, sed dotis nomine imperare se illis mille talenta.* And a little after *Athenienstum Sponsalia mille talentis æstimata sunt.* Either marriage-gifts or the expence of the wedding.

*vis,*

vis, that the politeſt writers have had a greater regard to the ear than to the rules of grammarians. This liberty, which ought to be allowed to none but ſuch as are perfect maſters at fine writing and which has been taken by *Buchanan* but in two or three inſtances at moſt may be exemplified in *ſpecus*, which is uſed in the maſculine, feminine and neuter, *panis* maſculine and *pane* neuter in *Plautus*, *moles* maſc. *Liv. lib. 3.* *Gruter's* edition, on the war between the *Romans* and *Æqui*, the mob of the latter ſaid, *Æquos populationibus incurſionibusque meliores eſſe : & multas paſſim manus, quam magnum molem unius exercitus, rectius bella gerere.* *Trebellii Pollionis* *divus Claudius.* *Illi clypeus aureus, vel (ut Grammatici loquuntur) clypeum aureum ſenatus totius iudicio in Rom. curia collocatum eſt, ut etiam nunc videtur.* *Ovid met. 2. 158* uſes *ſucceſſa* plural in the neuter gender. *Murmura parva dedit, ſucceſſorumque Minervæ Indoluit.* And *Cicero* *epiſt. 9 lib. 1.* *ad Lentulum*, puts *conſenſus* in the feminine, which looks as odd as *ſucceſſus* in that gender, *quo in discrimine cum mirifica ſenatus, incredibilis Italiæ totius, ſingularis bonorum omnium conſenſus, &c. mirifica conſenſus*, which ſeveral perſons have reckoned to be a ſolecism in *Cicero*, and ſome read *conſenſio*, tho' all the antient MSS. and ſome printed copies have *conſenſus*, as we are aſſured by *P. Viſtorius* ; and *Voffius* obſerves that *Quintilian* is juſtly offended that ways of ſpeaking uſed by the beſt writers ſhould be called ſolecisms or barbarisms.

77. TYRANNIS, *lib. 4 cap. 47 p. 69 c 7.* *Tandem omnibus præſentem rerum ſtatum exoſis, repentina conjura-*

\* *Nonius* ſhews that the antients uſed the word *lux* in the feminine and maſculine gender, and quotes *M. Tull. 3. de offi. Et cum prior ire luce claro non queo.* *Lambin c. 24* once published *ut, antequam hæreditatem adeat, luce claro in foro ſaltet* ; but afterwards imagining that *Nonius* was dozing, he read *luce palam* for *luce claro*.



*tione nobilitatis antequam vires tyrannis colligere posset* oppressus — where *tyrannis* has a peculiar force stamped upon it, expressing more emphatically than *tyrannus* could do a detestation and abhorrence of the cruelty and tyranny of *Romachus*; just as *Psalm 119 Sin. Salim redaphuni, principes persecuti sunt me*, is by *Buchanan* rendered *me premit tyrannis*, and *senium* Ter. Eun. 2. 3. 10. expresses more reproach than *senex*, barbaries for barbarous people in *Cicero* (which is more certain than *Ruddiman's* criticism on this word *lib. 1 cap. 8 p 4, b 7* that *barbaries* is more frequently used for rudeness in manners and impropriety or unpoliteness in expressions than *barbaria*;) *flagitia* and *facinora* Sall. Cat. 14 for *flagitiosi* & *facinorosi*; *Cæsar* B. C. 3. 32 *erat plena licitorum et imperiorum provincia, differta præfectis atque exactoribus, qui præter imperatas pecunias suo etiam privato compendio serviebant*, the province swarmed with bailiffs, officers, collectors and overseers, who besides the levies for the publick service exacted money for their own private uses; *præda* in *Seneca* for a robber; *principatus* and *servitus* for *princeps* and *servus* in *Phædr. lib. 3 fab. 15*. In *principatu commutando civium nil præter domini nomen mutant pauperes*, in changing the government in changing their prince; *prol. to lib. 3*. *Servitus obnoxia affectus proprios in fabellas transtulit*, the slave *Æsop* being at mercy claps his private resentments into fables.

It has been observed by some of the civilians that *potestas* signifies the same as the Greek *dynastæ*, i. e. powerful princes. *Perottus* proves that it is used in this sense not only by *Apuleius*, but even by *Pliny*; and *Vossius de vit. serm. lib. 6* has shewed that it is put for *summus magistratus* not by the moderns alone but by *Suetonius Claud. c 33* and by *Juvenal 10. 99*. *Hujus qui trahitur prætextam sumere mavis, An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas?* In *M. Seneca* the rhetorician, who was a cotemporary

contemporary with *Cicero*, we have several passages where *tyrannis* is put for *tyrannus*, contrav. 7 *lib.* 1 and *lib.* 2 and chiefly *lib.* 3 contrav. 21. of which this is the theme. A tyrant gave the slaves a permission to marry or ravish their mistresses. The great men of the city fled for it. One of the slaves preserved the virginity of his master's daughter. The tyrant being slain, the grandees returned and crucified their slaves. The chaste slave got his freedom and his master's daughter to wife. The father is accused of madness. In the pleading of *Cestius Pius* against the father, *si interrogavero patrem, quod gravissimum in tyrannide fuerit scelus, si sanus est, respondebit, quod dominæ servis collocatæ sunt.* And after this we have the same thing in different words, *nullum in tyranno majus scelus fuit, quàm quod tibi libuit imitari. Silo Pompeius* pleading for the father *hoc colore usus dixit: exhaustum tyrannidis injuriis patrimonium, non habuis se dotem quæ daret.* Cic. de nat. De. l. 3 c 35 gives a signal instance of prosperous wickedness in *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Syracuse*, who reigned 38 years amidst great opulence and external happiness without being visibly punished by heaven, either in his life or at his death, tho' he was avowedly impious towards the Gods as well as notoriously injurious to men. *Hunc igitur nec Olympius Jupiter fulmine percussit, nec Æsculapius misero diuturno morbo tabescentem interemit: atque in suo lectulo morans, in tyrannidis rogam illatus est: eamque potestatem, quam ipse per scelus erat nactus, quasi justam et legitimam, hereditatis loco filio tradidit.* In the 3d *Palatine MS.* *tyrannidis, typanidis* in the 1st and 2d and *tipanidis* in the 4th the *Latin* *p* having been written thro' inadvertence for the *Greek rho*, which is of the same figure, is observed by the annotators on that passage of *M. Seneca lib.* 2 contrav. 9 *arcessitum ut dominicæ* (his master's) *libidini paparium* (for *pararium*) *faceret.* About the forecited passage of *Cicero* the critics have very need-

A a 2

lessly

lessly perplexed themselves, *Lambin* in particular, who would have the reading to be *tympanidiis*, because one very old MS. has *tympanidis*, the abbreviation for *tympanum* having been mistaken. But had he attended to the figure as well as he has hit the author's meaning, he would not have made so much ado about it. The sense of *in tyrannidis rogam illatus est* is plainly this, he died in his bed, and was buried with all the state, solemnity, pomp and magnificence that usually attends the funerals of sovereign or absolute princes. All the other readings are mere blind far-fetched conjectures, unsupported by the authority of any MS.

What has been said is sufficient to prove the injudicious and perverse use that M. *Ruddiman* has made of that MS. of *Buchanan's* history which is preserved in the library of the college of *Edinburgh*, in turning *tyrannus* into *tyrannus* in the passage in question, upon the authority of that MS; and to shew that in this, as well as many more instances he has robbed the work of many graces and beauties, which the author in retouching had added to it. See under the words *familia*, *legatio*, *procuratio*, where as well as under the word *tyrannus* is very plain *Ruddiman* has been absolutely ignorant of a figure of rhetorick very common in the *Latin* writers. To the examples before adduced may be added the few following. *levis armatura* for *leviter armati*, found in *Seneca* for *vestis fordida*, *tribunatus* in *Livy* for *tribus auricula*, *Lucr. hydrops*, *remigium* in *Horace* for *auditor hydropicus*, *remiges*; and particularly *convictio* and *appetitio* in *Cicero ad Q. fratrem* 1. 1. for *convictor* and *paritor*. *Quos verò aut ex domesticis convictionibus, aut necessariis apparitionibus tecum esse voluisti, qui quasi cohorte prætoris appellari solent, horum non modo facta etiam dicta omnia præstanda nobis sunt.*

78. *URBS. lib. 1. cap. 21. pag. 9. d. 2. Hunc locum (modicam urbem, cujus vestigium adhuc apparet)*



*ubi Beda Anglus Guidi vocat, atque in ipso vallis  
 Severi angulo collocat.* This little town (of which some  
 vestiges were still to be seen in *Buchanan's* time) *Bede*  
 the *Englishman* expressly calls *Guidi*, and places it at the  
 very corner of *Severus'* wall or *Græme's* dyke. *Ruddi-*  
*man* doubts much whether that town which *Bede* calls  
*Guidi*, be the same with that which *Buchanan* here in-  
 timates to have been situate not far from *Carron* mouth,  
 and thinks *Bede's* words *lib. 1. cap. 12.* denote quite a  
 different one. "The east firth," viz. that of *Forth*  
 has *in medio sui* in the middle, heart or bosom of it  
 the town *Guidi*; and the west or that of *Clyde* has  
 above it, that is on the right side of it, the town *Al-*  
*cluith.*" For, says *Ruddiman*, who would affirm  
 that a town at some furlongs distance from the sea is  
 situate *in medio sinus maris*? And therefore I readily  
 agree with sir *James Dalrymple*, who was of opinion  
 that this town mentioned by *Bede* was situate in some  
 one of the isles of the firth of *Forth*, i. e. either in  
*Inch-Colme*, where there was afterwards a famous  
 monastery, or in *Inch-Keith*, which also seems still to  
 retain some resemblance of the name," there being  
 not so much as one letter of the two words *Guidi* and  
*Keith* the same. "I am aware that a late writer in his  
 notes on sir *James's* hist. collect. disapproves of this  
 opinion of his, because one of these isles is not large  
 enough, and the other absolutely unfit for a town to be  
 built upon it. But allow me to imagine and suppose  
 whatever enters into my head without any manner of  
 proof) "what if *Bede* here understood nothing else by  
*urbs* but some castle or garrison by which the *Romans*  
 or *Britons* hindred the *Scots* and *Picts*, already shut out  
 by land, from attempting to make descents upon the  
*Roman* province by sea? At least from many" and con-  
 sequently from all "names of places ending in *ton* or  
*town*, it plainly appears that the *Saxons* or antient

“ *Angles*, of which nation was *Bede*, were wont of old  
 “ to call not towns only, but also manor-houses and  
 “ villages, and other places of that nature by the name  
 “ of *urbes*” for which my bare word is sufficient war-  
 rant. “ Add to this that if *Bede* had thought” which  
 he did not “ that those two towns were in a like man-  
 “ ner near, the one to the east and the other to the  
 “ west-firth, it seems he would not have used such a  
 “ different way of speaking, and would rather have  
 “ explained what he meant by the words *in medio sui*  
 “ than *supra se*,” which are not so intelligible, “ seeing  
 “ the latter expression is pretty often, but the former  
 “ never, that I know of, to be found in the sense in  
 “ which *Buchanan* understands it.” And every body must  
 own that I am a superior genius, and have a more perfect  
 knowledge of the Latin than he had.

79. VALLUS. lib. 1. cap. 22. pag. 9. d 6. Et cum  
 ab Adriani vallo (ut utriusque vestigia indicant) raro mi-  
 nus centum millibus passuum distat hoc vallum Severi ab eo,  
 quod [ *Ruddiman* says the 1st edition has *quem* as well  
 as the MS. not having attended to the *errata* marked  
 at the end of it, where we are desired to read *quod*] an-  
 te Adrianus construxerat. i. e. “ And as this wall of  
 “ *Severus* is in few places less than a hundred miles di-  
 “ stant from *Adrian's* wall, as the vestiges of both walls  
 “ shew ; I say, as there is no less a distance between  
 “ *Severus's* wall and that which *Adrian* had built be-  
 “ fore” ——— *Melvin* imagined that the same thing is  
 twice said, and that the words *ab eo quem ante Adrianus*  
*construxerat* ought to be dash'd out ; *Ruddiman* is of the  
 same opinion as to the tautology, but has chosen rather  
 of his own head to expunge these three words *ab Adri-*  
*ani vallo* in the beginning of the sentence, and so has  
 quite spoiled it. For the same thing is not twice said,  
 the words in the latter part being an explication of those  
 in the former, and shewing us not only that the wall  
 called

called *Adrian's* was built by him, but that it was built before that of *Severus*. As for the correction marked in the *errata* of Mr. *Arbuthnot's* edition, I can see no reason for it but one, namely, that the author in some other place intended to put the word *vallus* in the masculine gender in the same signification with *vallum*, of which *Ruddiman* and *Burman* have been alike ignorant, the former in censuring and corrupting, and the other in defending *Buchanan* in

*Lib. 4. cap. 29. pag. 62 d 4. of Adrian, vallo, & fossa inter Tinæ & Escæ fluminum æstuaria per octoginta millia passuum ducto Scotos, & Pictos a provincialibus exclusit: Ruddiman* owning that *vallo*, & *fossa ducto* may be defended by *Lucan's* authority, *lib. 1. Hinc leges & plebiscita coactæ*, turns *ducto* into *ductis*. *Burman* says *Buchanan's* expression can vex the grammarians alone, and not men of learning. *Ruddiman* is highly offended that the other should speak of grammarians with so much contempt. But neither of them seem to have known that *Cæsar* uses *vallus* for a wall or rampart five or six times in one chapter, *B. Civ. 3. 63. Erat eo loco fossa pedum XV, & vallus contra hostem in altitudinem pedum X.--ab eo, intermisso spatium pedum DC, alter conversus in contrariam partem erat vallus— duplicem eo loco fecerat vallum--transversum vallum--in exteriorem vallum tela jacebant--inter duos vallos*. So *Hirtius Bel. Alex. c. 2. omnibus viis atque angiportis triplicem vallum obduxerant: erat autem quadrato extractus saxo*. *Tibullus l. 1. el. 10. Non arces, non vallus erat, somnumque petebat Securus varias dux gregis inter oves*. So that *vallo*, & *fossa ducto* is perfectly agreeable to the grammar rule of the adjective's agreeing with the substantive of the masculine rather than of the other genders: and tho' *Buchanan* had meant to put *vallum* neuter in this place, *Lucan's* authority, as *Ruddiman* acknowledges, would bear him out.



80. VENUM. lib. 9. cap. 28. pag. 163 c. where we have an account of the stratagem by which *David Bruce's* party took the castle of *Edinburgh* from the *English* about the year 1341. *Walter Currie* a merchant happening at that time to have a ship laden with provisions of victual (*commeatibus*) lying in the firth of *Tay* near *Dundee*, upon his being sent for by *William Douglas*, came into the *Forth*. Hereupon having made *Bullock* (whom *Douglas* had drawn over to his side) privy to the plot, *Currie* feigns himself an *Englishman*, and brought two bottles of very good wine and some other small presents to the captain of the castle : and begged he would grant him a licence and protection, *reliquos commeatus distrabere*, to sell the rest of the provisions there, and let him know if he or the garrison had occasion for any thing, assuring him that he would gladly serve him all that lay in his power. *Præfatus ei ut aliquot dolia veni, certumque numerum panis nautici afferret, imperat.* The captain gives him orders to bring some barrels of the provisions he had to sell, and a certain number or quantity of sea bisket. That *veni* the reading of the first edition is the true one, is plain from the foregoing part of the narrative and from what follows a few lines after, where we are told that that night *Douglas* and 12 men with him, disguised like mariners, carried the provisions of victual up to the castle, having their armour concealed under their sailors habit, *nautico vestitu super arma injecto commeatum ad arcem portant.* And this account agrees with that of *John Froissart*, vol. 1. chap. 56. Messire *William de Douglas*, earl *Patrick*, Messire *Robert*, and Messire *Simon Fresnel* took about two hundred lances, and went to sea, and made provision of *oats*, *white meal*, *coal* and *straw*, and then arrived quietly at a port that was near the strong castle of *Edinburgh*. When they were armed, they came out by night, and took ten or twelve companions in whom they

they most confided, and disguised themselves, and laden twelve little horses with twelve sacks, some full of oats, others of meal, and others of coal: and then sent their companions to ly in ambush in a ruined abbey. — Messires *William de Douglas* and *Simon Fresiel* went before, and came to the porter and told him they had brought thither, in great fear, *blé & farine*, corn and meal: and if they had need of it, they would willingly sell it them, and at a cheap rate. *John Major* says the merchant (whom the *extraeta*, charter-house book, and *Winton* call *Currie* but, says *Ruddiman*, *Boëthius*, *Balenden*, *Major* and *Hume* call him *Towers*, tho' the first has the name *Turris*, the second *Touris*, probably meaning a different man, the third in the print *Turæ* and in the MS. which is in my possession *Ture*, to shew by the way how exact our critick is in these *minuties*) told the captain he would make him a present of two barrells of wine, two of ale and one of bisket, and that the barrells brought by *Douglas* to the gate of the castle were full of water.

As it is not so easy to reconcile *Buchanan* with himself or with other historians in his account of the taking of the castle of *Edinburgh* at this time, without reading *veni*, so it seems plain that he has taken *venum* not for an adverb as *Godlenius*, nor merely for a supine as others, but for a noun, antiently the same as *venale*, admitting of different cases. It is certain *Tacitus* Ann. 13. 55. 5. said *militibus immunitas (à vectigalibus) servaretur, nisi in iis quæ veno exercerent* i. e. what they bought and sold. Id. 14. 15. 2. *posita veno irritamenta luxus*. And in another form *venui habere, subicere*, in *Apuleius*. *Vossius* is positive that *venum* is no supine, but a noun, that from it and *eo* the verb *veneo* is derived or compounded, and that supines come from verbs, and not verbs from supines. He thinks in the expression *venum ire* (to which he might have added *venum dare, tradere*) *venum* is the accusative

accusative from the nominative *venus*, for *ad venum ire*, as *Plautus* says *mercatum ire* for *ad mercatum*. Judge now whether *Ruddiman* ought to have turned *veni* into *vini* upon the authority of the foreign editions, of which he would give us so contemptible an idea in his preface.

81. VER. lib. 13. cap. 9. pag. 243. a 11. ita brevi conciliatis omnium animis tam jucunda pax, tanta tranquillitas, & velut ancillante fortuna Regiis virtutibus, tantus omnium frugum, & fructuum proventus est secutus, ut e sæculo plusquam ferreo ver aureum renatum videretur. that is, about the beginning of the reign of *James IV*, there was so great peace and plenty that a golden spring time seemed to succeed an age worse than the iron one, meaning the tyrannical and unhappy reign of *James III*. The author compares the happiness of some of the first years of the son's reign to the spring, not only because the poets feigned that the golden age was an eternal spring, but because that happy time was not of long continuance, seeing about seven years after *James IV* began to reign, the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom was disturbed by his taking part with the impostor *Perkin Warbeck*, a pretender to the crown of *England*; which was not restored but by the treaty of marriage between *James* and *Margaret* daughter of *Henry VII*. Upon these accounts I would incline to prefer the reading of the first edition *ver aureum*, to that of the MS. *verè aureum*, which *Ruddiman* has chosen.

82. VERSUS. lib. 2. cap. 18. pag. 29. ult. where *Buchanan* quotes two passages of *Claudian*, each containing three lines, in proof of his conjecture, that *Piæti* was not the antient original name of the *Piæts*, but given them by the *Romans*, because their bodies were marked or painted with scars: quod & versus *Claudiani* indicat. *Ruddiman* conjectures the reading should be *indicant*, not knowing that *versus* in the singular is used by *Pliny* for



for a song, *Cantum imitantur lusciniæ juniores*, versum-  
que, quem imitentur accipiunt; as the following examples  
shew that *versus* singular and *carmen* are synonymous.  
*Hor. Sat. 1. 10. 70. Et in versu faciendo sæpe caput*  
*scaberet vivos & roderet unguis*, i. e. in condendis carmi-  
nibus, *Id. 2. 1. 21, quanto rectius hoc quàm tristi ludere*  
*versu, Pantolabum scurram, Nomentanumque nepotem*, i. e.  
quam molesto carmine offendere *Virg. eclog. 6. Syra-*  
*cusio ludere versu 10. 50. ibo & Chalcidico quæ sunt mihi*  
*condita versu.*

83. VICINIA. *Det. p. 17. l. 5.* where the place cho-  
sen by *Q. Mary* for acting the tragedy of her husband's  
murder is described, *Hujus loci faciem cum in animo vo-*  
*biscum cogitatis, cum ruinas templorum, sepulchra mortuo-*  
*rum, latibula furum, prostibula meretricum, auditis, nonne,*  
*non modo ædes ipsæ, sed singulæ partes viciniæ, nefas pro-*  
*clamare videntur?* The very shape of this place when  
you consider it in your mind, when you hear of the ru-  
ins of churches, graves of dead men, lurking corners of  
thieves, brothel-houses of harlots; doth not, I say, not  
the house only, but also every part near about it, seem to  
proclaim mischief and treachery? *Ruddiman* conjectures  
for *partes viciniæ*, literally the parts of the neighbourhood,  
we should read *partes vicinæ*. Did he imagine that the  
word *vicinia* is not Latin, when *Cic.* says in *nostra vici-*  
*nia, Horace domus omnis & vicinia tota*, also *virtutum vi-*  
*tiorumque vicinia*, and *Quintilian diversarum rerum vici-*  
*nia quædam?* Or did he dream that the substantive *pars*  
could not govern the substantive *vicinia* in the genitive?  
This critic would no doubt censure *Plautus Mil. 2 3 2*  
for saying *me vidisse hic proximæ viciniæ*, and *Terence,*  
*Andr. 1. 1. 43* for *ex Andro commigravit huc viciniæ* in-  
stead of *in hac vicinia* and *in hanc viciniam*; and would  
be for correcting that passage of *Cicero*, where he says *ab*  
*orientis partibus*, by turning it into *orientalibus partibus*.  
On the two following words we may take a liberty to  
divert

divert ourselves a little at Mr. *Ruddiman's* expence, at the end of this long chapter.

84. VICUS. *hist. lib. 11. cap. 38. pag. 215 a 2.* Upon *William* earl of *Douglas* being stabbed to death by *James II.* in 1452, the *Douglasses* headed by *James* the last earl broke out into rebellion, and being unprovided of things necessary for besieging the castle of *Stirling*, where the king and his courtiers then were and where the slaughter had been committed, they fastened a spar or board to a horse tail, with the king's and nobility's safe conduct which had been given to earl *William*, and giving the king and his council very contumelious language, they dragged the horse with his accoutrements thro' the streets of the town of *Stirling*, *assula ad caudam equi alligata, diploma Regium, ac procurum, de fide publica ad eum affigunt : ac nulla verborum contumelia adversus Regem, ejusque consilium abstinentes, per vicos trahunt.* For *eum Ruddiman*, without any authority, reads *eam*, referring the adjective pronoun, not to *equum* but to *assulam*; for fear, it seems, that we should apprehend that the letters of safe conduct were laid upon the horse's mane, or back, or fastned to his ears or some other part than the tail : but then, according to this emendation, by which *eam* may agree either with *assulam* or *caudam*, the accusative governed by the verb *trahunt*, the meaning must be, either that the *Douglasses* dragged the horse by the tail and the spar thro' the streets of *Stirling*, which tho' possible for so great a number of men, yet, if the beast had been skittish, might have been a troublesome enough job of work : or that they dragged the horse's tail (separated from the rest of his body) with the spar to it ; which would look as if the *Douglasses* had meant to lift up a *Turkish* standard and turn *Mahometans*.

This brings into my mind a passage of the *grounds and occasions of the contempt of the clergy*, written by Dr. *Echar4,*

*Echard*, a gentleman of great wit and humour and true judgment, and older than *Mr. Ruddiman's* archdeacon. He would not have lads kept to 16 or 17 years of age in pure slavery to a few *Latin* or *Gr.* words, but some part of time allotted them for the reading of some innocent *English* authors ; where they need not go every line so unwillingly to a tormenting dictionary ; and whereby they might come in a short time to apprehend common sense, and to begin to judge what is true. " For," adds he, " you shall have lads that are arch-knaves " at the nominative case, and that have a notable " quick eye at spying out the verb, who for want of " reading such common and familiar books, shall understand no more of what is very plain and easy, " than a well educated dog or horse." But I would ascribe *Mr. Ruddiman's* want of common sense discovered in so many of his emendations of *Buchanan's* text, to a defect of genius rather than a wrong education. When *Buchanan* says that the *Douglasses* after tying a spar or piece of timber to a horse tail, fastened the king's letters to the horse, it is much the same as is every day seen and said, that after a horse is saddled, a man rides not upon the saddle the *adjunct*, but upon the horse the *subject*. Nay *Ruddiman* himself in his note on *lib. 1 cap. 28 p. 12 a 1* not only justifies what I have just said, but condemns his own alteration of the text, his not spying the nominative to the verb, and following the *Geneva*, *Frankfort* and *Elzevir* editions. *Ultra Buchaniam ad septentriones duæ sunt regiunculae Boina & Ainia, quæ usque ad Spæam flumen pertinet, qui separat eas à Moravia.* He reads *pertinent*, tho' he owns the MS. and first edition have *pertinet* ; and farther acknowledges that tho' *Boine* does not reach to the river *Spey*, yet *Buchanan* takes these two small countries jointly as it were for one, and that in this sense they may not improperly be said to extend to *Spey*, (which is more than



*Buchanan* meant to say) and by it to be separated from *Murray*. There is one way indeed by which *Ruddiman* might have saved himself from ridicule on the subject of the *Douglasses* fastening *James II's* letters to a horse tail, and that is by turning *equi* into *equæ*, which he might have supported by Mr. *Hume's* authority, who says, that "all the way as they came along to *Stirling*, *James Hamilton* dragged the king's safe conduct, having the broad seal hanging thereat, at the tail of an ill-favoured spittle jade, or *mare*, through the streets of all the towns and villages in their way:" but then this would have been altering two words instead of one, without any authority either of MS. or printed copies of *Buchanan's* history.

To come to the word which lies most directly in my way: *vicus*, says *Ruddiman*, is a row of houses one close to another; but *Buchanan* here and in some other places seems to take it for *via* or *platea urbis*; in which sense *Menage* and *Dacier* deny that it is used by any good author. *Vicus* signifies a street, that is rows of houses, one close to another, with a way between them. *Dacier* on *Horace Sat.* 1. 9. 13, the place referred to, tells us that *vici* are not streets (*rues*) which had another name, but the *quartiers* of the town, confounding *vicus* with *regio*, without saying by what other name streets were called, tho' he frequently repeats this criticism in other places. But, tho' I am far from detracting from his merit as a great critic, he shews himself inconsistent on this particular. For *Sat.* 2. 3. 18 *Janum ad medium* he says signifies the middle of the street (*rue*) and *epist.* 1. 1. 54, *hæc Janus Summus ab imo*, there was at *Rome* a street *une rue*, which was the street of bankers, and which was called the street of the *Januses* or of the two *Januses*, because at each end there was a statue of that God. *Od.* 5. 7. 7, 8, *ut descenderet sacra catenatus via*, from the *rue sacrée* to the *forum Romanum* there

was a descent. And *Od.* 5. 5. 97, 8, *vosturba vicatim hinc & hinc saxis petens contundet obscœnas anus*, your abominable carcases will be pelted with stones *de ruë en ruë*: in the note on *vicatim*, both *street* and *quarter* or *ward* are joined together as synonymous terms, *de rue en rue, par toutes les rues, part ou les quartiers*.

That the greater parts of the city of *Rome* were called *regiones*, of which there were but four at first, from the resemblance of those into which the world was divided, afterwards about twenty, and in *Valla's* time thirteen, and the lesser parts or streets *vici*, of which some reckon above 1000 and others about half the number, will be plain from the following authorities. *Suet.* *Aug.* 30 *spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit*, he divided the city into *wards* and *streets*. *Livy lib.* 4 c 32, speaking of *Mamercus Æmilius*, *tum trepidam civitatem præconibus per vicos dimissis Dictator ad concionem advocatam increpuit, quod animos ex tam levibus fortunæ momentis suspensos gererent*. *Id.* 34. 27. on *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, *Ilotarum deinde quidam (hi sunt jam inde antiquitus castellani, agreste genus) transfugere voluisse in simulati, per omnes vicos (i. e. of Lacedæmon) sub verberibus acti necantur*. See *Livy's* account of the rebuilding of *Rome* after it was burnt by the *Gauls* at the end of book 5th and that of *Tacitus* ann. 15, after it was burnt by *Nero*. Also *Seneca* epist. 89, de ira 3. 18, nat quæst. lib. 5 c 2 *Suet.* *Aug.* 78 *Calig.* 27 *Vitell.* 8 &c. And *Ovid Fast.* 6. 610 describing the *vicus sceleratus*, & *Sex Aur. Victor* de viris illustr. The word *vicus* is not to be found in *Terence* but *platea*, I suppose, because the streets of *Athens* were broader than those of *Rome*. The difference is the same in *Cicero pro. Mil.* between *vicus* and *angiportus*, i. e. the lane is a narrow street. *Via* signifies a broad street or cause-way. \* It is rare to find

\* In *Juvenal* *vicus* is a street, and in *Tacitus* the *vicus* *Tibuscus* is described in such a manner that it must have

any of *Ruddiman's* explanations, descriptions or criticisms just or well grounded. But see how shamefully he has blundered on the following passage, and how foully he has corrupted it.

85. *VINCULA*, lib. 16 cap. 5. pag. 306 a 1, the reason of the clan *Chattan's* extreme hatred of *George Gordon* earl of *Huntly*, who had put *William MacIntosh* their chieftain, a young gentleman of the greatest expectations and finest accomplishments, to death, for no other crime but because he would not become vassal to *Huntly*, and because he was a sister's son of *James Stewart* earl of *Murray* who was a natural brother of *K. James V*, and dying without issue, *Huntly* had got the management of that earldom into his hands, and upon its being conferred on *James V's* natural son, became his mortal enemy ; which led *Buchanan*, lib. 17. cap. 28. pag. 334. c 1. to repeat the same story in different expressions and with some different circumstances : and *Ruddiman* is offended that the reader's memory should have been refreshed as to that unkind or unpleasant action *ingrati facinoris* : the only true reason of which censure must be this, that *Huntly* a cruel bloody crafty tyrant was at the head of the popish party, and *James Stewart* earl of *Murray* one of the best, most innocent and upright men that ever lived at the head of the reformed.

*Dum Regina adornat navigationem in Galliam, Gordanius apud se in vinculis Gulielmum Catanæ familiæ*

that signification. *Martial* lib. 7 epig. 60 on *Germanicus*, who had caused the streets, on which the shop-keepers and tradesmen had made great incroachments, to be made broader,

*Jussisti tenues, Germanice, crescere vicos ;*

*Et modo quæ fuerat semita, facta via est.*

*Vicatim* in *Hirt.* de bel *Alex.* cap. 5 signifies in every street. The *Romans* had a kind of constables, a certain number in every street, whom they called *vicomagistri*.

principem



principem—— in vincula conjecerat. Here *Ruddiman* proclaiming to all the world his own ignorance of the *Roman* language and antiquities, as well as of the antiquities of his own country, has dreamed that *Buchanan* meant first to write in *vinculis habebat*, and afterwards forgetting what he had said in the beginning of the sentence added these words in *vincula conjecerat*: and because the two words in *vinculis* to *Ruddiman* seemed quite superfluous, therefore he struck out no less than four, viz. *apud se in vinculis*, spoiling the sense and defacing the beauty of this passage, contrary to the authority of all the editions, as he owns himself. The meaning of the words is plainly this, that *Gordon* earl of *Huntly* after having first kept *William M'Intosh* chief of the clan *Chattan* in custody at his own house, had thrown him into the common prison, at *Strathbogie* probably: for there, according to the account of this matter given us by *Lefly*, who was a parasite (or as *Knox* calls him a *clawback*) of *Huntly's*, the innocent young gentleman was put to death.

*Vincula*, & per syncopen *vincla*, says *Perottus*, dicuntur *ligamina*, & per metaphoram *carcer in quo noxii vincti servantur & vincti captivi*. *Vinculorum appellatione*, says *Venuleius* de verb. significatione, vel privata vel publica *vincula significantur*; custodiæ verò, tantum publica custodia. That *vincula* & *carcer* signify the same thing, is plain from *Cicero* in *Verr.* 7. 14. *Iste hominem abripi a tribunali, & in carcerem conici jubet*. And a little after, *Quum maximè, ut dico, hoc de pecunia clamaret, in vincla conjectus est*. *M. Seneca* præf. ad *controv.* 24. lib. 4. (vulgo 9.) *objiciat licet vincula: nunquam tamen efficiet, ut non magis carcere glorier quàm matrimonio*. *Liv.* 3. 58. *Oppius quoque ductus in vincula est, & ante judicium diem finem ibi vitæ fecit*. *Oppius* also was committed to prison, and before the day of his trial came on, put an end to his life. When *Buchanan* says *apud se in vin-*

*culis* — in *vincula conjecerat*, it is easy to see that there is an ellipse of *publica* to *vincula*, which may be gathered from the foregoing words *apud se in vinculis*, and which is expressed in *C. Nepos Cim. 1. quum pater ejus litem aestimatam populo solvere non potuisset, ob eamque causam in vinculis publicis decessisset*. When his father was not able to pay the fine set upon him, and for that reason died in the common prison. *Gellius 17. 21.* speaking of *Miltiades* the *Athenian* general that defeated the *Persians* at the battle of *Marathon*, *post eam victoriam damnatus à populo Atheniensi in vinculis publicis mortem obiit*. That every *Patrician* or *Roman* nobleman had a prison at his own house appears from *Livy 6. 36. ubicumque Patritius habitat, ibi carcerem privatum esse*. And that the *Scottish* nobility and men of less consideration than the earl of *Huntly* had the same, is evident from many old charters of lands, if there were no other proof, particularly those in *Anderson's diplomata* granted by *K. William* and *Alexander II.* *cum focca et sacca, cum furca et fossa*. Had *Ruddiman* but consulted *Rosinus' Roman antiquities* with *Dempster's notes lib. 9 cap. 17* it might have prevented his corrupting of the passage in question, and shewing his ignorance so openly as he has done. *Reorum custodia duplex fuit. Carcer & privata domus. Ante confessionem in liberas custodias tradere consueverunt; liberæ autem custodiæ, dicebantur cum apud Magistratus domi aut apud privatos nobiles ponebantur custodiendi, quemadmodum de Indice Bacchanalium scripsit Livius & de Conjuratis Sallustius. Post confessionem verò in vincula publica conjiciebantur. Venuleius ff. de custodia reorum: Reus confessus, donec de eo pronuntiaretur, in publica vincula conjiciendus. Item Scævola Reus confessus, ob solam confessionem conjici in vincula consuevit.*

There is another passage where *Ruddiman* charges *Buchanan* or his amanuensis with dozing (*hic dormitasse*)

on which it appears the annotator was dreaming or raving when he discovered his ignorance of the syntax, *hist. lib. 2. cap. 11. pag. 27. a 4. unde* (i. e. ab oppido Portu Gatheli) *universæ regioni* ——— *Portugalliam dici coepisse.* Ruddiman owns all the books have it so: but, says he, this being a manifest error, it should either have been written *unde universæ regioni* ——— *Portugalliae nomen inditum fuisse*, or, as we contenting ourselves with a slighter alteration, *unde universam regionem* ——— *Portugalliam dici coepisse*, not attending that the verb *dici* is put acquisitively, as in the very first chapter of the first book of *Livy*, where he speaks of *Æneas* settling in *Italy*, building a town, and calling it *Lavinium* after the name of his wife; *brevi strips quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit*, cui *Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.* The word *nomen*, which is not in *Buchanan*, makes no difference of construction; for *Ruddiman* himself being judge, *large Grammar, pag. 121. Ascanium* and *nomen* are put in apposition. May I not now for a conclusion of this chapter apply to him *Lambin's* character of an injudicious editor or commentator on *Cicero*? *Nibil tam ineptum fingi potest, quod ei non in mentem veniat. Et lectorem scio videre, quantus sit dormitator, atque adeo somniator.*

C H A P.



## C H A P. V.

*Of substantive nouns proper. Their termination and declension varied by Buchanan. Ruddiman's blunders and pedantry on this subject. Of the etymon of Yule, Romish tradition concerning the 25th of December exploded. Of Grecizing and Latinizing proper names. The same persons with different names, or names variously spelled, divided, and different persons with the same name confounded by Ruddiman. King Robert Bruce and his father both competitors with John Balliol before Edward I. New argument for parliamentary and against hereditary right. Ruddiman's corruptions of Buchanan's text.*

**B**UCHANAN has varied his style, as in other things, so also in the syllabication, termination and declension of proper names, conforming to Cicero's rule, and to the example of the best Roman authors: yet Ruddiman, a tyrant not only in history but also in grammar, has stretched him to his own measure both in words purely Latin and in proper names, under a pretence of improving and perfecting the purity of his style, and of rendering him consistent and uniform. Of the syllabication, termination and declension of names of men, people, and places, take the following instances.

## BUCHANAN

Abrebrothea, }  
 Abrebrothia, }  
 Abrebrothium, }  
 Æstiones  
 Abredoni-a, -um  
 Angusi-a, -um  
 Attacott-æ, -i

## RUDDIMAN.

Aberbrothium  
 Æstii  
 Abredonia  
 Angusia  
 Attacotti

Bet-o or -on, -ius	Betonius
Caldareus, Calderanus	Calderanus
Columb-a, -æ; -us -i	Columba
Crichtonum <i>a castle</i>	Crichtonium
Drumanus, -enius -um	Dro- (Dru-) mond us-um
Dumbar-us, -ius	Dumbarius
Dunelmense <i>ablative</i>	Dunelmensi
Ennernefs-um-a	Ennernefs-a-um
Forfar-a, -um	Forfara
Gust-a, -ana- i-ani	Guifi a-i
Haliburt-on, -is; -us	Haliburtonus
Hamilton-um-ia, <i>a castle</i>	Hamiltonium
Hum-um-a do.	Humi-um-a
Hundintoni-a-um	Hundintonia
Jedburg-a; Jeduardum	Jedburgum
Igernem <i>accusative</i>	Igernem
Laodicem do.	Laodicem
Levini-us-anus	Levinus
Lucemburg-ius	Lucemburgicus
Milcolumb-us-a	Milcolumbus
Milroff-a-ia, Milroffi-um-a	Mulroffia
Roger-us	Rogierius
Rotesai-a, -um, Rothesaia	Rothesaia
Ruven-us-ius	Ruvenus
Solom-o -onis, -on -ontis	Solom-on-onis
Spae-a-us; Speia	Spæa
Uter, Uterius	Uterius
Vall-a-as <i>nominative</i>	Vallas
Varvicenfe <i>ablative</i>	Varvicensi

Did *Ruddiman* imagine that *Buchanan* by thus varying the termination and declension of names of men, people, rivers and towns, had trampled under foot the majesty of history, corrupted truth, or defiled the purity of the *Roman* language? Does not *Ruddiman* himself tell us in his *Latin Grammar* that there is a very great and

and almost innumerable number of words, which under the same signification have got different terminations, and which on that account have often changed their declensions and genders? And does he not refer us to *Dausquius*, *Vossius*, *Schmidius*, *Danefius* and *Ursin*, for a very large collection of such vocables? Among the proper names mentioned by *Vossius Analog.* cap. 35 36 are *Agamemn*—o—on; *Sim*—o—on, *Ctesiph*—o—on, *Teuc*—rus—er, *Evand*—rus—er, *Ist*—er—rus, *Menand*—rus—er, *Thymb*—rus—er, to which he might have added *Anaximand*—rus—er in *Seneca*. *Buchanan* speaking of our great patriot Sir *William Wallace* calls him *Vallas*; and when he mentions the laird of *Craigie Wallace* he has *Valla* in the nominative. And that this is an imitation of the *Latin* authors is plain from the authorities adduced by the same *Vossius* de anal. 2. 2. *Virgil* has *Farbas* and *Ovid* *Farba* in the nominative; *Plautus*' *Pterela* is the same with *Ovid*'s and *Statius*' *Pterelas*; and *Horace* and *Silius* say *Marsya*, where other *Latin* writers have *Marsyas* after the *Greek*. To which I shall add that *Justin* lib. 7 cap. 2 & 5, has *Perdicca* & *Perdiccas* both in the nominative, and *Cicero* *Pausania*, fam. 3 7. Nothing is more common than for names of towns to be sometimes feminine in *a* and sometimes neuter in *um*: and it is agreeable to the general or common nouns *urbs* and *oppidum* that they should be so. The same thing, I apprehend, may be said as to names of castles, of which the appellative is *castrum*, *castellum* & *arx*. Hence *Buchanan* lib. 16. cap. 2 pag. 305. a 2. says *arce Hamiltonia*, for which *Ruddiman* *Hamiltonio*; if it be not an adjective. As to names of rivers, of which some are always feminine, some always masculine, and some in both genders, *Johnson* is of opinion, that they were originally adjectives, and considered as such by the *Latins*, who



who accordingly gave them terminations proper to their substantives, as *Padus*, *Tagus*, *Rhenus fluvius*; *Mosella*, *Druentia*, *Matrona aqua*; which is agreeable to our common way of speaking, *the water* or *river* of *Spey*, *Dee*, &c.

Ruddiman præf. pag. 10. pretends that Buchanan thro' a slip of memory wrote proper names variously in different places, such as *Drumenius* and *Dromundus*, *Malavillius* and *Malavillanus*, *Huntileus* and *Huntleius*, *Rosaia* and *Rothessaia*, *Cantiera* and *Kintera*, *Gusia*, *Guissia* and *Guissiana*, &c. Let any one compare Buchanan's history with Ruddiman's index to *Anderson's diplomata*, and he will see a far greater variety of syllabication of proper names in the latter than in the former. Again Ruddiman pretends to make his author uniform and to prevent foreigners and others from being deceived and taking such words as are above mentioned for names altogether different. But could any one mistake Buchanan when he says in one breath *Dromundus* *sive* *Drumenius*? Or could not foreigners understand the meaning of *Gusia* and *Guissiana* (for Buchanan never writes *Guissia* or *Guissiana*) as well as Mr. Ruddiman, who has imposed on his readers by concealing his altering the termination, gender and declension of proper names? Or as well as *Lacones*, *Spartiatæ*, *Lacæni*, *Lacedæmones*, *Lacedæmonii*, which are all but one and the same people, and as *Abder-a-æ* feminine *Abder-on-i* neuter *Abder-a-orum*, *Abderit-a* or *-es-æ*, *Abderit-ani-es*, *Abderiticus*, *Abderitanus*, \* to whom Ruddiman stands in a nearer relation than every body is aware? Does not he himself (note on *lib. 1. cap. 23. pag. 10. c. 9.*) approve of Buch-

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\* In *Latin* authors, besides a great variety of syllabication and declension of proper names put substantively, we meet with the following adjectives *Ætoli-us* or *-us*, *Ænecyr-anus* or *-itanus*, *Celtiberi-us-cus*, *Fabius-anus*, *Gallic-us-anus*, *Gortyni-us-cus*, *Lilyb-æus-eius*, *Lyrc-æus-eius* or *avan's*

anan's distinguishing in termination (and consequently in declension) *Finis* loch—*Fin*, a lake of *Argyle*, from *Finus* the water of *Fin* a river of the same country, as afterwards the water of *Ern* is called *Ferna*, and the loch *Fernus*? And, not to mention his printing *Bodii* and *Bodiani*, *Joannes Areskinus*, *Dunius* and *Dunensis*, *Strato* and *Stratonius*, *Magdalen-a-æ* and *-e-es*, as in the former editions, does he not (*lib. 15. cap. 33. pag. 292. lin. penult.*) maintain that no alteration should be made of *Saulem* into *Saulum*, because *St. Augustine* and most of the fathers of the church decline this noun *Saul Saulis*?

*Ruddiman* on *lib. 2. cap. 22. pag. 31. d 10.* as a reason for turning *Attacottas*, the reading of all the editions, into *Attacottos*, pretends that *Buchanan* in this and a very great number of other names of people and places

*Lyrnessius*, *Macedoni-us-cus*, *Mæoti-cus-us*, (*Oxii*, *Oxiani*) *Pannoni-cus-us*, *Pessinunti-us-cus*, *Pompei-us-anus*, *Pucinanus*, *Punicus* or *Pœnic-us-anus*, *Roman-us-icus* or *Romul-us-cus*, *Rosci-us-anus*, *Samothraci-us-cus*, *Siculus* or *Sican-us-ius*, *Sybarit-anus-icus*, *Syrac-olius-usius-usanus* (*Cic. Verr. lib. 2. Canuleius qui in portu Syraculi operas dabat*) *Syr-us-ius-icus-iacus-iaticus*, *Theba-icus-anus*, *Thessal-us-ius-icus*, *Thrac-us-ius* or *Threicius*, *Threucidici*, *Trojanus* or *Troi-us-cus*, *Tusc-us-anus-anicus*, *ulanus-ulanensis*, *Magdalen-a-æ*, or *-e-es* is one of those words which has escaped *Ruddiman's* industry, and in which he has not rendered *Buchanan* uniform; but the *Latin* authors say *Antiop-a-* or *-e* *Penelop-a* or *-e*. *Pliny* *epist. 17. lib. 2.* speaking of his country seat *Laurentinum* (*vel si mavis*) *Laurens meum*. The *Latin* name of *Ireland* is expressed six different ways, *Hibernia*, *Iuberna*, *Inuerna*, *Iverna*, *Ierna*, *Ierne*. *Vossius* has a learned inquiry whether we should write *Agne* *Agnes* or *Agnes* *Agnetis* as the name of the virgin *Agnes*; he inclines to the former way, tho' he is not for contending much about it. because in the *Roman* and *Ado's* martyrologies we read *Agnes*, as well as *Agne* in *Jerome* and *Prudentius*.

was imposed upon by the faulty editions of antient authors, that is, before the writings of the antients were renewed or restored by the united industry of the learned : but that he in this and other places has generally followed the best copies, except in such places as seemed contrary to *Buchanan's* design ; which he puts the reader in mind of once for all, for fear of nauseating him by a multitude of various readings. Now there is no other proper name but this and *Æstiones* to be found in the antient *Latin* writers, the termination and declension of which has been changed by our critic, except it be *Columba* ; and the most antient writers that mention him are *Bede* and *Adamnan* : so that all these three do not make a very great number, and we have but a very sorry reason for preferring the editions *Ruddiman* followed to those which *Buchanan* made use of, if that be all the improvement that has been made of old authors. Is there any thing more barbarous in writing *Attacottæ*, or *Attacotti* and *Æstiones* or *Æstii* than in writing *Androgunæ* or *Androgyni*, *Druidæ* or *Druides*, *Novantæ* or *Novantes*, *Theutoni* or *Teutones*, *Turcæ* or *Turci*, *Britanni* or *Britones*, *Cavares* or *Cavari*, *Ebudæ* and *Hebrides*, *Macedones* or *Macedonii* ? How did not *Ruddiman* take notice that in the *liber notitiarum* quoted by *Camden* there is a change of more letters in the name of the first mentioned people than in *Buchanan's* authors ; for there they are called *Atecotti* ? Would it not be lawful in speaking of two famous *Romans*, the one an orator, the other a warrior, to call them *Cottæ* in the plural, as each was singly named *Cotta* ? On the name *Æstiones*, *lib. 2. cap. 14. pag. 28. c. and cap. 45. pag. 43. d.* there is no note. *Tacitus'* words *de mor. Germ.* near the end *Lipsius'* edition, are these ; *Suevici maris litore Æstiorum gentes alluuntur : quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior.* Where it may be observed, that *Buchanan* as well as in the other



passage where he mentions the *Attacottæ*, does not keep to the precise words of his authors, but only to their sense, that he calls the former people *Æstiones* just as *H. Lbuid* does, and that *Amm. Marcelline* as quoted *lib. 3.* has *Attacotti* only, and not *Attacottæ*.

On the words *insula D. Columbi*, *lib. 1. cap. 37. p. 15. d 1.* *Ruddiman* observes that *Buchanan's* writing *Columbus* oftner than *Columba* seems to be owing to his own or the carelessness of his amanuensis; since all the writers before and in *Buchanan's* time that *Ruddiman* was acquainted with, always wrote *Columba*, by whom he means not the *Scots* historians only, but *Bede*, *Notkerus Balbulus in martyrologio*, and, which puts the matter beyond all question, *Adamnan* his own disciple and the writer of his life. I am not ignorant, adds our notable critick, that some, following *Buchanan*, often call him *Columbus*, and some likewise *Columbanus*, and that some too confound him with *Columbanus*, the founder of two monasteries in *Burgundy* and *Italy*, as *Usher* has long since observed. But here he mistakes *Usher*, who de *Britan*, eccl. primord. cap. 15. pag. 687, 8. *Dublin* edition 1639 in *Quarto*, says expressly, that tho' in *Bede's* eccl. hist. lib. 3. cap. 4. the name in the most antient MSS. be written *Columba*, yet in the printed books it is *Columbanus*; that as *Ninia* and *Ninianus*, *Offa* and *Offanus*, so *Columba* and *Columbanus* is one and the same name (for proof of which he quotes *Notk. Balbulus in bynno de S. Columba*, which shews the falshood of *Ruddiman's* assertion, that *Melchior Goldastus* and *Thomas Dempster* have confounded the *Irish* or *Scots* *Columba* with other *Columbas* or *Columbanuses*; and that *Dempster*, a favourite author of *Ruddiman* and his friends, has blundered most shamefully on this subject. And does not *Usher* himself call the *Scots* *Columba* *Columbanus* and *Colunkillus*; and by this last name, because, as *Camden* has observed from *Bede* and *Balbulus*, the ille that

that lies between *Yla* and *Iona*, called by *Bede Hy* and *Hu*, gifted by the *Picts* to the *Scotish* monks on account of their propagating the gospel among them, where was a monastery famous for the burial of the *Scots* kings, and for many holy men, among whom *Columba* the apostle of the *Picts* was of prime note, from whose cell the island was also called *Columbkill*, as was the man himself, whom *Balbulus* calls *Columbkillus* and *Bede Columcelli*? And was it not as lawful for *Buchanan* to call him *Columbus* as for others to call him *Columkillus* or *Columbanus*, or for *Fordun* to hebraize his name, calling both him and the island *Jona*; especially seeing as *Varro* has the appellative *columba*, so *Columella* has *columbus* and *Pliny* the younger and *Catullus* the diminutive *columbulus*? From the last author it is *carm.* 27. that *Buchanan*, detect. pag. 14 lin. 12. 13. has borrowed the expression of *columbulum Dionæum*, calling *Botwell Q. Mary's* pretty *venereous* pigeon. *Ælius Spartianus* and *Julius Capitolinus* call *M. Aurelius Antoninus* the Roman emperor *Caracallus*, others nickname him *Caracalla*; and *Ælius Lampridius* calls him both *Caracallus* and *Caracalla*. And why might not *Buchanan* as well call our *Scotish* saint either *Columbus* or *Columba*, as *lib.* 6. cap. 36. and 40. he calls *Malcolm* the son of king *Duff*, whom *Kenneth III* poisoned to lay a foundation for hereditary right, both *Milcolumbus* and *Milcolumba*? for I would choose to read a diphthong for a simple *e* in that passage cap. 40. *Putasne Milcolumbe cædem hominis innoxii a te per summum nefas clam patratam* &c. where others read *Milcolumbi*. I am so weary of these trifles, which nothing but a consummate pedant would have magnified and solemnized as *Ruddiman* has done, that I should go directly to something else, if it were not to shew that his censures and corrections of *Buchanan*, even in the minutest things, are a continued series of blunders. I shall endeavour to go over the proper names

names as fast as may be, and that I may observe a method, shall comprize what I have to say under declension and derivation, geography and history, except one passage which is rather chronological. As to the declension, it appears that *Ruddiman* could hardly distinguish between declinable and indeclinable. For

1. *Venta. lib. I. cap. 13. pag. 6.* (not *pag. 5.* according to *Ruddiman's* wrong reference) b 10. *Venta Belgarum, & ab Icio dictum Icenum, etiam in alienum solum secum cognominis loco patriam vocem extulisse fit verisimile:* so it is acknowledged all the books have it; where it is plain, that *Venta* is put *materially*, as the grammarians speak, (and consequently is both neuter and indeclinable as *lux est monosyllabum*) not for the towns themselves or their inhabitants, but for the very names or words, which prove them to be of *Gaulish* original, as were the inhabitants of these towns of *Britain*. For, according to *Ruddiman* himself, in the note immediately preceeding on the word *Morinus*, *Buchanan's* design in this place is from the likeness of the *Gaulick* and *Britannic* names and words, to prove that the *Britains* are descended from the *Gauls*. *Ruddiman*, without blushing, professes himself not to be rash in making any alteration of the text, and then tells us he has added a comma after *Venta*, as tho' perhaps the sentence were thus: *Venta* in the plural number, i. e. two towns of that name, unum sciz. *Ventam* (or rather, that he may be consistent with himself, *Ventum*) *Belgarum: alterum Ventum Icenum* (for *Icenorum*) *ab Icio portu dictum, etiam in alienum solum secum &c.* Yet here, adds he, "there are many things censurable" (as tho' *Buchanan* had committed a piacular crime of a very complicated nature, and there are but two particulars so much as imagined, as two or three proper names are by this hypercritical censor reckoned a very great number) "and "in the first place, his having put *Venta* in the neuter "gender



gender and second declension, or made it indeclin-  
 able, contrary to what he himself does in the second  
 book, contrary to the *Itinarium* of *Antoninus*, and  
 to all others that I know of, who decline *Venta* in the  
 feminine gender and first declension I am not ignorant  
 indeed, that even good authors sometimes vary, for  
 instance declining *Bactra Bactræ*, *Hierosolyma Hie-*  
*rosolymæ*, sometimes *Bactrorum* and *Hierosolymorum*.  
 But besides that this seems but very seldom allowable  
 and not without sufficient authority, it ought by no  
 means to have been done here, since it renders the  
 whole of the sentence so very obscure or ambiguous.  
 Farther, since we never meet with a town named *I-*  
*cenum*, the syncope for *Icenorum* seems altogether im-  
 proper." (Don't you think, sir, that *Buchanan* ought  
 to have been crucified for such heinous crimes ?)  
 Wherefore I think the whole sentence should be  
 framed in this manner ; *Ventam Belgarum, & ab I-*  
*cio dictam Icenorum, etiam in alienum solum, &c.*"  
 Still he has left the same ellipsis as *Buchanan* ; and for  
 the figure syncope, he tells us himself in the appendix  
 to the 1st part of his grammar, that it is very much us-  
 ed in the genitives plural of nouns, as *Vossius* assures us  
 that in the poets, particularly *Virgil*, there are many  
 instances of it in the genitive plural of the second de-  
 clension, as *Achivum, Argivum, Danaum, Graium, Teu-*  
*erum, &c.* And was it not as lawful for *Buchanan* to  
 say *Icenum* for *Icenorum* as for *Livy* to say *Ce'tiberum*  
 and *Henetum* for *Celtiberorum* and *Henetorum* ? or as  
*Pliny* to say *Tricorium* for *Tricoriorum* and *conventus*  
*Bracarum* for *conventus Bracarorum*, for which *Buchan-*  
*an* says *Bracarensis*, that I may add one crime more to  
 those with which *Ruddiman* has loaded him ? Methinks  
 it had been full as edifying to have told us what *Le'and*  
 and *Camden* say on *Venta Belgarum* and *Venta Icenorum*  
 (as to have entertained us with such idle impertinent

stuff) viz. that the former is *Winchester* and the other *Caster* near *Norwich* : that *Venta* is derived from *Guin* or *Guen*, a *British* word signifying *white*, because the country in which those towns were, abounded with chalk and white clay ; and that *Caer Guin*, or, as the *Welsh* speak at this day, *Caer Gwent*, signifies a white town.

2. *Solomo* or *Solomon*, *Solom-onis* or *-ontis*. *Baptist*. pag. 34. chor. v. 36. it is *Solomontis* in all the editions, but *Ruddiman* reads *Solomonis*, because, forsooth, it is so in the same scene v. 4. and pretends that that noun is constantly declined so by other writers. Yet in his grammar he gives us several proper names in *on* that have *ontis* in the genitive, *Laomedon*, *Automedon*, *Charon*, *Demophoon*, *Laocoon*, *Phaethon*, *Phlegeton*, *Thermodon*, *Timoleon*, *Ucalegon*, *Xenophon*, &c. and tells us that the genitive *Ctesiphontis* as well as *Ctesiphonis* is to be found, the former from *Ctesiphon*, and the other from *Ctesipho*. He adds, that the appellatives *dracon dracontis* and *leon leontis* were of old declined after the *Greek* manner. And why not as well *Solomon Solomantis*, which is agreeable to the new testament *Greek* ? There are several instances in *Vossius* of *Greek* words ending in *o* or *on* besides *Agamemno* or *Agamemnon*. In *Gellius* 16. 19. and 17. 4. we have *Ario*, *Arionis*, *Arion* the famous musician, *Philemo Philemanis* ; in him and others we have *Calliphonis* or *Calliphontis*, *Sarpedona*, *Solo* or *Solon* and *Draco*. *Jo. Drusius* would rather have *Salomo* written according to the *Hebrew* than *Salomon*. *Vossius* will not contend with him, because as the *Greeks* for *Cicero* said *Cicero* so the *Latins* said *Plato* for *Platon* ; yet *Demopho*, and *Demophon* is in the comedian. *Drusius* would have us to say *Iaso* not *Iason* ; but *Vossius* rather *Iason* on the authority of so many MSS. *Drusius* says no *Hebrew* name ends in *n* ; *Jachanan* is adduced by *Vossius* to the contrary : but be that as it will, we have not the name

name *Solomon* immediately from the *Hebrew*, but from the *Greek*.

3. *Laodice* was wife of *Antiochus II* king of *Syria*, whom she poisoned for preferring *Berenice* to her, and afterwards caused her rival *Berenice* to be assassinated *hist. lib. 12. cap. 15. pag. 223 e 7. Laodicem*; so all the editions have it; but *Ruddiman*, pretends this is contrary to the rules of grammarians, and therefore he follows the MS. to which the author had not put his last hand, and reads *Laodicen*. Yet he owns *Vossius* and *Johnson* adduce some instances of this kind of nouns in *e* of the first declension that have their accusative in *em*, in imitation of which *Buchanan lib. 5. cap. 22. p. 81. c 4, 11.* has *Igernem* twice, and not *Igernem*. *Johnson* has the following instances *Circe Circem, Hecate Hecatum, Sinope Sinopem*, which *Gronovius* has turned into *Sinopen*, from *Claud. in Eutr. 1. p. 129. Cybelle Cybellem*, and from *Ovid, Hesion Hesionem* and *Oenone Oenonem*. Nay *Ruddiman* himself, large grammar *lib. 1. cap. 2. 10. note 28.* tells us, that, if his books be right, he found the following examples in *Livy, Vitruvius* and *Hyginus*; *Messenem, Prienem, Syenem, Hesionem, Hermonem, Semelem, &c.* But tho' he has told us in another place that the rules of grammarians are not to be regarded, where authorities from the *Roman* authors can be adduced to the contrary, it seems it was too much to allow *Buchanan* the liberty of imitating them in more than one instance, notwithstanding of the many that are to be found in them.

4. *Bergion. lib. 1. cap. 14. pag. 7 a 2. Ruddiman* in his note on the words *Albionem & Bergiona* tells us, that *Buchanan's* varying the accusative case of these nouns, so as the latter resembles the *Greek*, is done in imitation of the old editions of *Pomp. Mela. lib. 2. cap. 5.* which *Isaac Vossius* has also followed in his edition of this writer, and that *Gronovius* has published *Albionem & Bergionem,*



*enem*, and in a letter to Mr. *Archb'd Pitcairn* does not so much censure as excuse our *Buchanan* for writing otherwise. But the same *Ruddiman* in his grammar *etym. lib. 1. cap. 2. rule 48.* informs us, that *Greek* nouns whose genitive increases in *is* or *os* with a consonant before it, make the accusative often in *a* : and in the note (60,) upon it he says *a* has place chiefly in the accusatives of *Greek* nouns in *an*, *on*, &c. and observes from *Johnson's apparatus*, that tho' this accusative in *a* be in a manner peculiar to the poets, yet not so peculiar neither but that they sometimes make use of that in *em* ; and on the other hand that the prose-writers sometimes use the accusative in *a*, contrary to what *Vossius* and Messrs. *de Port Royal* determine. *Cicero* has *non igitur Hectora traxisti, sed corpus quod fuerat Hectoris*. T. Q. I. 1. pag. 319. *Petronius*, as *Vossius* observes, *neque Platona, neque Demosthenem*, (which is perfectly like *Allionem & Bergiona*) *ad hoc genus exercitationis accessisse*. *Bergion* has a *Greek* termination, and is mentioned by *Stra'o* and *D'odorus Siculus* both *Greek* writers. In *Quintilian's* time *Greek* nouns were declined after the manner of the *Greeks*, tho' he owns this could not be done always, 1. 9. speaking of analogy and the way of declining *Greek* nouns in *on*, "I choose to follow the *Latin* way, as far as decorum permits : nor would I now say *Ca'ypsonem* as *Junonem*, tho' *C. Caesar* following the antients, uses this way of declining : but custom has got the better of authority."

*Ruddiman*, who is inconstitence all over, on the words *ad Orcades hist. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 13. b 3.* would rather have *Orcadas*, as in the preceding line, attending to the many instances of accusatives plural in *as* adduced by *Vossius* (of which *Cycladas* from *Pliny* is one) and *Johnson* ; to which may be added *Macedonas*, *Caras*, *Platonas*, *Xenophontas* from *Seneca*, who has *Platona* in the accusative singular ; *Arabas* from *Cicero* ;  
*thoracas*

thoracas from Pliny 34. 5. *Læstrygonas* from Gellius 15. 21. where we have likewise *Minoa*, *Sarpedona*, *Cyclopa*, *Ceryona*, *Scyrona*.

4. *Dunelmensis*, *Varvicensis*. *Lib. 9. cap. 58. p. 174.* a 9. *non expectato* *Dunelmense Archiepiscopo*. *Ruddiman*, without any authority, for he owns all the editions have it so, reads *Dunelmensi episcopo*, on which last alteration see under the word *Archiepiscopus*. He tells us *Sofipater* has framed a rule out of *Cæsar*, *Pliny* and *Varro*, (unexceptionable authors, one would think, and preferable to any grammarians whatever) viz. that when we are speaking of a person, the ablative shall be in *e*, but of any other thing in *i*; as *ab homine brevè*, and *ab itinere brevi*: but *Ruddiman* pretends that we find no evidence of such a distinction in these writers, and far less in *Buchanan* himself; tho' in this last we have two instances at least, that which our critic has corrupted here, and another *lib. 12. cap. 2. p. 218. c. 3.* *Richardo Varvicense relicto*, for which he reads *Varvicensi*, without giving any reason for it, and might have seen in the same chapter *ab Eboracensi Regulo*, which might have satisfied him that the author meant to vary his expression in imitation of *Cicero*, who has sometimes *Laterense* and sometimes *Laterensi* for the ablative of *Laterensis*, a man's name. The same author *pro Balbo, ante civitatem Veliensibus datam, de Senatus Sententia C. Valerium Flaccum prætorem urbanum, nominatim ad populum de Calliphona Velienſe, ut ea civis Romana esset, tulisse*. *Ruddiman* in his grammar not only owns that the poets sometimes use *e* in the ablative of adjectives whose neuter in the nominative ends in *e*, but observes, as *Vossius* had done before him from *Clarissus*, that historians and orators make the same ablative in *e*; as *Cic. li. 2. de gloria; quo stante, & incolume*. And *lib. de jure civili aliquo eccellente ac nobile viro*: which is also asserted by *Pliny*, as *Charissus* witnesseth. *Nepos lib.*

*lib. 2. exemplorum* : a virgine Vestale *Sall. in primo histor.* in like manner says *agreste* in the ablative case : which passages of the ancients, says *Vossius*, we owe to *Charisius*. *Vossius* gives us another rule from *Priscian*, which he proves to be right, that adjectives in *is*, when they become proper names, make the ablative in *e* only. *Cicero pro Fundanio* : *non modo hoc à Julio Annale, sed vix mehercule à Quinto Mutone factum probari potest.* pro *Cn. Plancio* : *confiteor summa in Laterense ornamenta esse.* In like manner *ad famil. ep. 11. lib. 10. Martial. lib. 7. ep. g. 23.*

Cum *Juvenale meo quæ me committere tentas, Quid non audebis, perfida lingua, loqui ?* for the antients said *juvenalis* for *juvenilis*. The case is the same as to *Cerealis, Vitalis, Natalis, Nobilis, Celeris, Apollinaris, Martialis* and the like. So that both these rules put together (from the first of which *Charisius* owns there are exceptions and from the last of which *Vossius* owns there are none) do sufficiently justify *Buchanan's Dunelmense* and *Varvicense*, especially seeing he has observed that caution mentioned by *Johnson* about the place of such adjectives as are found to have *e* in the ablative instead of *i* namely, that they should be placed as near the substantive as may be, to avoid ambiguity, which the poets constantly do.

There is a figure, by the rhetoricians called *hypoallage*, by the grammarians metonymy, as *Cicero* informs us, by which the name of a people is put for the country or city which they inhabit, and *vice versa*. Of this figure *Ruddiman* has been absolutely ignorant. For (1.) *lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 8. a 7. dirimitur Scotia ab Anglis*, *Scotland* is divided from *England*, he would have the reading rather to be *ab Anglia*. (2.) *ibid. cap. 51. p. 21. d 6. on the Shetland men, piscantur naviculis duorum Scalmorum, quos [scalmos] factos è Norvegis coëmunt, i. e. emunt cum naviculis.* They fish with boats having



two round pieces of wood, whereat the oars hang by a strap, string, thong or loop of leather, which they buy ready made together with the boats from *Norway*. Here *Ruddiman* discovers his ignorance not only of the above mentioned figure, very common in the best writers, but also of the meaning of the verb *coëmo* and of the meaning and use of the preposition *è*, which properly signifies what is distant as *a* denotes what is near. He has corrupted this passage by reading *quas factas*, and proposes to deface it still more, by reading *a Norvegis*, or *è Norvegia*. That the names of people are used for the countries in which they dwell will be evident from the following examples. *Cicero* in *Verr. Si tu apud Persas, aut in extrema India deprehensus Verres, ad supplicium ducerere*: *Florus* 3. 1. on *Metelius* pursuing *Fugurtha*. *Tunc viribus exutum regem, & jam finium suorum, regnique fugitivum, per Mauros atque Getuliam sequebatur*. *Cæsar* on *Britain* *B. Gal. 5. 12. maritima pars ab iis, qui, prædæ ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgis transferant*. *Pliny* 33. 3. *aurum quod è Dardanis venit*. 37. 5. *inseritur Smaragdis, & quæ vocatur tanos, è Persis veniens*. *ibid. c. 10.* speaking of *agat*, in *Persis vero suffitu earum tempestates averti, & præterea flumina sisti*: of the use of this figure we have several instances in *Buchanan's* elegant translation of the bishop of *Dumblane's* instructions from *Q. Mary* to the *French* court, *lib. 18.*

(3.) *Lib. 20. cap. 22. p. 393. b. 6. Si quid ab Argathelia* (i. e. *à parte Argatheliæ*) *moveretur*, in case there should be any stir or commotion on the side of *Argyle-shire*. *Ruddiman* thinks the reading should be *Argathelio*. (4.) *Ibid. cap. 38. p. 398. b. 6. ut autem civitates clarissimas Athenas, Lacedæmona, Romam, Venetos silentio præteream*. He conjectures the reading should be *Venetias*, in direct opposition to *Sigonius* and *Glarean* on *Livy* 39. 22. who however they differ in

in other points, agree in this, that it is more usual to say in *Venetos* than in *Venetiam*. Sigonio charges Glarean with doubting whether *Venetia* is to be found in good authors, and affirms that it is in *Florus*, *Paterculus*, *Livy*, &c. Glarean says only that in *Venetos* is more frequent than in *Venetiam*, which expression tho' it occurs in the passage of *Livy* above referred to, yet he uses the figure metonymy in similar instances, as *lib.*

2. *Ex Etruscis frumentum Tiberi venit*, and *lib.* 1. *cap.* 54. *ibi quum, inscia multitudine quid ageretur, praelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent*; there, when the multitude not knowing what was doing, there were some skirmishes between the Romans and Gabii. To which I shall only add one example more from *Cicero de Divinat. lib.* 1. *tantos terræ motus in Liguribus, Gallia compluribusque insulis factos esse*.

*Lib.* 13. *cap.* 23. *p.* 248. c 6. of Henry VIII, & ipse expeditionem in Gallum adornat. Ruddiman on the authority of the MS. reads *Galliam*, and, if he meant to render his author uniform, he should have read *Galliam* and *Angliam* for *Gallum* and *Anglum* in the same chapter and page 65. *Jam enim futuri belli suspitio inter Gallum & Anglum gliscabat*, and in the very next sentence in *Gallum pronior*. There are some other passages where we meet with adjectives formed from proper names, which it may not be amiss to run over, before we come to derivation. (1.) *lib.* 12. *cap.* 48. *p.* 234. e 7. *legatos ad Glocestrium Ducem miserunt*. Ruddiman upon the authority of the MS. reads *Glocestria*, as a little before *cap.* 48. d 5. e 1. *Ricardum Glocestria Ducem*, that the author might be uniform; but unhappily in the very beginning of chapter 49. and in some following sentences we meet with *Glocestrius* to which *Dux* must always be understood; and in Ruddiman's note on *lib.* 14. *cap.* 26. *p.* 266. d 8. *episcopatum Caledonia*, where *Gr. wford* would have us read *Caledoniorum*

rum as *lib. 8. cap. 44. p. 147. b 1. Lib. 9. cap. 7 p. 156. b 4. and lib. 14. cap. 13. p. 262. c 8.* he has declared for variety: for, says he, since *Buchanan* himself *lib. 1. cap. 25. p. 11. a 11.* and in other places, calls the town *Caledonia* and the people *Caledonii*, there seems to be no reason against calling him sometimes *episcopus Caledoniae*, sometimes *Caledoniorum*, just as we use to say *Rex Angliae* or *Anglorum*. You see he confounds *episcopus* & *episcopus* the *bishoprick* and the *bishop*, who only is spoke of in all the passages above referred to.

(2.) *lib. 14. cap. 26. pag. 267. a 8.* *Levinianus* is turned into *Levinus*, because the MS. has it so here, and all the editions have it so in other places. *lib. 14. cap. 46. pag. 274. d 1.* *Franci filia natu maxima*, the French king's eldest daughter. Here we have a mighty ingenious conjecture that the author wrote *Francisci*, as he does a few lines after. *lib. 15. cap. 19. pag. 287. d 1. quam (regionem Glottianam) soli Hamiltonii tenebant.* *Crawford* would have us read *Hamiltoniani*; *Ruddiman* thinks he has reason, and yet has not followed him. *lib. 15. cap. 60. pag. 301. d 6.* *Angli exercitus adventus* the arrival of the *English* army. The MS. which reads *Anglici* is followed in opposition to all the printed copies. But may it not be as lawful to say either *Anglus* or *Anglicus*, *Hamiltonius* or *Hamiltonianus*, *Levinianus* or *Levinus*, as it is to say *Colebus* or *Colchicus*, *Corinthius* or *Corinthiacus*, *Getulicus* or *Getulus*, *Hispanicus* or *Hispanus* or *Hispaniensis*, *Ibericus*, *Iberiacus* or *Iberus*, *Italicus* or *Italus*, *Iulius* substantively or *Iulius*, a *um*, *Sabellus* or *Sabellus*, *Syricus*, *Syrius* or *Syrus*, *Trojanus*, *Troicus* or *Troius*, &c. *Ruddiman* has another ridiculous note on (3.) *lib. 20. cap. 38. pag. 398. d 4.* *Joanna Austria Caroli matre*, it should rather, says he, have been said *Austriaca*, or still better, as *Crawford* would have it, *Aragonica*; for *Joan* was daughter and heiress of *Ferdinand* surnamed the catholic, king of *Aragon*. But, he



adds, *Buchanan* has called her *Austria* or *Austriaca*, because she had married *Philip* of *Austria* son of *Maximilian* duke of *Austria* and emperor of *Germany*. And in his note on *lib. 19, cap. 28. pag. 377. a 9.* he justifies *Buchanan's* saying in *solo Britanno*, in opposition to *Lloyd* bishop of *St. Asaph*, and *Stillingfleet*, who would have it *Britannico*; and thinks that *Buchanan* had in his eye that passage of the panegyrist, about which there have been such hot disputes, and which he speaks of *lib. 2. cap. 40. pag. 41. a.* and informs us, that, besides *Eumenius*, *Lucretius* an eminent poet had gone before him *lib. 6. ver. 1105. Nam quid Britannum coelum differre putamus Et quod in Ægypto est.* And lastly, *Ruddiman* disapproves of *Melvin's* correction of *lib. 2. cap. 41. d 6.* and offering to read *Gallica*; because the author *lib. 4. cap. 45. pag. 68. c 11.* says *Belgica Armorica* in like manner as *Armorica Gallica* in the former passage. To what has been said on the declension of proper names I shall only add, that in *Seneca* we read *machara* and *provincia Hispania*, in *Sallust* *mulier Gallia*, in *Gellius* *terra Italia* and *Iberia tellus* in *Ausonius*; and that *Vossius* seems to be in the right, when he says, that *terra Gallia, Hispania, Græcia, Arabia, regio Thessalia* and the like are not put in apposition, but that these names of countries are adjectives in their own nature, the *Latins* herein imitating the *Greeks*, with whom *ios* is a very common termination of such names of nations, as from *Babylon Babylonios*, &c. Let us now proceed to the derivation, composition and interpretation of proper names on which our critic has passed his censures, and see how just they are.

I. *Apocœanitæ. lib. 1. cap. 13. pag. 6. c 11.* the Greek word, as *Strabo* translates it for the old *Gaulick* *Aremerici* or *Armærici* i. e. *maritimi, Oceani accolæ*, those that dwell near the sea, or border upon the ocean. *Ruddiman*, without the authority of the MS. or printed books reads

reads *paroceanitæ*, because he could not find the word *apoceanitæ* either in *Strabo* or in any other author, and because, as he imagines, *apoceanitæ* can signify nothing else but *apo tu oceanu oikuntas*, i. e. *longe à mari habitantes*. But then he adds that *Buchanan* or his clerk is not alone in this mistake, for that *Camden* is guilty of the very same and adds another of his own head, (a most unpardonable one, to be sure !) affirming, that the *Armorici* are by *Strabo* called *apoceanidas* for *apoceanitas*, and this for *paroceanitas*. Now the meaning of what *Ruddiman* says first and last is no more but this, that he has not seen all the editions or copies of *Strabo* that two men of *Buchanan's* and *Camden's* learning and curiosity had access to see. It is true *Casaubon's* edition and those that have followed it, read *paroceanitas*, and that the *Armorici* are sometimes called *paroikuntas ton Oceanon* and *hoi paroecanoi* : but then the account which *Casaubon* gives of his edition of that author shews us that we cannot altogether depend upon its correctness, tho' preferable perhaps in some respects to those that had gone before it. In the preface dated in 1587 he complains that *Strabo* had been so ill handed, so maimed and corrupted by *Sciolists* as very few writers worse ; that for about 500 years such corrupt copies of *Strabo* had been handed about as often imposed on learned men, who followed them unawares : that the very few learned that had endeavoured to correct, illustrate and explain *Strabo* had executed it in a very careless manner : that besides publick calamities common to all good men, *Casaubon* himself had met with many things in his own particular which had very often proved avocations from that kind of studies : and that therefore his edition was far from being absolutely perfect. *Nunc coacti sumus opus affectum potius quam effectum in vulgus emittere.*

The following particulars relating to the use and meaning of the two *Greek* prepositions *apo* and *para*, for which you may consult *H. Stephen's Thesaurus*, will make it abundantly plain that *apoceanitæ* is capable of another signification than that which *Ruddiman* imagined, and that it corresponds to the word *Aremorici*. 1. *Apo* has two contrary significations according to the different way of accenting it; for when it is written thus 'ápo, it has a quite contrary signification to what it has when written thus 'apò even in the very same phrase; as 'apò *gnomes* in *Dion* is the same as 'apò *psyches* in *Demosthenes*, *ex animi Sententia*, 'ápo *gnomes*, according to *Budæ's* interpretation, *longe à sententia animi*, *ouk 'ápo gnomes*, *satis è sententia*. And agreeable to this, 'ápothen when it signifies *procul* is accented as 'ápo, as *Plutarch* in *Romulo*, 'ápothen *tes Albes*, *procul ab Alba*. 2. In several instances where 'apò with its genitive must be rendered by one word as *hoi 'apò tes stoas*, *tu bematos* and the like, *Stoici, concionatores*, it cannot signify *far from* as *Ruddiman* would always have it to signify: for will any one say that the *Stoic* philosophers were *far from* the porch or preachers and pleaders *far from* the chair or pulpit? 3. 'Apò and *para* have the same signification, the only difference, according to *Ammonius*, is that 'apò is joined to things inanimate, and *para* to things animate: yet he brings an instance from *Homer* where it is otherwise, and confesses that *Homer* uses *para* and *apo* promiscuously, *para neon* in one place and *apo neon* in another. 4. In *Homer* and *Plutarch* *para* is taken for *ultra* or *trans*; as *par' Elida*, *para ton potamon phyge*, *para ton Aniena potamon choran apeneime*. 5. And lastly 'apò the *Greek* answers exactly to the *Latin* preposition *a* or *ab*, which is distinguished from *e* or *ex*, the former signifying what is near whether *prope* be added or not, and the other a thing at a distance. *Seneca epist.* 41. *prope est à te Deus. tecum est. intus est:* 58. *prope est à timente*



timente, qui fatum segnis expectat. It is very common with *Pliny* to begin his geographical descriptions with those countries that are nearest the sea, and to proceed to such as are more inland, and to express *the being near the sea* or bordering upon the ocean by *à mari*. *Ruddiman* himself in one place seems to have been of the opinion that *ab* signifies *near* or not far off, viz. in his note on *lib. 1. cap. 35. pag. 14. d 8. ab hac* [scil. *Gigaia*] *quatuor & viginti in longum porrecta abest Jura*. *Buchanan*, says he, does not mean as tho' *Jura* were twenty four miles distant from *Gigaia*; for immediately he affirms the distance to be but twelve miles. And these words *quatuor & viginti* signify the length of *Jura* itself and not its distance from another place. "What then is the meaning of these words *ab hac abest Jura*?" "Surely no other but this, *haud longe ab ea sita est*, or *proximè post eam memoranda occurrit*." It may therefore be questioned whether *apoceanitæ* be not as proper Greek for *Armorici* or *maritimi* as *parocceanitæ*, and whether *Ruddiman* had reason to correct *Buchanan's* text by reading *parocceanitæ* and censure *Camden* for reading *apoceanidæ*, there being no reason to doubt but these learned men have found it in *Strabo* as they wrote it, or that they looked upon what they wrote as the true reading in that author.

2. *Culdei. lib. 6. cap. 17. pag. 97. c 5. Culdeos hoc est, Dei cultores*. So says *Boëthius*: but *Ruddiman* can hardly believe that the *Culdees* derived their name *à Deo colendo*, seeing, as he says, in ancient records (in certain old bulls and rescripts of popes, says *Spotswood*, which must be infallible) they are almost always called not *Culdei*, but *Keledei*; so that their conjecture is more probable, who think they got that name from the *cellæ* cells or *casulæ* little cottages or houses, in which of old they used to dwell and employ themselves in the worship of God. And is it not as reasonable to give the *Culdees* their

their name from their employment in their cells, which was the worshipping of God, as from the cells themselves, in which, otherwise, it was possible for them, to be idle or ill employed, as it is notorious to all the world the monks that succeeded them most scandalously were? It is certainly more honourable to denominate the *Cul-dees* from their pious exercise, than merely from their cells or huts, which in themselves signified nothing honourable or religious, and were capable of being employed to a profane and irreligious use, according to the opposite characters of the persons that might have lodged or dwelt in them. It is possible, however, that neither *Boëthius* nor *Buchanan* meant to give us the etymon of the word *Culdei* so much as to describe the real character of the persons signified by it.

3. *Julia. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 82 c. 1.* After an account of the manner in which *Arthur* prince of the *Britons* kept a feast at the city of *York*, which he had taken by surrender, in the end of *December*, that is by mirth and jollity, drinking and the other vices that proceed from it, in imitation of the old *Saturnalia*, but doubling or tripling the number of days; on which days it is in a manner looked upon as impious to mind any serious business. Presents are given and returned great and sumptuous entertainments made by friends one to another: servants have their liberty, without being reprov'd or chastised. *Nostri Julia id festum vocant, Cæsaris videlicet nomine pro Saturno substituto. Vulgo persuasum est natalem Christi iis ceremoniis coli: qua in re verius Bacchanaliorum lasciviam, quam Christi tum nati memoriam referri satis constat.* Our folks (i. e. either the *Scots* or *Scots* and *English*) call that festival *Zule* or *Yule*, (the antiens, says *Crawford*, pronounced *I* consonant, as in *Julius*, as we pronounce *Y*, *Julius* as *Yulius*) putting *Julius Cæsar's* name in the place of *Saturn's*. The vulgar are persuaded, that *Christ's* birth-day is kept by such ceremonies

remories, which it is abundantly plain do more resemble the wantonness of the *Bacchanalia*, than the remembrance of *Christ* as born at that time. *Ruddiman* approves of *Buchanan's* saying *Julia* and not *Juliam*, as some (less knowing than himself) might possibly think, not attending that names of feasts are by the *Latins* generally put in the plural number : but he is very angry with him for deriving *Yule* from *Julius Cæsar*, without any other foundation, as he pretends, but the similitude of the words. For, adds he, " we do not read that *Julius Cæsar* acted any thing memorable at this season of the year, and far less on this day ; for he was born the 6th of the ides of *July*, which month for that reason he called by his own name, it having formerly been called *Quintilis* ; and he was slain on the ides of *March*, 44 years before *Christ* was born : which two times are at a great distance from the 25th of *December*. Farther, it seems absurd to think that those antient *Saxons* who a great many ages before and perhaps the first used this word *Geol* for *Christ's* birth-day, should have been so unmindful of the Saviour of the world, as when they were remembering his birth that bringeth salvation to men, to call it by the name of *Julius Cæsar*. Whatever be the original of this word, it must of necessity be some other than that which *Buchanan* imagines. And indeed *Skinner* thinks the word *Yule* is derived from the *Hebrew-Latin jubulum*, *Ray* from the *Welsh Gwiliay*, that is feast days, and this again from the *Latin vigiliæ*, *Alexander Monro* from the *French Noel*, i. e. *Christ's* birth-day feast ; others lastly give other derivations : but *Henry Spelman* in his glossary at the word *Mona* is the first that seems to have found out the true etymon of the name, who affirms it to have been called *Geol*, because celebrated in *December*, which month the *Anglo-Saxons*, as *Bede* witnesseth, called *Giuli*, and also began their year with it, *quo & annum inchoabant*. But if a-

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ny one has a mind to make a farther inquiry into the origin of this word, let him consult *Hickes'* treasure of northern languages." In this note *Ruddiman* discovers, as in many other places, his ignorance of the *Latin*; for to express the beginning the year *with* or *at* such or such a month the preposition *a* or *ab* should have been added to the verb *inchoo* or *ordior*, which he constantly omits. 2. His ignorance of the history of *Julius Cæsar*, who (not to mention the emperors birth-days, which were of two sorts, *natalis genuinus*, their natural birth-day, and *natalis imperii*, their inauguration, on which see *Bingham's* antiquities vol. 9.) in the *Kalends* of *January*, entered his 4th consulship, and from thence began the first *Julian* year according to the reformation of the *Roman* *Kalendar*, which he had made the year preceding, in quality of high priest of *Rome*, on which see *Prideaux's* connection part 2 book 7, and the authors to whom he refers. 3. Ignorance of the history of the *Saxons*, who at the time that *K. Arthur* was at *York* and long after were merciless idolaters, not only trampling upon every thing relating to the christian religion, but letting loose their rage against the christians themselves, and whose inhuman proceedings have been painted out by *Gildas* and *Bede* (himself a *Saxon*) in such a manner as shews their barbarities were carried to the highest degree imaginable. It was about fifty or sixty years after prince *Arthur's* death that the kingdom of *Kent* was first converted to the christian faith, before the rest of the *Saxon* kingdoms. 4. *Ruddiman* here, as in other places without number, did not know or did not attend to what *Buchanan* says, who speaks of *Arthur* king of the *Britons* (not of the *Saxons*, with whom he was at war) as celebrating a festival at *York*, which was not confined to one day, the 25th of *December*, but included several, the number of the days of the *Saturnalia*, (originally

but one, and afterwards three, and in *Seneca's* time not exceeding five or seven days, tho' *Claudius* kept it a whole year,) being doubled or tripled. Nor does *Buchanan* say by what name the *Saxons*, but *noſtri* his countrymen (the *Scots* solely or principally) of his own time called *Christmas*: i. e. by the name of *Yule* from *Julius*, which *Ruddiman* little less than confesses is more likely than any of those derivations he has been able to discover, after rummaging so many learned authors.

And for the thing itself, that is *Yule's* being so exact a picture of the heathen *Saturnalia* or *Bacchanalia*, see what is said by *Dr. Hopkins* bishop of *Londonderry* in a sermon upon *Christ's* nativity. "It is very sad to consider, that as *Christ's* birth hath been the cause of the salvation of many a soul, so *Christmas* hath been the occasion of the damnation of many. The rude and ignorant look upon it only as a time of mirth and looseness; and when they have gotten liberty from the honest labour and works of their callings, employ it only in the works of the devil. Suffer me to speak plainly, what through rioting and drunkenness, and revelling, and gaming, and such like excesses the name of *Christ* hath been greatly dishonoured, under a pretence of honouring his birth! What, Sirs, do you believe that *Christ* came into the world to give you a fair occasion to eat to gluttony, to drink to drunkenness, to swear up all hell? Are not these some of the sins that he came into the world to destroy? And will you make him the patron of your wickedness, who came on purpose to redeem you from it? This is to entertain hell, and keep a feast to the devil; and as those infernal spirits howled at the birth of our Saviour, so to make them rejoice and triumph at the annual return of it. I have some where (*Busbequ. ep. 3. p. 168.*) met with a story of a *Turkish* ambassador, who was sent to one of the greatest courts in christendom; when he returned home to his master,

master, and was by him examined what customs the christians observed, made this answer, that for twelve days in the year all the christians ran mad. His observation was but too true, and too much to the utter disparagement of christian religion; and that general profaneness which usually rages and abounds at this season may make it questionable, whether there be not more wickedness committed in those twelve days, than in all the twelve months after." Thus far this truly pious and christian divine. See also Dr. *John Sharp* archbishop of *York* on the same subject. There is no sober virtuous man of any denomination of christians but must be shocked to see Christmas observed both in time and manner as the *Saturnalia* was by the heathens, by *Yule games*, masters of *misrule*, *mascarades*, debaucheries. *Boethius* describes *Yule* much in the same manner as *Buchanan*; and *Guy Patin* in one of his letters calls it the *Saturnalia* or *Bacchanalia*. For the origin and description of these heathen festivals, see *Justin* 43. 1, 5. *Macrobius* 1. 6, 10, 18. *Lucian* and *Dionysius*, lib. 6. *Pliny* ep. 9. lib. 4. and *Livy*, lib. 39. from chap. 8. to 20 where you have a curious account of the *Bacchanalia* of its being abolished in *Rome* and all over *Italy*, and a noble speech of *Posthumius* the consul describing the mad pranks that were played on that festival: and compare these with the above descriptions of the manner in which *Yule* (for it is a profaning of the sacred name of Christ to call it Christmas) is commonly observed, and then judge whether there be a resemblance.

Were I allowed to reason after Mr. *Ruddiman*'s manner, that is, by making suppositions contrary to fact, I could easily disprove any thing: particularly I might refute the following narrative of *Mezerai* in his account of the state of the church of the 12th century, by supposing it unreasonable to believe that not heathens like the *Saxons* in king *Arthur*'s time, but christians, and e-



even those of the sacred order of clergymen, should be capable, not of giving the anniversary of the circumcision on a wrong name, but of acting such scenes on that day. *Ado* bishop of *Paris* endeavoured to root out an ancient, but ridiculous custom, which had been suffered in the church of *Paris*, and in many others of the kingdom. It was the *feast of fools*; in some places it was called the *feast of innocents*. It was kept at *Paris*, principally on the day of the circumcision: the priests and clerks went a masquerading to the church, and there committed a thousand insolences, and after they came out of it, they rode in chariots through the streets, and mounted stages, singing all the most obscene songs, and acting all the most impudent postures and buffooneries with which mountebanks are wont to divert the silly mob. *Ado* attempted to take away that detestable mummery, having to that effect obtained a mandate from a legate of the holy see, who came to visit his church: but we may well believe that his intention had not its full effect, and that that madness continued for above two hundred and fifty years longer; since we find that in 1444 the faculty of theology, at the request of the bishops, wrote a letter to all the prelates and chapters to condemn and abolish it, and that the council of *Sens*, which was held in 1460, speaks of it still as an abuse which it was necessary to take away."

As the season of the year in which *Yule* is kept answers to the beginning of *January*, with which *Julius Caesar* began the year, a thing memorable enough, tho' *Ruddiman* could not discover it, so it is a point very difficult, and, in the opinion of very learned men, impossible to be certainly known, whether our Saviour was born precisely on the 25th of *December*, the day now observed as his birth-day; since the holy scripture has given us no clear account of it, and since the tradition which solemnizes our Lord's birth on that day, is neither  
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very ancient, nor very certain. For as to antiquity, it is plain that *Origen*, who lived but about 200 years after the birth of our Saviour, in a place, (*contra Cels.* l. 8. pag. 404.) where he is giving an exact account of the day which the christians of his time were wont to observe throughout the year, makes no mention of Christmas but only of the Lord's day, and of *Pentecost*: and the same thing may be observed in *Tertullian*, somewhat more antient than *Origen*, in some passages of his books (*de pudic.* c. 14. pag. 712. a. and l. 2. *ad uxor.* c. 23.) where he also makes a like enumeration, without ever mentioning Christmas-day any more than the rest of the writers of the three first ages of christianity, that are true and genuine, and not supposititious; not one of whom any where speaks one word of this feast of Christmas: a manifest proof, one would think, that it was not celebrated during all that time; it being no ways probable but that either so many authors would have left some memorial of it, if it had been then in use, or that *Origen* and *Tertullian*, two very learned and very exact writers, would have mentioned it in such places where they describe other observances of that nature.

Farther: *Clement of Alexandria*, in a work (*Strom.* l. 1. p. 340. b. c.) composed the year of our Lord 196, having discoursed of the year in which our Lord was born, adds on this subject, that there were even some people, who not content with pitching on the year of our Saviour's birth, added the day of it likewise, with too much curiosity, and relates two opinions about it; the one of those who said he was born the 20th day of *May*, and the other of the *Ebasilidian* hereticks, who fixed his birth to the 20th of *April*. For this writer, the most learned and eminent of his time, far from commending those who amused themselves with this inquiry about the day of our Lord's birth, evidently blames them for too much curiosity; which he would have taken care

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not to have done, if the whole church of his time had believed it certain that Christ was born the 25th of Decr. and had also religiously celebrated the memorial of it by the observation of a feast instituted for that very purpose. The very same thing appears also from hence, that *Clement*, having related on this subject two different opinions, makes no mention of this 3d, which is the only true one, according to the *Romish* pretension. For who doth not see, that if it had been the publick sentiment of the church of that age, he would not have failed in such a place to mention and establish it, by rejecting the other two as false and absurd, and contrary to the belief of true christians? His not doing so, his not condemning the other opinions of falshood, but only of curiosity, clearly shows, that the tradition of *Rome* of the 25th of *December* was wholly unknown to him, and likewise to the whole church of his time. To which also may be added two other remarks; the one is, that it is certain by the testimony of *Chrysostom*, (*Hom. in Nativit. Dom. quæ est* 31. T. 5. Par. Savil. T. 5. est 72. p. 511.) who lived near two hundred years after *Clement of Alexandria*, that the feast of Christmas began not to be in use at *Antioch*, (see the *homily* itself, p. 475. D. *Paris* ed. 516. *Savil* ed. and p. 517.) and in all the churches of the eastern diocese, which depended upon it, till about the year of our Lord 370, the devotion of the 25th day of *December* having been unknown to the whole patriarchate of *Antioch*, one of the most considerable portions of the church universal, for the space of near 400 years; which would be altogether absurd and ridiculous, if *St. Paul* and *St. Peter* the founders of that church, where too the disciples were first called christians, had been, as is pretended, the authors of the tradition about the feast of christmas. The other remark is, that it appears from *Epiphanius*, (*Hær. 51. Allog. § 24. pag. 446.*) that in his time, that is about



the end of the 4th century, all the churches of *Egypt*, and of the isle of *Cyprus*, where he was bishop, solemnized the remembrance of the birth of *Jesus Christ*, not on the 25th of *December* as the *Latins*, but on the 6th of the month of *January*; and *Cassian* (Collat. X.) relates, that it was still in his time (that is about the year 420 or 430) the custom of the christians of *Egypt*. Thus you see that the true and particular day of our Lord's birth is to us unknown. You may see in *Bingham* how the festivals of the *Kalends* of *January*, which, as *Gothofred* thinks, comprized three days, allowed by the imperial laws, were generally condemned by the ancient christian writers, because of the vanities and excesses and abuses that were usually committed in them. The derivation of *Zule* or *Yule*, which cardinal *Beton* and governor *Hamilton* kept for 20 days, from *Julius* or *Yulius* is at least as good as any of those adduced by *Ruddiman* who approves of *Sir Thomas Urquhart* of *Cromartie*'s interpretation of the *Souters* of *Cromartie* (so the bay or frith of *Cromartie* is called by those who dwell near it as ingenious; *Soteres* or *Servatores*, the Saviours. See *Ruddiman*'s note on the words *portum salutiferum*, lib. I. cap. 30. pag. 12. c. 9.

4. *Lauderia*. lib. I. cap. 18. pag. 8. b. 6. *Contingit deinde paulum ad occasum inflexa Lauderiam, & Tuediam: alteram à Laudero oppido, alteram ab amne Tuediam mediam secante.* In the end of this sentence *Ruddiman* from the MS. interpolates the word *nominatas*, which the author in retouching his work has designed as an ellipsis, which could be so easily supplied from the context: for a few lines before there is *Teviotia nomen adempta, regiones nominatæ, Annandia appellata*, and a line or two after *Nithiæ Nitbus amnis nomen dedit*, and *Lothiana a Lotho Pictorum rege nominata*. Our critic thinks *Lauderdale* is so named rather from the river *Lauder* that runs through it, than from the town: especially seeing

seeing *almost all* the countries round about have got their names not from towns but from rivers, according to *Buchanan's* own suffrage. Farther, as rivers are more antient than towns, and as he himself says, *lib. 2.* are among those things which in some sort are accounted eternal, it is more reasonable that towns should be derived from rivers than the reverse. Does this contradict any thing that is said by *Buchanan*? Does he deny that the town *Lauder* may have its name from the river, as the country has its name from the town: just as *Aberdeen* has its name from the river *Dee*, and the shire is named from the town? And tho' he had denied it, *Ruddiman* does not pretend, that *all countries* have their names from rivers, but *almost all*: so *Lauderda'e* might be an exception, and without allowing another exception, there is no saving of *Ruddiman* from the charge of self contradiction on the word

*Lothiana* (*ib. b 9.*) à *Lotho Pictorum rege nominata*. Here he seems unresolved whether of the two opinions different from that of *Buchanan* to fix upon, only he inclines to either rather than to his. Some, says he, with whom I rather agree, think *Lothian* is derived, not from *Loth K. of Picts*, but from the water of *Leith* that runs through the middle of it, and that therefore it should rather be called *Lethian*. See *Bleau's Atlas Scotiæ*. But their conjecture to him seems most probable, who think the name was given the country from the people inhabiting it, *who were neither so antient as the river or the country itself*, and that for *Gadenoi*, whom *Ptolemy* places in that tract, should be read *Ladenoi*, *whether there be any better authority for it or not than a conjecture of Camden's*, who says the *Gadeni* or *Ladeni* comprehended *Merse* and *Teviotdale* as well as *Lothian*. See *Buchanan* at the beginning of *book 6th* where he shows, that after *Kenneth Mac Alpin* had driven out the *Picts*, his men gave new names to many places and countries, not to *Lothian*,  
 E e 2 which

which had got that name not long before, but to *Fife Mernis*, &c. as *Cuningham* and *March*, or *Merse*, were probably so named by the *Danes* after the days of *Kenneth II*.

6. *Mula. lib. 1. cap. 19. pag. 8 d. Extremum lateri est* Nouantum promontorium, sub quo in ostio *Luff* fluminis sinus est. Ei ex aduerso influit ex æstuario *Glottæ* sinus vulgo lacus *Rianus*, *Ptolemæo* *Vidogara* quod inter hos sinus terræ procurrit, incolæ *Rinum* hoc est *Gallouidiæ* aciem appellant. Ab eisdem *Nouantum Mula*, hoc est rostrum, sive rictus nominatur. The farthest side or part of *Galloway* is the promontory of the *Novantæ*, under which at the mouth of the river *Lufs* there is a bay, into which on the opposite side there runs out of the frith of *Clyde* a bay commonly called *Logh-Rian*, and by *Ptolemy* *Vidogara*. The peninsula formed by these bays is by the inhabitants called the *Rine* or *Rins* that is the edge of *Galloway*. The promontory of the *Novantæ* is by the same *Galloway* men called the *Mule*, that is the beak, snout or jaw.

*lib. 8. cap. 30. p. 142. c. 2. Thomas and Alexander* brothers of *K. Robert Bruce*, as they were going out of *Galloway* to *Carrick* were seized by the *English* ad lacum *Rianum*, qui *Ptolemæo* est sinus *Rerigonius*, near *Logh Rian*, which according to *Ptolemy* is the bay *Rerigonius*. This, says *Ruddiman*, is not only false, but inconsistent with what the author says in the 1st book. For *Ptolemy* calls *Logh-Rian* *Vidogara*; and the bay opposite to it, commonly *Glenluce*, is called *Rerigonius*. But the likeness of the words seems to the critic to have led *Buchanan* into the mistake, as *Straloch* has long since observed. But *Buchanan* may be reconciled with himself and *Ptolemy* both, by supposing him in the 1st book to have considered the two lochs *Rian* and *Glenluce* as distinct, and in the 8th as parts of one whole by its turnings and windings forming one peninsula commonly called the *rinns* of *Galloway*, *Vidogara* as the particular



particular name of *Logh-Rian*, and *sinus Rerigonius* as including both it and the bay of *Glenluce*.

Near the beginning of the forecited passage of *lib. 1.* he has *Novantum promontorium*, and in the end of it having one *Gaelick* and two *Latin* words that are synonymous, he has thought it was unnecessary to add *promontorium*, which *Ruddiman* has foisted in without any authority; because *Novantum* is not the nominative singular, as some might possibly suppose, that knew not so much as he, but the genitive plural from the nom. *Novantæ*. He finds no fault with the syncope, as he did on the word *Icenum*; tho' if he had, there is just such another in *Cæs. B. Civ. 3. 81.* of *Metropolitum* for *Metropolitarium* from *Metropolitæ*.

*Ruddiman*, who I suppose will pretend to be alike skilled in the *Erse* and *Hebrew*, tells us that *Irvine* in his *nomenclatura* and the *Atlas Scotiæ* say that *Mule* in the old language signifieth *bare* or *bald*. No doubt these authors were more perfect masters of the old Scots than *Buchanan*, who learned it as his mother tongue, and has given many good proofs in his history, particularly in the first books, that he was a great critic in that as well as other languages, by which he was so well qualified for writing on the subject of the *British* antiquities. And this puts me in mind of an arch and humorous passage of his behaviour, which I found in some MS. excerpts taken by Mr. *Thomas Melvil*, who was minister at *Alford* in the last century. “*Buchanan* being once on a time in *France*, and meeting with a possessed woman that spoke all languages, he having been born in *Lennox*, where he learned the *Irish*, made trial whether the devil had that language, and he answered nothing: whereupon he took instrument that the devil knew it not, nor consequently that people in the highlands.” This passage may probably refer to the imposture mentioned in *hist. des e-*

*reform.* under the reign of *Francis I.*, as committed at *Bourges*, where there was a young woman said to be possessed, who uttered some words of *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, which she had been taught : but the official having brought her and her husband, and the young priest that followed her to comfort her as well as he could, all three into the archiepiscopal prisons, and having examined the priest apart, who he suspected was following the young woman rather than the devil, found him vary in his answers, and by threatening to put him to the torture, drew the whole truth from him, to the great confusion of those who had been deceived by the imposture, and believed it a miracle.

7. *Sophocardius*, *Wiseheart* or *Wisbart* from *Sophos* and *cardia* ; but says, *Ruddiman*, after *Irvine*, in his *nomenclatura*, this is not the true etymon of the surname, it being originally *French* ; for they call *Guiscard*, him whom we call *Wischart* or *Wisbart*. If *Rodericus Tole-tanus lib. 6.* quoted by *Menage* in his *origines*, of the *French* tongue is to be credited, *Guiscard* is a *Saracen* word signifying vagabond, by which name the *Saracens* in the *Punic* tongue called *Robert* one of the sons of *Tancred de Hauteville*, a very brave nobleman, who with his *Normans* made an intire conquest of *Calabria* of which he assumed the title of duke. This famous prince of the *Normans* in *Apulia*, says *Mezerai*, died in 1085, having before gained two naval battles, the one over the *Venetians*, and the other over the *Greeks*. Others say that the name *Guiscard* is of a *German* original, and signifies one of a refined nature. It is certain we had the simple surname of *Hart* as early as the battle of *Ottirburn*, a knight of that name having been slain there with the brave earl *Douglas*. And we had a surname compounded with *wise* in the time of *David Bruce* ; for *Fordon* tells us, that *Andrew Murray* warden of the kingdom lost *Stephen Wiseman* at the taking of the tower

tower or castle of *Boithuile*. If *Buchanan* has committed an error in calling Mr. *Wishart* the martyr *Sophocardius*, *Ruddiman* has followed him in his note on *lib. 16. cap. p. 321. d 8.* where giving us from *Rymer* the names of those who subscribed the convention with *England* at *Berwick* in 1560, he translates *John Wishart* of *Pittarow*, *Joann. Sophocardius Pittarous*: and where he had not *Buchanan* to follow, he seems to be none of the happiest in putting either *French* or *English* surnames in a *Latin* dress; for in his preface he has *John Beauguius* for *John Beaugué*, whom *de Thou* calls *Bellovadi- us*, *gué* in *French* signifying a ford; and in one of his notes speaking of *John Barber* archdeacon of *Aberdeen* author of the life of *K. Robert Bruce*, he calls him *John Barbarus*, which is not quite so good as the barbarous monkish *Latin* *barbitonsor*. Nor has *Ruddiman* in his *nomenclatura*, notwithstanding the airs he gives himself of out-doing all that had gone before him, explained all the proper names he ought to have done, going no farther, it would seem, than *Crawford* and *Irvine* had gone before him.

*Buchanan* is very sparing in Grecizing and Latinizing proper names, tho' much practised before, in and since his time, of which we have the following instances in the *Huetiana*. *Johannes de aqua veteri*, a name latinized from the *Dutch*, and afterwards grecized from the *Latin* into *Palaeomydorus*. Thus *Erasmus* has translated his *Dutch* name of *Gerard* into *Latin* by the name of *Desiderius*, and into *Greek* by that of *Erasmus*. Thus *Capnion*, *Melanchthon*, *Oecolampadius* have given this *Greek* version to their *German* names. Thus the chancellor de l' *Hôpital* has been disguised into *Xenius*. — And the example has been followed in our days by *Perizonius* a *Dutch* professor. *Chandieu*, a minister of *Geneva*, has gone still farther, deriving his name of *Sadai* from the *Hebrew*. To which I may add that our  
Fordun



*Fordun* has both hebraized and grecized *Columba*, calling him *Jona* and *Peristera*.—*de Thou* has been censured for Latinizing proper names. And, according to *Menage*, all who have writ the history of other nations, have fallen under this censure, except *Camden*. The same *Menage* gives an instance of a verse which shows the *ridiculum* of not Latinizing *French* names when one writes in *French*.

It is pleasant to see the blunder that *Thomas Dempster* the jesuit has committed on occasion of *de Thou's* calling Mr. *Wishart* the martyr *Sophocardius*, and *Lestry's* calling him *Wischbertus*. That compound of fury and calumny animated by a blind and ignorant zeal for the *Romish* religion is very much offended at the president *de Thou*, a man of the catholic religion, as he calls it, for speaking so favourably of *George Sophocardius*, a pitiful despicable fellow of the very dregs of the mob says *Dempster*, who had not the least tincture of learning, and was burnt as a heretick by cardinal *Beton* at *St. Andrews* 1st of *January* 1547, i. e. about seven months after *Beton's* death. And in another place, as tho' *George Sophocardius* and *George Wishart* were two different persons, he says, he was a man of high birth. *Georgius Wischbertus eminentem generis sui nobilitatem pudenda hereseos labe coinquinavit*, adding, that he was burnt for heresy by the same cardinal at *St. Andrews*, and that he was alive in 1560, that is about fourteen years after the death of cardinal *Beton*. It is this *Dempster*, infamous among all men of learning and candour, that is Dr. *McKenzie's* chief original, on whom he has formed himself, and whose calumny about Mr. *Wishart's* being in a plot to take away the cardinal's life, he labours to support by another impudent piece of forgery, viz, a scrape of a letter which the Dr. says was in the lawyers library at *Edinburgh*, but which *Keith* after a great deal of search could not find there, and which tho' he had found would

would never prove that for which it is adduced : inso-  
much that one of the authors of the *Biographia Britan-  
nica* who signs X, and is a writer of the same kidney  
with *Dempster*, *Keith* and *M<sup>r</sup> Kenzie*, is forced to own  
that the proof is lame. But it is time to proceed to  
*Ruddiman's* geography.

1. *Abrebrothea*, lib. 1. cap. 25. pag. 11. b 11. so the  
MS. where the 1st edition, by a typographical error  
reads *Abrenethea*, alio nomine *Abrinca*. *Ruddiman*, to ren-  
der his author uniform reads, *Aberbrothium*, and tells us  
there is a blank left in the MS. for the word *Abrinca*,  
which he found no where else ; as if he had seen every  
thing that *Buchanan* saw, whose arguments to prove that  
the *Scots* came originally from *Gaul*, render it probable  
that there might have been a town in *Scotland* called by  
the name *Abrinca*, since *Pliny*, lib. 4. cap. 18. speaks of  
a town or people in *Gallia Lugdunensis* or the *Lyonnois*,  
*Abrincatui* or *Abrincatæ*, who, according to *Cellarius*, are  
near *Auranches*. *Abrinca* or *Abringa* is also a river of  
*Germany*, now called *Are*.

2. *Angusia*, lib. 20. cap. 68. p. 408. d 8. *Adamus  
Gordonius coacta manu in Angusiam ingressus domum*

*Duglassii Glenbervii obsedit*. *Ruddiman* thinks the  
reading should rather be *Merniam* ; because the castle  
of *Glenbervie* is situate in the *Mernis* and was won this  
year 1572 by *Adam Gordon* ; for which he refers us to  
*Spotswood*, who says indeed that *Adam Gordon* entered  
into the country of *Mernis*, and besieged the house of  
*William Douglas* of *Glenbervie* : but does not say that  
*Squire Douglas* had no house but that of *Glenbervie* ca-  
pable of being besieged : and tho' he had, *Adam Gordon*  
might have entered *Angus* in an hostile manner before  
he besieged that castle. *Spotswood* tells us, that at this  
time he did several exploits in *Angus* ; particularly, that  
he surprized the earls of *Crawford* and *Buchan* with the  
Lord *Glamis* and master of *Marshall*, at *Brechin*, kill-  
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ing the watches, took many prisoners, and slew about thirty nine persons within the city ; that after this he besieged the town of *Montrose*, and forced them to pay a great sum of money, which put the town of *Dundee* in such fear that they were fain to seek aid of their neighbours in *Fife*. This last particular is also told by *Buchanan*. Farther, supposing *domus Duglassii Glenbervii* could have no other meaning but *the castle of Glenbervie*, the boundaries of countries and sheriffdoms might have been different in *Buchanan's* time from what they are at this day : for tho' *Glenbervie* is now reckoned to be in the heart of the *Mernis*, yet *Hume* or *Crawford* or *Irvine*, or all three together, tell us in exprefs terms in their *nomenclatura* that the barony of *Glenervie* lieth upon the water of *Bervie* in *Angus*.

3. *Aquitania*. *Buchanan* in his life tells us that during the time of his being regent in the college of *Guienne*, he was persecuted by cardinal *Beton* and the gray friars, but that the death of *James V.* king of *Scotland* and the pestilence that raged over *Aquitaine* with very great violence (*pestis per Aquitaniam sævissime grassata*) delivered him from these apprehensions. Of this pestilence *John Talpin* Dr. and chanon theolodal at *Perigueux*, the same person probably who with *John Ferre-rius* gave it in evidence against *Buchanan*, when he was in the inquisition in *Portugal*, that they had been informed by several persons of credit that he had no good opinion of the *Roman religion* : *Talpin*, I say, in the preface to his *police Chrestienne* printed at *Paris* in 1568 probably meant to speak of the same pestilence ; which he says about twenty two years before raged with such fury that 1400 houses in the city of *Bordeaux* were shut up in one month for one bout, as infected with that plague. *Ruddiman* in a long and learned and laborious note, pag. 5. where he falls into several shameful blunders, is of opinion, that between the time that *Buchan-*  
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an left *Bordeaux*, that is in 1543, (in which year the *Medea* was written and acted in that university) and the year 1544 when he was a professor in the college of cardinal *le Moine* in the university of *Paris*, he staid for some time in some part of *Aquitaine*, and was pedagogue to the famous *Michael de Montaigne*, author of the *essais*. Now this is just as good sense as if I should say, that whilst the pestilence was raging all over *Fife*, one of the professors of the university of *St. Andrews* retired to *Scots-tarvet*, to teach a young gentleman there. Since we are sure that *Buchanan* was at *Bordeaux* in 1543 and a regent at *Paris* in 1544, is it not better to say, that he went directly from *Bordeaux* to *Paris*, without staying in any part of that country of *Aquitaine*, where the pestilence was raging with so much fury? In the passage of *Montaigne's essais* liv. 1. ch. 25. to which we are referred, the author tells us that he was sent by his father to the college of *Guienne* when he was about six years of age, that is about the year 1539 (in which *Buchanan* entered that college as regent) having been born ult. *Febr.* 1533; and that he came not out of it till he was thirteen years of age. *Nicholas Grouchi*, *William Guarenté*, *George Buchanan* and *Mark Antony Muret*, whom he calls his domestic preceptors, were regents of that college at the time he was a student in it, and would all, no doubt, be forward, upon his father's recommendation, to take a very particular care of the education of a boy that discovered such an uncommon genius in such tender years.

4. *Buchania. lib. 1. cap. 28. pag. 12. a 10. Sunt reliquæ aliquot exiguæ inter Buchaniam, & mare occidentale interjectæ: sed cum nihil habeant insigne, ac narratu admodum memorabile, non est quod in eis explicandis immoremur.* *Buchan*, which of all the countries of *Scotland* runs farthest out into the *German sea*, as has been before observed by *Buchanan*, and the countries that lie between

between it and the west sea comprehend the whole breadth of *Scotland*, where it is at the broadest. But, adds *Ruddiman*, as the countries lying between it and the west sea, *Garioch*, *Strathbogie*, *Mar*, *Athol*, *Badenach*, *Lochaber*, which *Buchanan* has in a great measure described already, are neither small nor unworthy to be mentioned, I am persuaded that *Buchanan* wrote *Badenacham*, which he had just mentioned; because the countries that ly between *Badenach* and the west sea, are indeed small, and have nothing remarkable in them, such as *Glen Tarff*, *Glen Roy*, *Glen Luy*, *Glen Gariff*, *Glen Elgh*, *Glen Morisden*, *Knadert*, *Murran*, *Arisaig*, *Mudeort*, &c. It seems *Ruddiman* has no capacity for understanding the geography of his country, which is so accurately described by *Buchanan*. Had he but looked on a common map, he might have seen that neither *Mar*, *Badenach* nor *Lochaber*, far less *Athol*, are upon a parallel with *Buchan*; and had he attended to what *Buchanan* says but two paragraphs before, he might have learned, that *Mar* begins with a narrow front at *Aberdeen* new and old between the two rivers of *Dee* and *Don* where they fall into the *German sea*, and that these three countries *Lochaber*, *Badenach* and *Mar* (which being about sixty miles in length reaches to *Badenach*, as *Badenach* to *Lochaber*, and *Lochaber* to the *Deucalidonium* or west sea) comprehend the breadth of *Scotland* between the two seas, and are in the same latitude. *Athol* lies between *Mernis* and the west sea, a degree farther south than *Buchan*. *Badenach* is not mentioned immediately before the above cited passage, but *Enner'achy* in *Lochaber*, where our kings of old for some ages kept their residence in the castle *Euonia*, which many have falsely imagined to be the same with *Dunstaffage* in *Lorn*. *Buchanan* does not say that these small countries which he did not think it necessary to mention or describe, do immediately border with *Buchan*, or ly nearest it, but that

that *Leith* is between *Aberdeen* and *Edinburgh*, tho' there be several towns in the way between *Aberdeen* and *Leith*. The little countries *Buchanan* probably had in his mind are *Glen Fiddigh*, *Glen Rinnes*, *Glen Livet*, *Strathawin*, *Strathspey*, &c.

5. *Cameronia. lib. 9. cap. 23. pag. 161. e ult.* In the account of the *Cumins* being defeated by *David Bruce's* party at the forest of *Kilblene* (*Nov. 30. 1335.* says *For-dun*) we are told that many of the *Cumins* men fled to a castle of *Robert Menzies'* hard by, *Multis fuit saluti Cameronia arx.* *Ruddiman* reads *Canemora*, because the *extracta*, *charter-house* book, *Boëthius*, *Bellenden*, *Winton* and *Hume* call it by that name. *Boëthius* and *Bellenden* call it *Cammor* or *Canmore*; and *Crawford* the castle of *Loch-Kenmore* in *Mar*: but the inhabitants thereabouts call it *Loch Keandor* in the south west corner of *Cromar*, and I am told that the ruins of a castle, at which there was some action in the last century, are still to be seen in that *loch*, on the side of which there is a farm called *Kean-ord*, and hard by it another *loch* called *Lochdawin*, both about six miles from the castle of *Kildrumie*, the captain of which coming to the relief of the *Brucians* was the cause of their gaining the day at the battle of *Kilblene*.

6. *Dea. lib. 15 cap. 8. pag. 301. a 8, 9.* The *English* about the year 1548 having landed about 1200 of their men near *St. Minnans* a pretty populous village of *Fife*, and lost about half their number in a battle between them and the men of *St. Andrews* headed by lord *James* their prior, afterwards earl of *Murray*, their fleet sailed from thence to or near to *Mernis* a less populous country, with a design to surprize the town of *Montrose*, which stands at no great distance from the mouth of the river *Dea*, *Dee* or *Die*, Illinc classis ad Merniam regionem minus frequentem est devecta: eo consilio, ut montem Rosarum oppidum non procul a Dea

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fluminis ostio situm opprimerent. Here *Ruddiman* adds *ab Esce* against the authority of all the books printed and MS. and not so much on *Crawford's* authority, as because the river *Dee*, which washeth new *Aberdeen*, is at the distance of twenty eight miles from *Montrose*, having, it seems, quite forgot that *Buchanan lib. 2. cap. 36.* had told him that *Deva* now *Dea* is a river both of *England* and *Scotland*, and that there are three rivers of that name in *Scotland*, one in *Galloway*, the second in *Angus* and a third which divides *Mar* from *Mernis*. And as *lib. 1. cap. 25.* he tells us that the country of *Angus* lies between *Tay* and *Esk*, that south *Esk* runs through the middle of it, and that north *Esk* divides it from the country of the *Mernis*; and as the town of *Montrose* is situate at the mouth of the former and about two miles from the latter, it is easy to guess that by *Dea* he means north *Esk*, commonly called the north water, as *Don* in some old records which I have seen is so called in respect of the third *Dee*, there being no other considerable water or river in *Angus* that is near *Montrose* but the two *Esks*. *Ruddiman* proposes to make another correction of the text, and for *Merniam* to read *Angusiam*, because *Montrose* is in the country of *Angus*, not considering that north *Esk* that divides the two countries is but two miles from *Montrose*, that tho' the *English* fleet had sailed no farther than the mouth of that river they might truly be said to have sailed as far as to the *Mernis*, and that designing to make a descent on *Montrose* from off ship-board in the night time and so to surprize that town, they might sail a little to the north of it, as they rode at anchor out of sight of land, as long as there was any day-light. But the words *ad Merniam devota est* will bear this meaning, they sailed near to the coast of *Mernis*, as when *Cicero* says *eo die Verres ad Messanam venit*, he means only that *Verres* came near to *Messana* or *Messina*.

7. Dunum. (*lib. 2. cap. 33. pag. 38. a 3.*) *Hibernia oppidum*: therefore, says *Ruddiman*, not in *Scotland*, unless under that name he also comprehends *Ireland*. There is also a *Down* of *Scotland* in *Menteith*. He might have spared this very sensible remark, if he had attended to *Buchanan's* concise way of writing, who by the title in *Scotia* prefixed gives us to understand that *Down* was a town of *Scotland* as well as of *Ireland*.

8. Fortha. *lib. 1. cap. 17. 18. pag. 8. a b.* *Marcia—* ad orientem Forthæ æstuario, ad meridiem Anglia clauditur. *Merss* or *March* is bounded on the east by the frith of *Forth*, on the south by *England*. And after a description of *Teviotdale*, *Liddisdale*, *Euesdale*, *Eskdale* and *Annadale*, jam ut rursus ad Fortham redeamus, is ab ortu Lothianam claudit, now to return again to the *Forth*, (that is the frith of *Forth* Forthæ æstuarium, so *Ruddiman* himself explains it in his *propriorum nominum interpretatio*, and, according to him and *Irvine*, the mouth of *Forth* is at *St. Ebb's head* in the *Merss*) it bounds *Lothian* on the east; as any body may see by the map. But says our accurate geographer, the frith of *Forth* does not bound *Lothian* on the east, but rather on the north or north-east, as *Buchanan* himself affirms a little after, ab oriente æstivo finitur Fortha, sive mari Scotico. Our most acute critic adds, that this sentence is altogether superfluous; (first to say that *Lothian* is bounded on the east, and after a few lines to say that it is bounded on the north-east) for the same thing is said before, if you add the word *æstivo*: that is, if the author had added the word *æstivo* in the former sentence, which he has not added, he would have said the same thing in both places, which he has not said. We must infallibly make a good progress in knowledge by the means of such wise, instructive discourse.

9. Glottiana. *lib. 1. cap. 20. pag. 9. a 6.* *Post Baroniam* (the barony of *Renfrew*) est Glottiana, ad utran-

que Glottæ ripam protensa, & ipsa in plures jurisdictiones ob magnitudinem divisa. The MS. reads thus : & ipsa in plures jurisdictiones ob magnitudinem & agrum Glasguensem divisa, cujus incolæ Glasgua jus petunt. But, says *Ruddiman*, however these words ought to be written, they seem unnecessary in this place. For *cap. 19. pag. 8. c. 3.* he has given a description of *Clydesdale*, in other respects almost agreeing with this, except that here he mentions the rivers and there the principal towns in it : yet it had been better to have completed the whole description either here or in the former place. Now in the former place *Buchanan* says *Clydesdale* lies more westward than *Lothian*, and on account of its length is divided into two *præfecturæ* (that is the upper and nether ward of *Clyde*) in the upper of which is a hill none of the highest, out of which rise three rivers which discharge themselves into three different seas, *Tweed* into the *Scottish*, *Annand* into the *Irish*, and *Clyde* into the western sea : that the most remarkable towns in it are *Lanerk* and *Glasgow*, and that it borders with *Kyle* on the southwest. So here is chiefly a description of a part of *Clydesdale*, viz. the upper ward of *Clyde* ; then follows a description of *Galloway*, *Carrick*, *Kyle*, *Cunningham*, and the barony of *Renfrew* ; then the words above cited : after which we have an account of the most remarkable rivers in *Clydesdale* next after *Clyde*, viz. *Aven* and *Douglas* on the left (that is the south) which run down into *Clyde* : and another *Aven*, or in the *Welsh* dialect *Avon*, the appellative also for a water or river, which divides *Lothian* from *Stirling* shire. *Irving* says falsely that the former *Avon* is on the west and the other on the south side of *Clyde* ; for supposing *Clyde* or the country along the banks of it to be a man going westward, the south is its left hand and the north its right : and so you will see it is by the map. Judge now whether *Buchanan*'s description be the same in both



both places. In the former is described the upperward principally, its remarkable towns, and situation with respect to *Lothian*; in the latter the situation of *Clydesdale* with respect to *Renfrew*, its rivers and division into several jurisdictions. The only coincidence, except the name, is *utranque Glottæ fluminis ripam complexa* in the former, and *ad utranque Glottæ ripam protensa* in the latter. It has been *Clydesdale's* situation with respect to *Renfrew* and *Stirling* shire, with the course of the rivers and their bounding of other countries, that has determined *Buchanan* to separate the parts of the description; as with respect to *Kyle*, after the first part of the description of *Clydesdale*, he says it is on the southwest of the upper ward, and that beyond it lies *Galloway*; after a description of which and of *Carrick*, he returns again to *Kyle*.

10. *Lidalia. lib. 1. cap. 18. pag. 8. b. 7.* *Tuediam ad meridiem, & occidentem* contingunt *Lidalia, Nithia, Glottiana*. *Tweddale* on the south and west borders with *Nithsdale, Liddisdale* and *Clydesdale*. *Ruddiman* tells us he was informed by such as knew these countries, that *Liddisdale* no where borders with *Tweddale, Teviotdale* on the one hand, and *Esksdale* on the other lying between them. But *Moll's* map of *Scotland*, which I have before me, gives his informers, if not himself, the lie. And tho' it did not, the limits of *Tweddale* may not be precisely the same now as they were about two centuries ago; as, in an old MS. hist. of *Scotland* in my possession *Innerury*, where *K. Robert Bruce* was first victorious, is said to be in *Buchan*, tho' now it be placed in the *Garioch*; Nay tho' the bounds of *Liddisdale* and *Tweddale* were still the same, and tho' *Ruddiman's* informers have not deceived him, what he says on *cap. 28. p. 12. a. 1. viz.* that *Buchanan* took the two little countries of *Boyna* and *Enzie* jointly for one, would screen him from censure on the subject of *Tweddale*.

11. *Papa. lib. 1. cap. 49. pag. 21. a 10. à qua* [Vestra] Hethlandia abest millia P. 80. *Papa*, Stronza distat ab Hethlandia 80. M. P. *Shetland* is eighty miles distant from *Westra*, and *Papa* of *Stronza* is eighty miles distant from *Shetland*. *Crawford* would have *Papastronza* read in one word, and is so far in the right, that it were better to read them without a *comma* between, as in the the passage of the MS. left out in the print: but, as if the men of the south had conspired with those of *Orkney*, notwithstanding of their great distance from one another, to deceive *Ruddiman*, he was informed by the latter that none of the *Orkney* isles were called by that name. And yet here also the authority of the map is against him, and another full as strong perhaps, *viz.* the navigation of king *James V* round *Scotland*, the *Orkney* isles and the *Hebrides* or western isles, under the conduct of that excellent pilot *Alexander Lindsay*, methodized by *Nicholas d'Arville*, chief cosmographer to the *French* king, printed at *Paris* in 1583, of which an *English* translation was published in 1710 in the *Miscellanea antiqua*, and which begins with the names, length and breadth of the *Orkney* isles; where we have not only *Westra* and *Stronsa*, but also *Pappa Westra* and *Pappa* of *Stronsa*. *Ruddiman*, according to the map, has committed two blunders more in his note on this passage. He says *Stronza* lies on the east, tho' it be rather on the south of *Sanda*; and that *Papa* is about midway between *Westra* and north *Ranalsa*; which is evidently false. It would have been somewhat near the truth to have said of *Papa* of *Stronsa* that it lies between *Stronsa* and *N. Ronalsa*. He is positive there is a fault in the above cited passage; both because there is nothing that answers to the word *Papa*, and because it is altogether absurd that three islands lying in a direct line almost with respect to *Shetland*, should be at an equal distance from it: nor, were it ever so true, does

Does it seem worthy of a man of *Buchanan's* genius so coldly to repeat eighty miles and *Zetland*: and therefore he conjectures that a sentence or two has been omitted, thro' the fault of the printer or clerk, containing a short description of the isles *Etha*, *Papa*, *N. Ronaldsa*, and particularly of *Sanda*, the largest of any almost next after *Pomona*. But whatever be in the conjecture itself, it is built on a weak and false foundation. See *chap. 1. pag. 24.*

*Pomona. lib. 1. cap. 49. a 5, 6, 7.* After a pretty particular description of the isles that lie between *Pomona* and *Gaithnes* in the *Pentland* frith, we have the following sentences, of which *Ruddiman* has corrupted no less than four, by mispointing and turning *occidentali* into *orientali*: *Latus continentis occidentale mare apertum spectat, nullis in eo nec insulis, nec scopulis apparentibus. Ab orientali [latere] ejus promontorio paulum procurrit. Cobesa a Borea eam velut tegit. Litori propior Siapinsa paulum se in orientem inflectens ex adverso Cracouiacæ duo milla sita, ipsa sex millia longa. Ab occidentali parte Pomonæ jacet Rusa sex M. longa.* The west side of *Pomona* or the main land looks towards the wide sea, without any isles or rocks appearing in it. On the east side *Pomona* jutteth out a little into the sea. *Cobesa* (which in the small map prefixed to the last edition is placed where *Moll* and the author place *Copinsha*) covers it as it were on the north. (*Here some maps place Raufay*) *Schapinsha* is pretty near the coast of *Pomona* standing over against *Kirkwall*, bending in a little towards the east for the space of two miles, being six miles in length. On the west side of *Pomona* lies *Rusa* six miles long. In a new and correct map of *Great Britain* done from the latest surveys, *Rouse* is placed much more to the west than to the north of the main land of *Orkney* or *Pomona*. Yet *Crawford* would have the reading to be *orientali*, and *Ruddiman* affirms that



that *Rusa* is on the north side of *Pomona*. He pretends as reasons for blending three sentences into one, without any other interpunction but a colon after *Cobesa* and two useless *commas* after that, not only the true situation of these islands, but also the syntax or right construction of the words; and tells us the punctuation of the first edition has not only imposed on the *English* translator, but also on *Crawford* himself, who puts the question, *An paullum nomen insulæ, an mendum subest?* not attending that *latere* understood, and not *promontorio*, is the substantive to *orientali*.

13. *Sodora. lib. 1. cap. 34. p. 14. b 3, 4. Superior ætas oppidum in ea [Mana] Sodoram appellabat: in qua Insulanorum Episcopus sedem habebat.* In the isle of *Man* in former times there was a town called *Sodora*; in which the bishop of the isles had his see. The name *Sodora*, says *Ruddiman*, is thought to be derived from the Greek word *Soter*, i. e. Saviour, q. d. the Saviour's town or church, which *Capgrave* affirms to have been built by *Mordaius* king of *Man*, *Boëthius* from *Veremund*, and from him again *Spotswood* by *Crathilinth K.* of *Scots*, but *Christopher Irvine*, and *Willm. Socheverell* in his description of *Man*, acknowledge no town or church of that name in it, but contend that the true *Sodora* was in the isle *Jona*, and the latter, who was governor of *Man*, affirms that it was 30 miles in length, and from 8 to 10 in breadth. But where is the harm of supposing either that the bishops of the isles retained the title they had before their see was translated from *Man*, or that, after it was translated, they built a little town in *Icolmkill*, and called it by the name of *Sodora*, after the name of the other in *Man*? To argue from what is in modern to what was in antient times is none of the best logic. And it will be hard to find a reason why the bishop of the isles might not as well in former ages have been called *Sodorenfis* from a town in *Man*, as they were in later ages, as *Irvine* contends, from

from a town of the same name in *Icolmkill*. It seems by the chronicle of the kings of *Man*, written, as *Camden* conjectures, by the monks of *Ruffin*, the chief monastery of that island, that *Sodorenses* was a general name, in which the inhabitants of *Man* were included. For their kings, vassals of the kings of *Norway* and *Scotland*, are sometimes called kings of *Man* and the isles, sometimes kings of the isles without adding any particular name, and sometimes kings *insularum Sodorensium*. And at the end of the 4th volume of *Hearne's Fordun*, in the agreement betwixt the ambassadors of *James I.* of *Scotland* and those of *Eric* king of *Norway* made at *Berghen* 29 July 1426, in which is ingrossed the agreement in 1266 between *Alexander III* and *Magnus IV*, renewed and confirmed by *Robert Bruce* and *Haquin V*: in that convention, I say, between the kings of *Scotland* and *Norway*, about the isle of *Man*, we have first the words *insularum Manniæ et Sodorentium*, and then *Manniam cum ceteris insulis Sodorensibus*, et omnibus aliis insulis ex parte occidentali et australi magni Alf. And for the extent of *Man*, *Buchanan* has probably had his account of its being twenty four miles long and eight broad, from as good hands as *Sacheverell*: nor is the difference very material. *Camden* says from north to south it is about *plus minus* thirty *Italian* miles long, and where it is broadest, scarce above 15, and where narrowest 8.

14. *Tina*. See under the preposition *ad*.

I proceed in the last place to some passages, where proper names occur, that are properly historical, and shall begin with those where names differently spelled are considered by *Ruddiman* as names really different, and where different persons bearing the same name are confounded.

1. *Congallus*, so the 47th and 66th kings are both called *lib. 5. cap. 31.* and *55. pag. 84. c 4.* and *90. b 4.*

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In the former passage for *Congallus Ruddiman* reads *Convallus* on the authority of the MS. with which *Fordon*, *Boëthius*, *Lefly*, and the printed books *cap. 32. d 12.* agree. And on *Congallus* the 66th king he observes, that by all others, save *John Major* alone, he is called *Convallus*, not attending to what *Buchanan* had told him *lib. 2. cap. 26, 27. viz.* that the *V* and the *G* in the old language, in proper names particularly, are put the one for the other, that à *Kernico & Vallis*, *Cornu-vallia deducta est*, quasi dicas *Kernicogallos* : that you cannot by torture squeeze the sound of the *German* *W* out of a highlandman : that the country which the *English* call *Wales* and *Northwales* is by the *French* called *Gales* and *Norgales* : and that in the *German* language, the propriety of which is observed by the *English* in sounding the first letter of *Wales*, *Walsch* does not merely signify a stranger or barbarian, but originally and properly a *Gaul*. The inconvenience of *Ruddiman's* alteration, slight as it is, may appear from hence, that a friend of mine finding *Buchanan's* character of *Congallus* in *Spotswood*, and being curious to see it in *Buchanan*, could not find it out by *Ruddiman's* index, and doubted whether there was at all such a passage in *Buchanan* as is alledged by *Spotswood*, *lib. 1.* after the year 500. -

2. *Cuminus*, *lib. 5. cap. 5, 19. pag. 155. c 7. 160. a 12.* where the surname of *David* earl of *Athol* is said to be *Cumin*, and *Ruddiman* owns that our historians constantly call him so ; but he pretends that his true name was not *Cumin* but *Strabolgie*, for which he refers us to *Abercrombie*, *Dugdale*, and particularly to *Rymer's acta publica*. He did not know that it was usual in those times to design persons of quality by the names of their birth places and of their lands or estates, nor did he advert that our historians (*Fordon* vol. 4. p. 976. and *Boëthius*) speak of *John Cumyns* lord of *Strabolgy*, who



submitted to *Edward I*, after the battle of *Dumbar* in 1296, and that there is no reason to doubt but *David Cumyn* earl of *Athol* was possessed of his estate. I might adduce many passages from *Rymer* to prove that noblemen were designed from their estates, without any mention of their surnames: but I shall content my self with one instance taken from the records of *Northumberland* and *York*, quoted by *Tho. Goodwin* in his history of *Henry V*, book 4. where *Murdock Stewart* son of the duke of *Albany* is called simply *Murdoch de Fyffe*: so that by the same argument I could prove that his true surname was not *Stewart* but *Fyffe*, by which *Ruddiman* proves the surname of *David* earl of *Athol* not to have been *Cumyn* but *Strabolgie*. And this possibly may serve to spoil his demonstration in one of his late pieces, where he pretends that the claim given in to the crown of Scotland by *William* the first earl of *Douglas*, at the coronation of *K. Robert II*, is without any manner of foundation.

3. *Eugenius* or *Euenus* lib. 7. cap. 21. p. 117. d 5. on *Margaret* wife of *K. Malcolm Canmore* prevailing with her husband to repeal in effect the bawdy laws of *K. Ewyn* or *Heogan* 3d (in Latin *Euenus* or *Eugenius*) in place of which succeeded the *marchetæ mulierum*, *Buchanan* says *lege regis Eugenii*: *Ruddiman* reads *Eueni*; because the author calls him *Euenus* lib. 4. cap. 21. pag. 59. e. having forgotten that the author lib. 5. cap. 6. calls the 41st king, who was *Fergus II*'s eldest son, *Eugenius*, *sive Euenus*; as he does the 39th king lib. 4. cap. 50. *Eugenius*, seu potius *Euenus*, whom *Ruddiman* in his chronological table of the kings of Scotland calls *Eugenius I*.

*Picti* or *Pictones*, lib. 17. cap. 2. p. 326. e 9. As soon as the *Loire* should become navigable by the thaw, the king (*Francis II*) was to retire to *Chinon* at the mouth of the river *Vienne* in the territory of *Poitiers* or *Poictou* in

in agro Pictorum. *Ruddiman*, by *Crawford's* advice reads *Pictorum*, not knowing that the *Picts* in *Scotl.* are called *Pictones* and not *Picti* by such of the *Romans* as first mentioned them, as *H. Lbuid* observes in his *descriptio Britannicæ fragmentum* fol. 31, 37, 38, and proves by quotation from the panegyrist addressing him to the emperor *Constantine*, Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum syvas & paludes, and by another from *Claudian* de quarto Honorii consulatu. ——— incaluit Pictorum sanguine *Thule*. To which I may add, that *Paulus Diaconus* in his continuation of *Eutropius lib. 14.* once again speaking of the *Scots* and *Picts*, calls the latter *Pictones*, and *lib. 15.* speaking of the bishops *Germanus* and *Lupus* that were sent from *France* to *England* in the time of *Valentinian*, to defend the orthodox faith against the *Pelagian* heresy, ecce autem Saxonum Pictorumque manus Britanniam advehitur. *Picti* then is not the peculiar name of a people in *Scotland*, but may likewise, probably an abbreviation of *Pictavi*, signify people in *France*: and there was neither good reason nor good authority for altering *Buchanan's* text in this place so much as in one letter. I shall next give you two notable instances of *Ruddiman's* confounding different persons who had the same name.

I. *Jacobus Buchanan* in his life tells us that after he was a regent in the college of *St. Barbe*, *Gilbert Kennedy* earl of *Cassillis* who lodged in the neighbourhood of the college, charmed with his parts and conversation, kept him five years as his tutor and brought him back with him into *Scotland*; and that, as he was about to return to *France*, *James V* made him preceptor to *James* his natural son, *Jacobo filio notho erudiendo præpositus*. *Ruddiman* p. 3. would have this son to be *James* prior of *St. Andrews*, afterwards earl of *Murray* and regent of the kingdom, *Buchanan's* great patron; not knowing that *James V* king of *Scotland* had four bastard sons, to each

of whom he gave rich abbacies and priories in 1537, to James the eldest, those of *Melrofs* and *Kelfo*, to John, that of *Coldingham*, to Robert, that of *Ho'yrudhouse*, and to James, who by the order in which *Lestly* places them seems to have been the youngest, the priory of St. Andrew. That it was not this last, but the eldest that was Buchanan's pupil, who died in 1558 the same year that *Cassilius* was poisoned by the French, may appear by the dedication of the *Franciscanus*, where the pupil is twice spoke of in the 3d person, — *ad regem qui me paulo ante filio suo instituendo præfecerat* and *à filio regis instituendo me abstrahere*, without the least intimation that it was the person to whom the author was addressing himself; for then he would have used the second person, as he does when speaking to the earl of Murray, *le, Jacobe Stuarie*. It is no very uncommon thing for different children by the same father to have the same name, in other countries as well as this. *Sanctius* in his *Minerva* lib. 4. c. 15. at the end, tells us he knew three brothers at *Salamanca* called *Antony*, distinguished by *major, secundus, tertius*: and *Perizonius* note 13. on the same chapter, informs us, that sometimes in ancient history we meet with two brothers of the same *phenomen*, which he contends was the proper name of each, as *Appii, Claudii, Servii, Sulpicii, M. Marcelli*. I have made this remark merely for the sake of truth; for the mutual love and esteem of the earl of Murray and Buchanan, than whom our country has produced few greater or better men, reflects honour upon both.

Robertus Bruffius. In the account of the competition for the crown of Scotland between the Bruce and Balliol lib. 8. cap. 7. p. 134. a. Ruddiman has made two very necessary interpolations, the first *patri Joannis Balliali*, and the 2d from the MS. *ex ea genuit Robertum filium*: but then cap. 8. p. 134. b 3, 4. he has spoiled two sentences by his emendations, not attending that



in the first of them *Robert Bruce* the son, afterwards king, is spoke of, and in the 2d *Robert Bruce* his father husband of *Martha* countess of *Carrick*. The competitors on the one side were *Dornagilla* grand-daughter of *David* earl of *Huntington*, by an elder daughter, and *John Balliol* son of *Dornagilla*, and on the other *Robert Bruce* husband of the heiress of *Carrick* the same earl *David's* grandson by a younger daughter with his son *Robert Bruce* who was afterwards king of *Scotland* and great grandson of *David* earl of *Huntington*, *ex minore Robertus Bruffius Carictæ Comes ejusdem Davidis pronepos*, which *Ruddiman* has turned into *nepos*. - In the next sentence *pro Dornagilla faciebamus patrius, quo qui gradu propior est jure potior habebatur*; for which he reads *natu major*, not adverting that the competition is here stated between *Dornagilla* and *Robert Bruce* who was afterwards king, as some sentences after, between *John Balliol* and *Robert Bruce* the father who had married the heiress of *Carrick*. To illustrate and support this, I shall not refer you to *Tyler* and *Dugdale* as *Ruddiman* does, instead of the public records, but to the original records themselves. In the 2d edition of *Camden's* description of *Scotland* published at *Edinburgh* in 1695 by one of *Ruddiman's* stamp, we have the following remarkable passage. " *Robert Bruce* the 3d of that name, wedded the daughter of *David* earl of *Huntington*, and of *Garioch*: whose son *Robert* surnamed the noble, when the issue of *Alexander III* King of *Scots* failed, challenged in his mother's right the kingdom of *Scotland*, before *Edward I* King of *England* as the direct and superior lord of the kingdom of *Scotland* (so the *English* give it out) or, an honourable arbitrator (for so say the *Scots*) as being nearer in proximity, in degree and blood, to King *Alexander III* and *Margaret* daughter to the king of *Norway*, altho' he was son by a second sister, who soon after resigning up her own

own right, granted and gave over to his son Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, to his heirs (the author alledges this out of the very original) all the right and claim which he had or might have to the kingdom of Scotland. But the action and suit went with John Baliol, who sued for his right as descended of the eldest sister, altho' in a degree farther off: and sentence was given in these words, for that the person more remote in the 2d degree, descending in the first line is to be preferred before a nearer in a second line, in the succession of an inheritance that cannot be part-  
ed. Howbeit, the said Robert, son to the earl of Carrick, by his own virtue, at length recovered the kingdom unto himself, and established it to his posterity. A prince, who as he flourished notably, in regard of the glorious ornaments of his noble acts, so he triumphed as happily with invincible fortitude and courage over fortune that so often crossed him. Thus far Camden in perfect agreement with Buchanan, both making but three Robert Bruces connected with the royal family and both stiling the second and third the father and son, (the two competitors, of whom the son was afterwards king,) earl of Carrick.

In the table of Scots kings made in the time of James III, in the 5th vol. of Hearne's *Fordun*, there are but three Robert Bruces, in Boethius and Bellenden three only; and so *Fordun* in some places, tho' in others again there are four at least as we have him printed, and so in Major.

But that there were no more than three, that is 1. Robert Bruce husband of Isabel second daughter of David earl of Huntington, 2. Robert Bruce husband of the heiress of Carrick, and 3. Robert his son king of Scotland, to which kingdom his father, as we have seen from Camden, resigned all his right and claim, may farther appear by Rymer's *acta publica* tom. v. p. 160, 1, 2, 3. where in the year 1340, Edward III, king of England,

openly declares before all the world, that *Robert Bruce* father of *David* was a competitor with *John Balliol* father of *Edward Balliol*, before *Edward I* for the crown of *Scotland*, which having been adjudged by *Edward I* of *England* to *John Balliol*, he held it for some years till he was dispossessed by *Robert Bruce* his said rival who kept it till his death. “ Nam, orta dudum, inter dictum J. de Balliolo, et Robertum de Bruys, patrem dicti *David*, & alios competitores, super jure regni *Scotiæ*, coram celebris memoriæ, Domino E. rege Angliæ avo nostro, superiore Domino *Scotiæ*, materiâ quæstionis dicta quæstio tam in Romanâ curiâ, quàm in universitatibus & studiis generalibus, ac variis locis aliis, a jurisperitis solemniter extitit disputata. Et demum, juxta decisiones eorundem, dictum regnum per dictum avum nostrum, judicem ratione superioritatis suæ in hac parte competentem, per centumvirale judicium, judicatum fuit præfato *Johanni*, sibi & successoribus suis optinendum, & abjudicatum sententialiter præfato *Roberto*, & Competitoribus memoratis. Qui quidem *Johannes* dictum regnum diu pacifice tenuit et quiete, donec præfatus *Robertus de Bruys*, tyrannus sacrilegus & perjurus, in dictum regnum violenter & proditorialiter se intrusit; quod sic, dum vixit, tenuit vitiose. Per quod liquet dictum *David*, volentem sibi succedere, jus aliquod nonhabere, cum dictum possessionis vitium sit reale, & sic obesse debeat successori.” In this declaration *Edward III* pretends to prove that *David Bruce* son of king *Robert Bruce* had no right to the crown of *Scotland*: and it could make nothing to his purpose to alledge that *David's* father was one of the competitors before *Edward I*, if he had not been so in fact, any more than to have alledged that *David's* grandfather was such. *Dugdale*, an author more valued by *Ruddiman* on the subject of genealogy than our own historians, and quoted by him as saying that the 3d *Robert Bruce*, grandson of

Ro-



Robert surnamed the noble, called earl of Carrick, died in 1303: Dugdale, I say, if Sir James Dalrymple does him justice, tho' he makes 4 Robert Bruces, yet but three generations of them, since, according to him, the 2d Robert the competitor had two sons of different marriages, both called Robert Bruce. It is more probable there were but three than four, as the 1st Robert married earl David's 2d daughter, and John Balliol was but earl David's great grandson by his eldest daughter, a degree more remote than the 2d Robert.

There is indeed one very strong objection against this, namely the *manifesto* or declaration of the clergy of Scotland dated 24th, February 1309, in which it is said that there was a controversy between John Balliol late king of Scotland and the deceased Robert Bruce grandfather of the present king Robert *quis eorum proximior esset jure sanguinis ad hereditandum & regnandum super populum Scoticanum*, which of them was nearest in blood, to inherit and reign over the people of Scotland, as Mr. Anderson translates it. But in order to reconcile this declaration with the records I have already mentioned I would choose to understand the *jus sanguinis* of kindred by affinity; and in this sense we sometimes find *cognatus*, which is of the same signification with *consanguineus*, as Plaut. Poen. 5. 4. 86. *Vos meæ ejus ambæ filiaë*, & hic est cognatus vester, hujusce fratris filius. Thus also *cognatio* Liv. 6. 39. Dictator propinqua cognatione Licinii se excusavit, Licinius had married the dictator's daughter. According to this interpretation and upon supposition that king Robert Bruce's grandfather was the husband of Isabel 2d daughter of David earl of Huntington, we should have a new argument for parliamentary, and against hereditary right. If you say that the above interpretation is forced and unusual, it is not more so than that which Ruddiman has put on the words *auctore Domino* in the same declaration

on of the *Scottish* clergy in favour of his system of divine hereditary right, which Mr. *Anderson* has very justly rendered by *the favour of heaven* ; for the expression *auxilore* or *actore Domino* is equivalent to *mediante favore celesti, Deo duce, propitio* or *propitiante, cum dei adjutorio* or *auxilio* (al eide de Dieu) *benedictio altissimo* and the like, which often occur in the publick records of those times. Nor is my interpretation of *jus sanguinis* a whit more unnatural than that of *Ruddiman's*, of the words *divina dispositio*, which he bends to the hypothesis of king *Robert Bruce's* divine right, in the letter from the nobility and community of *Scotland* to the pope, dated 6th April 1320, which contains noble sentiments of liberty ; wherein they say that *divine providence*, according to their laws and customs which they would maintain to the utmost, and the due consent and assent of them all had made *Robert Bruce* their prince and king : but add they, if he (who according to *Ruddiman* had a divine right to the crown, of which no human power could justly divest him, let him act ever so tyrannical and arbitrary a part) desist from what he has begun, and shew any inclination to subject us or our kingdom to the kingdom of *England* or to the *English*, we will use our utmost endeavour to expel him as our enemy, and the subverter of his own and of our right ; and we will make another our king, who is able to defend us : that is, according to *Ruddiman*, tho' we acknowledge *Robert Bruce* to have a divine right to the crown, we will deprive him of that right which God has given him. There is nothing in *Rymer* but what may be reconciled with the notion of king *Robert Bruce* being earl *David's* great grandson, by supposing that his father is sometimes designed lord of *Annandale* and sometimes earl of *Carriick*.

*Ruddiman* in his note on p. 134. a 4. 6. lib. 8. cap. 78. c 8. *qui Carictæ Comes est dictus* and *per filium Carictæ*

*Caricæ Comitem, qui post regnavit calumniates. Buchanan*, making him guilty of many gross blunders committed almost in one little page, and such as are not only diametrically opposite to historical truth, but also to one another; and yet all these self-contradictions are reduced to one, viz. that *Buchanan* first calls the father of king *Robert Bruce*, and next him who was afterwards king, the competitor's son, each of them earl of *Carrick*; which *Buchanan* does not: it is only the son that he designs by that title in right of his mother. But tho' he had called the father earl of *Carrick* as well as the son, *Ruddiman's* observation on p. 137. a 6. would justify him, which is, that according to the custom received among the *Scots* in that and the following age, *Martha* the heiress of *Carrick* shared the title and honours with both her husbands, *Adam de Kilconceath* and *Robert Bruce*, herein following the chronicle of *Mailros*, and forsaking the authority of the *extracta* (and *Rymer's* records which mention N. earl of *Carrick* in 1255) that support *Buchanan's* relation, by saying that it was *Neil* father of the heiress that died in the holy war. *Ruddiman* in the same page gives another instance of the husband deriving his title from his wife, viz. the count of *Flanders*, who is called count of *Nevers* on account of his marrying *Jole* or *Jolantha* heiress of that and other two earldoms. Further; *Robert Bruce* husband of the heiress of *Carrick* designs himself earl of *Carrick*, in the resignation of his right to that earldom which he made to his son and heir *Robert de Brus*, and to all the other lands that he held in right of his wife who was at that time dead. This charter is dated at *Berwick* the *Sunday* immediately before the feast of *St. Leonard* the confessor which could not be later than *Novr. 13*, as that feast is fixed to *Novr. 6*, 1292, and according to this date, the letter patent must have been given before *J. Balliol* had the crown of

Scot-



Scotland adjudged to him, which was not before Novr 17. 1292, tho' the father in the same resignation prayd *J. Balliol* as king of Scotland to receive the homage of his son *Robert*. In the same charter the countess of *Carrick*, in whose right *Robert* the father held that earldom, is called not *Martha*, but *Margaret*. See the act of *Balliol's* parliament held at *Strivelyn Aug. 1293. Rymer* p. 612, 613. The inconsistency is evidently, not on *Buchanan's* but *Ruddiman's* side, who, either thro' defect of understanding or of integrity, has charged the former with a heap of errors, on no better authority than that of *John de Cadamo* a clerk and creature of *Edward I.*, whom in a certain cause he maintained in opposition to the pope, the credit of whose journal or verbal process inserted in *Rymer's* collection of publick acts *Rapin* in the *acta regia* and in his history of *England* has so effectually exposed, that no unprejudiced reader will lay any great stress upon it, of which *Edward's* direct and superior lordship of *Scotland* makes both pages, the falsehood of which *Ruddiman* values himself on having evidently evinced. In *J. de Cadamo's* journal we have a memorial containing the proofs of *Edward I's* right of sovereignty over *Scotland*, one of which at least may vie with any of the sweetest passages in the *golden Legend*. "After *K. Athelstan* had subdued the whole kingdom of *Scotland*, and stayed there three years, as he was returning to *England* along the sea coast near *Dumbar*, a great rock stood in his way, and he besought God, through the mediation of *St. John of Beverly*, to give him some sign, whereby the spectators might know, the *Scots* were justly subdued by the *English*, and the conquered kingdom ought for ever to pay tribute to his successors. Then drawing his sword, he struck the rock, which yielded like butter, and made a hole in it an ell deep." Whereupon the author adds, that this is an evident sign to this day, evidently demonstrating

to all that go to see it, that *Scotland* was subjected by the *English*. Is it possible that *Ruddiman* himself really believes this ridiculous miracle? and yet *J. de Cadamo's* journal is the only proof almost of his charge of many gross blunders committed by *Buchanan* in his account of the controversy between the *Bruce* and *Balliol*. lib. 8. cap. 10, 12. pag. 134, 5. I shall run over the particulars, and shew that the instrument drawn up by *Edward's* notary, supposing both to have been ever so faithful, says nothing against *Buchanan*.

(1.) He says *Edward* chose twelve *Scots* and twelve *English* as a committee or select number to judge of the controversy between the competitors for the crown of *Scotland*, *selegit duodecim Scotos, ac totidem Anglos*. *J. de Cadamo* says *John Balliol* and *John Cumin* for themselves and others of the competitors chose forty men, and *Robert Bruce* for himself and others chose forty, to whom *Edward* king of *England* added twenty four. Is there any contradiction?

(2.) *Buchanan* says *Edward* raised up other eight competitors, besides the *Bruce* and *Balliol*. *J. de Cadamo* in the former part of his journal speaks of nine only, but afterwards of ten including the *Bruce* and *Balliol*, viz. 1. *Florence Count of Holland*. 2. *Robert de Brus* lord of *Annandale*. 3. *John de Balliol* lord of *Gawrye*. 4. *John de Hastynges* lord of *Bergeveney*. 5. *Patrick de Dombur* earl of *March*. 6. *William de Ros*, 7. *William de Vesey* by proxy. 8. *Nicholas de Soules*. 9. *William* (or *Robert*) *de Ros*. 10. *Robert de Pinkeny*, but in pag. 555. he is omitted, and *John Comyn* lord of *Badenough* put in his claim and was received as a competitor: so that before the 11th meeting, which held on the 3d of *Aug.* 1291 at *Berwick* there were precisely 8 competitors, and at it there were ten, besides the *Bruce* and *Balliol*, *Patrick Galythly* and *Roger de Mandeville* with the others above-named: and *Rapin* thinks *Buchanan's*

*Buchanan's* assertion probable, that *Edward* engaged eight candidates more than *Bruce* and *Balliol*, to demand the crown, on purpose to puzzle the cause. At the twelfth meeting 1 June 1292 *Eric* king of *Norway* was admitted a competitor: and when the affair was decided *Novr.* 17, 1292. there were eight claimants, beside *Bruce* and *Balliol* personally present; *Eric* king of *Norway*, *Florence* count of *Holland* and *William de Vescy* being there only by their proxies.

Here we may take notice of another censure of *Ruddiman's*, pag. 134. b 2. where after telling us *John Balliol's* mother in *Rymer's* public acts is constantly called *Dervegildis* or *Dervegulda*, he says it appears from the same collection of records that she was dead before this time, tho' she survived *Alexander III* for some time and consequently ought not to have been reckoned among the competitors. But here we have another discovery of the annotator's ignorance or inattention; for *Buchanan*, a concise writer, if ever there was one, gives us a brief three-fold view of the controversy between the competitors as it stood between *Dornagilla* and her son on the one side, and *Robert Bruce* and his son the earl of *Carrick* on the other, before it was resolved to refer it to the arbitration of *Edward I*, as is plain from the words immediately following the state of the question, *Hanc controversiam proceres domi non poterant discutere*. So that *Ruddiman* has confounded times in this groundless censure of his. In the following state of the question of right between the two competitors, contained in my old MS. *J. Balliol's* mother is said in the most express terms to be alive, and *Ruddiman* himself owns it, after the death of *Alexander III*. " Et sciendum est  
 " quod Johannes vir dicte Dernorgil obiit ante disces-  
 " sum regis Alexandri predicti, uxor eius tunc super-  
 " uixit. Querendum est igitur per iura regnorum,  
 " quis eorum in hoc loco, viz. utrum Johannes de  
 " Balliolo



Balliolo in 3tio gradu a comite Dauid predicto matre sua predicta viuentē regnare potuit, vel Robertus de Bruys in secundo gradu a predicto Dauid comite, matre defuncta." Here I must acknowledge that in this MS. there is mention of four *Robert Bruces*: but how to reconcile this with *Rymer's foedera* and what have already alledged from *Camden* and others, I shall leave it to the more discerning. As for the way of spelling the name of *J. Balliol's* mother, we find the same name in some places of *Rymer* written with *n*, and every body knows how often these two letters *n* and *u* are written and printed, in proper names especially, the one for the other, and how variously such names are spelled, as I have found this very name twelve different ways.

(3.) *Buchanan* says the next year there was a meeting at *Norham*, without naming month or day; and that it was translated to *Berwick* as a more convenient place, a circumstance which *de Cadamo* has not, who says the day and term was appointed in *Edward's* next parliament, viz. 2d June 1292, at *Berwick*.

(4.) *Buchanan* relates *Edward's* artifice in dealing with the *Scots*, which we are not to expect to find in an instrument drawn up by that prince's order, *Scotorum animos leniter pertentat, num sponte in ditionem ejus vellent concedere*, he sounded the inclinations of the *Scots*, whether they would willingly submit to him as their sovereign lord, which he undertook to prove had been often done by their ancestors: but they all constantly refused: by large promises he drew the oath of fealty from the competitors he had raised up: he made an offer of the crown to *Bruce*, on condition that he would hold it of him as his vassal; which *Bruce* refusing to accept, he sent for *Balliol*, who was content to hold it on these terms. *Ruddiman* says that the former year 1291 ante omnem litis ingressum before the merits of the cause

cause were at all entered into, the competitors first striving to obtain the favour of *Edward* the umpire chosen by themselves, and next many of the *Scots* nobility and others not indeed willingly, but rent by factions, and terrify'd by *Edward's* menaces and armed force after several delays, submitted to him as their superior lord, for which we are referred to *Tyrell*, *Abercrombie* and *de Cadamo*, from whose journal it appears that our historians are grossly mistaken on this subject, because *Robert Bruce* was the first of the competitors that swore fealty to *Edward*, 2d June 1291; whereas *John Balliol* was the last, and did it not till the day after, having been absent the day before. Nor was this once, but often done by them: authentic evidences whereof, still preserved in the tower of *London*, and even viewed by our own countrymen, put the matter so far beyond all dispute, that he who refuses his assent, seems to refuse the sacred authority of truth. These records, and particularly *J. de Cadamo's* instrument framed at the direction of an ambitious, perfidious and treacherous prince are with *Ruddiman*, it seems, so many *Sibylline* oracles. *Rapin* has the following just remark on the account of what passed in the meeting of the 2d of June 1291, and we have it in the journal, which is sufficient to ruin the credit of the whole. "In the two preceeding assemblies *Edw.* produced his pretensions to the sovereignty of *Scotland*. The states of *Scotland*, far from immediately owning this sovereignty, require time to consult together upon so nice a point. The king grants them three weeks, and that time being expired, in the first meeting, mentioned in the journal, the chancellor of *England* begins with saying, the states had produced or alledged nothing against the kings pretensions. Ought he not rather to begin with calling upon the states for their answer and then the chancellor's speech would come to the purpose? But instead of this he begins with

with declaring that the states having nothing to say against the king's pretension, *Edward* was resolved to make use of his right. This makes it suspicious, either that the account of what passed that day is curtailed, or the day before there was another assembly, where the states had produced their proofs, but which the author of the journal did not think proper to mention. For it was before observed, that, according to the time fixed by the king, there was to be an assembly on the first of *June*, whereas this was not till the 10th. We have positive proof that at this very meeting *Robert Wisbart* bishop of *Glasgow* asserted the freedom and independency of *Scotland* in the most express terms. This proof is taken from the old MS. in my possession, which I have often mentioned already, and look upon as more antient than *Major*. See also a quotation from the book of *Scone* in *Spotswood's* life of *William Fraser* bishop of *St. Andrews*. "Convenerunt majores regni Scocie apud Wpssetlington, et ex rogatu dicti regis et saluo conductu ejusdem, marchias pertransierunt, et ad ecclesiam parochialem de Noram sunt congregati. Ubi petit prefatus rex directum dominium regni Scocie, quam predecessores sui per solempnes evidencias hactenus obtinuerunt. Ad quod responsum est per Robertum episcopum Glasgwensem, quod ab olim regnum Scocie ita fuit liberum quod nulli nisi soli Deo et ejus potestatem in terris habenti in tributo vel homagio tenebatur." This worthy patriot all along opposed *Edward's* pretensions with so much keenness, that he would not have been quitted better cheap than was that brave champion *Sir William Wallace*, had it not been for his character of a clergyman and *Edward's* apprehensions of the pope's resentment.

But let us see how far the other records kept in the tower of *London*, and published by *Rymer*, contradict *Buchanan's* account. The first is *Edward's* letters patent



tents granted the states of *Scotland* at *Norham* the last day of *May* 1291, wherein he has these exprefs words " that he did not intend that the coming of the Scots on this side the *Tweed*, should be any prejudice to them, or that for the future, upon the account of that coming, they should be obliged to come and treat on this side the foresaid water, during the continuance of the treaty. *Ruddiman* himself observes that *Tyrell* and *Edward* have said falsly that *Edward* in this letter, as superior lord of *Scotland*, commands the Scots nobility to come to him to *Norham*. The next record tom. 2. p. 529. intituled, *submissio competitorum regni Scotiae jurorum Edwardo primo tanquam superiori Domino regni* bears, that *Edward* had informed the competitors that to him belongs and that he ought to have the sovereign lordship of the kingdom of *Scotland* and the cognizance of hearing, trying and determining their right. It is dated at *Norham*, *Tuesday* next after *Ascension* day 1291 and *Rymer* gives us this *nota*, that the first seal on the left hand is wanting. By the next record dated the very next day, intituled, *Concessio competitorum regni Scotiae Edw. I. absolutæ regni possessionis, donec quæstio juris determinata fuerit*, it seems plain, that whatever *Edward* might have meant, the competitors meant no more, but that he should be sovereign lord of *Scotland* till the question of right should be determined, and no longer. Their words are these: " But because the aforesaid king of *England* cannot in such manner make cognizance, nor accomplish without judgment, nor ought judgment to be without execution, nor execution can he make duly, without the possession of the same land, and of the castles; we will, give and grant, that he, as sovereign lord, for perfecting the things aforesaid have the seisin of the whole land, and of the castles of *Scotland*, till right be done and performed to the Claimants; in such manner, that before he have the seisin

feisin aforesaid, he give good and sufficient surety to the  
 Claimants, and to the Wardens, and to the whole  
 community of the realm of *Scotland*, to make the rever-  
 sion or restitution of the same realm and of the castles  
 with all the royalty, dignity, lordship, franchises, cu-  
 stoms, rights, laws, usages and possessions, and all man-  
 ner of appurtenances, in the same state they were,  
 when the feisin to him was given, and that the rever-  
 sion be made within two months after the day that the  
 right shall be tried and affirmed." This is a literal  
 translation of the *French* original, (the first seal on the  
 left here also wanting) in which indeed there is a *Salvo*  
 to the king of *England* of the homage of him who  
 should be king, but as Mr. *Anderson* has observed on the  
*Salvo* added to the articles of the treaty of marriage be-  
 tween *Edward* his eldest son and *Margaret* the maid of  
*Norway*, "It is known, that *Edward* I was very  
 dexterous in making of *Salvo's* ; for when he confirm-  
 ed the *Magna Charta* of *England* he did it with a *saving*  
*of the right of his crown* : nevertheless, I presume, none  
 will from thence contend, that thereby the *grand char-*  
*ter* was any wise lessened : so neither by any such *Salvo*  
 could our independency be infringed, (and I add, nor  
 by the other *Salvo* could the homage for the kingdom  
 of *Scotland*, but only for the lands the claimants had in  
*England*, be established) unless *Edward* had instructed  
 some prior right ; for tho' by a *Salvo*, liberties may be  
 reserved, yet no right of superiority can be constitute  
 by any such *Salvo*." It seems *Edward* himself was  
 sensible he had made too liberal promises to the *Scots*  
 before he decided in favour of *Balliol* ; for in the pro-  
 testation made in his name and vice, once and again,  
 by *Roger le Brabanzon*, in the end of the year 1292,  
 pag. 596, 7. insert in *de Cadamo's* journal, we have these  
 express words, "that tho' during the late vacancy of  
 the throne of *Scotland*, he had made some promises

“ touching certain articles for a time, and had observ-  
 “ ed them, it is not his intention or will, now that  
 “ there is a king in that kingdom, to be bound or tied  
 “ up by these promises in time coming,” *non intendit  
 aut vult, rege jam in eodem regno creato, per eas deinceps  
 artari amodoque ligari.* This was worthy of him, whose  
 conduct through the whole course of this affair was a  
 continued series of artifice, corruption and violence  
 worthy of a king, who, according to *Nathaniel Bacon’s*  
 account of his government in his valuable history of the  
 laws and government of *England*, to bereave his own  
 people of their birth-rights, procured a dispensation from  
*Rome, to perjure and oppress without sin.*

I shall soon have done with this chapter, after I  
 have pointed out a few more passages of *Buchanan* cor-  
 rupted by *Ruddiman’s* changing of proper names, or the  
 number of the name.

1. *Donaldus. lib. 6. cap. 14. p. 96. c. 2.* *Donaldus* ejus nominis quintus *Donald* the 5th of that name  
 was made king next after *Gregorie*, not reckoning (as  
 neither does *Boethius*) *Donald* of the isles, who was both  
 an usurper and a most cruel tyrant, worthy of being  
 ranked among lawful kings, tho’ obliged to write his  
 history. *Ruddiman* pretending *Crawford’s* authority  
 for *quintus* reads *sextus*, and in his chronological table  
 of the kings of *Scotland* calls *Donald* of the isles *Donald*  
 the 3d; a sort of preface of his being a fierce advocate  
 for the cause of tyrants, and teaching a system of theo-  
 logy which is apt to make even lawful kings degenerate  
 into tyrants.

2. *Duncanus. lib. 9. cap. 3, 8. p. 154. e. and 156*  
*c.* After the death of *Thomas Randolph* earl of *Mur-*  
*ray*, *Duncan* earl of *Mar* was chosen warden of the  
 kingdom, and after the death of *Duncan*, *Andrew*  
*Murray* a sister’s son of *Robert Bruce*, *electus est Duncanus*  
*Marriae comes, and in locum Duncani proregit*  
*Andreas*



*Andream Moravium substituunt.* Ruddiman reads *Donaldus-Donaldi*, falsely alledging, that all others, and Buchanan himself *lib. 19. cap. 26. pag. 376. a 9.* have it so. For *Bellenden* calls him *David* and so does the *historia Anglo-Scotica* published by *Dr. Drake* and *p. 110, 111, Donald or David.* In *lib. 19. Buchanan* is only translating a record or paper of *James VI's* ambassadors in answer to the duke of *Chastel-herault's* petition claiming the regency of the kingdom; and *Spotswood* in the abstract of that paper calls the earl of *Mar Duncan.* Now, tho' it is no great matter whether he be called *Duncan, Donald* or *David*, this variety being possibly occasioned by patronymics being usual in that age, if his true name was *Duncan*, and the record by mistake calls him *Donald*, *Ruddiman* has marred two passages, instead of mending them, and the author has committed no mistake at all.

3. *Eduardus. lib. 12. cap. 2. pag. 218. b 12.* where we are told that *Henry VI. of England* having been taken in 1460 (in the month of *July* at the battle of *Northampton*) by *Richard* duke of *York*, and carried to *London*, an agreement was made, that *Henry* should enjoy the crown during his life, and that after his death it should devolve to *Edward* (earl of *March*, the duke of *York's* eldest son) and his posterity, *ad Eduardum, ejusque posteris transiret.* *Crawford* proposes to read *Richardum* as *lib. 11. cap. 47. pag. 216. b 5.* or rather *Eboracensem*, which *Ruddiman* has chosen, not attending to *Buchanan's* concise way of writing, and the *English* history, by which it is plain that *Richard* duke of *York*

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\* It might likewise be observed that persons of quality had more names than one, some centuries at least before the earl of *Mar's* time. *Mezerai* under the years 1038 and 1039, speaks of *Peter-William* (son of *Geoffrey-Martel*) duke of *Guyenne* and *Gascogne* and count of *Poitou*, and of *Guy-Geoffrey* his brother by the same venter.

who made the agreement with *Henry VI*, a younger man than himself, made it for his lawful heirs as well as himself, *October 13, 1460*; that the same parliament in which it was made, settled 10,000 merks, viz. 5000 for himself, 3500 for his eldest son *Edward* earl of *March*, and 1500 for his other son the earl of *Rutland*; that the father about two months after was slain in the battle of *Wakefield*; and that his eldest son was proclaimed king 5th *March 1461* under the name of *Edward IV*. See chap. IV. under the word *Dux*, and *Rapin's* history of *England*.

The name *Edward* occurs lib. 9. cap. 15. pag. 158 e 3. where we are told that after the battle of *Halidonhill* and the surrender of *Berwick* in 1333, *Edward II* of *England* returned to his own kingdom, leaving *Edward Talbot* in *Scotland* (relict in *Scotia Eduardo Talboto*) with no great number of *English* troops, to assist *Edward Baliol* in bringing the other countries into entire subjection. *Ruddiman* reads *Richardo Talboto*, telling us that so he is called by all, even by *H. Boethius* who afterwards forgetting himself calls him *Henricus* that *Buchanan* himself in all other places calls him *Richardus*, as lib. 9. cap. 16, 25. pag. 159. a 11. and 162. c 11. and that therefore *Henricus* the reading of all the books seems to be an error of the clerks or printers. But *Ruddiman* himself has here forgotten himself for in all the editions it is *Eduardo* and not *Henricus* or *Henrico*. And I suppose were he put upon proving the same person to be meant in all the above cited passages he might find himself a little puzzled; even tho' *Buchanan* had said *Gilbert* instead of *Edward Talbot*. For tho' in *Rymer's fœdera* we read of *Richard Talbot* among those that went over with *Edward III* to *France* in 1329, of *Richard Talbot* designed earl of *Mar* as present in *Edward Baliol's* parliament at *Edinburgh* Feb. 1334. and of a safe conduct dated at *Nottingham*, April 2d 1335 granted

granted by *Edward III* to *William de Keth*, and *Godfrey*  
*de Ros* knights, who were to bring his beloved and  
 faithful *Richard Talbot* lately a prisoner in *Scotland* to  
 the borders of *England*; yet in the same records we  
 read of one *Gilbert Talbot* as one of the witnesses to *Ed-*  
*ward III's* doing homage to *Philip of France* for the  
 duchy of *Guienne* at *Amiens* June 6. 1329, and *Gilbert*  
*Talbot* justice of *South Wales* appointed by the same *Ed-*  
*ward III* in July 1337 when the king of *France* was  
 raising war against him and had a great fleet at sea, as  
 one of the captains and leaders of the *Welch*. Tom. 4.  
 pag. 787, 8. In Tom. V. pag. 64. under the year 1338  
 we read of *Gilbert Talbot* justice of *South-Wales* and  
*Richard Talbot* keeper of the town of *Berwick on Tweede*  
 and justice *London*. and pag. 131. under the year 1339,  
 of *Richard Talbot* as one of the officers of the *English*  
 army that stayed three weeks in *Scotland* for raising the  
 siege of *St. Johnstown of Perth*, pag. 178, 9. of an or-  
 der from the king of *England* to *Richard Talbot* keeper  
 of the town of *Berwick* or his lieutenant, about preserv-  
 ing the liberty of the bishop of *Durham* inviolate, dated  
*Westminster* 10th April 1340 and pag. 355. under the  
 year 1342, we read again of *Gilbert Talebot* justice of  
*South-Wales*, and pag 508, 9. under the year 1346 of  
*Richard Talebot* lord of the lands of *Blaynleuehey*,  
*Kirkbowel* and *Stredewy* appointed to array 100  
*Welchmen*.

4. *Joannes. lib. 9. cap. 14. pag. 158. d 8.* Among  
 the men of greatest note that were slain at the battle of  
*Halidon* on the *Scots* side were *Andrew, John, and Simon*  
*Frasers* brothers, *Andreas, Joannes, & Simon Fraserii*  
*fratres*. *Ruddiman* for *Joannes* reads *Jacobus*, alledg-  
 ing that all the *Scots* and *English* writers call him  
*James*. Now, without speaking of the *English*, all  
 the *Scots* writers are reduced to one, that is *Major*,  
 who has *Andreas, Jacobus* and *Symon Fraser fra-*  
*tres*.



*tres*. For it is not certain whether *Fordun* meant they were all brothers. His words, as *Hearne* has published them, are, *Andreas Frazer cum Simone fratre suo Jacobo Frazer et alii*, and, according to the *Harleian MS. Andr. Symon et Jacobus Frasere et alii*. *Boethius* names these three, but does not say whether they were brothers or not. *Lefly* names none of the slain. And what did *Ruddiman* know but among these there might have been a fourth brother named *John*? *Bellenden* says the battle was fought on *Magdalene's* day, and that the van-guard was given to *Hew* lord of *Ros*, having with him *Kenneth* earl of *Sutherland*, *Simon* and *John Frazer*, and *John Murray* lieutenant to the earl of *Murray*.

In the account of the victory at *Roslin* 1302, we are told (*lib. 8. cap. 24. p. 140. a 5.*) that *John Cumin*, and *John Frazer* the greatest man of *Tweddale*, marched against the enemy at the head of about 8000 men. *Ruddiman* says, this seems to be a slip of memory; because by all others he is called *Simon Frazer*, of whom there is likewise frequent mention made in *Rymer*: and that this is also confirmed by *lib. 8. cap. 31. p. 143.*

4. But how is he sure that they were the same men? *John Frazer* who joined *John Cumin* and was the most powerful man of *Tweddale*, and *Simon Frazer*, who with *Walter Logan*, both valiant knights, and great lovers of their country, were taken and delivered up to the *English* by the *Cuminian* faction, seem rather to be different persons.

5. *Macbethus*. *Acho* king of *Norway* made a descent upon *Scotland* in 1263 under a pretence, that some islands which *Macbeth* had promised his predecessors, were not as yet delivered, viz. *Bute*, *Arran*, and the two *Cumbras*, which were never reckoned among the *Æbude*, quod majoribus suis à *Macbetho* aliquot insulæ promissæ, nondum essent traditæ, &c. *lib. 7. cap. 62. p. 130. d 3.* *Ruddiman*, by *Crawford's* advice

turn

turns *Macbeth* into *Donald Bane*, pretending, that, otherwise, *Buchanan* will be inconsistent with himself, who says *lib. 7. cap. 23. p. 118.* that the *Æbudaæ* were promised by *Donald Bane* to the king of *Norway*, if by this means he enjoyed the crown of *Scotiand*. Where, I beseech you, is the contradiction, between *Macbeth* the usurper and *Donald Bane* the true heir, making the same promise? *Ruddiman* adds, that the *Norwegian* writers, particularly *Torfæus* in his history of *Orkney* will have these isles to have been granted (*concessas*) by the king of *Norway*, not by *Donald Bane*, but by *Malcolm*. But neither does this contradict what has been said before of *Macbeth* and *Donald Bane* *Malcolm's* brother: for to promise is one thing, and to give, or grant, or put in possession, another. And if *Ruddiman* means a promise only mentioned by the *Norwegian* writers, there is no inconsistency in supposing that *Malcolm Canmor*, in the time of his exile, should have made the same promise to the king of *Norway* and for the same end, as his brother *Donald Bane*, who succeeded him, is said to have made: not to mention, that *Acho* might have been guilty of two lies, as *Buchanan* plainly intimates he was of one.

6. *Northumbria. lib. 7. cap. 44. p. 125. a.* *Henry II* king of *England* summoned *William* to come to *London*, in order to do him homage, according to custom, for *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*. He having done so without reluctance, and persisting nevertheless to demand *Northumberland*, *Henry* put off the business with an ambiguous answer. *Anglus Gulielmum Londinum venire jussit, ut ob Cumbriam, et Northumbriam beneficiarium de more profiteretur. Id ille cum non grate fecisset, nec tamen a Northumbria poscenda desisteret, &c.* *Ruddiman*, by *Crawford's* advice, turns *Northumbria* into *Hundintoniam*, because *Henry* could not require an oath of the king of *Scotland* for *Northumberland*.

land, which he himself had before taken from his brother *Malcolm*, and was possessed of (*cap. 39. p. 123.* e) and which even at this time he boggles to restore *William* redemanding it; that is, the ambitious *Henry* eager to enlarge his own territories, and to lessen the power and authority of the king of *Scotland*, was not capable of acting the same part to *William* that he did to his brother *Malcolm*, trepanned by *Henry's* treachery to swear homage to him. *Fraude Angli illectus est, in verba ejus juraret*, says *Buchanan*, who intimates, that the king of *England* made use of the promise of restoring *Northumberland* to *William* as a bait to allure him to come to him to *London*, that he might force him to go over with him to *France*, as he had forced his brother *Malcolm* before. Nor will *Buchanan's* words expressly bear, that *William* at this time swore homage to *Henry* for *Northumberland*. \* And for the argument taken from its being in *Henry's* possession, it will equally prove that the word *Cumbria* should be dashed out: for *Fordun* vol. 3. p. 695. says expressly, that *Malcolm William's* brother gave back *Cumberland* as well as *Northumberland* both in one year; and a part of the latter having been restored to *William*, and not the whole, he made war upon *Henry*, which *Major* disapproves, but according to *Buchanan*, the war seems not to have been unjust on the part of king *William*.

7. Thomas. The Scotch prisoners taken at Solway

\* The same *William* king of *Scotland* upon doing homage to *John Lack-land*, required of him *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmorland* as his right and inheritance. And *Alexander II* of *Scotland* payed homage to *Henry II* of *England*, by an agreement for some lands in these counties, of which he did not get possession till some years after the agreement. *Rymer's fœd. Angl. pag. 376. Tom. I.* See Mr. *Anderson's* essay on the independency of *Scotland* pag. 185. and following.



were conducted through the city of *London* from the tower where they had been two days confined, to the king's court on *St. Thomas* day, that is on the 20th of *December*, *saero Thomæ Apostolo, qui est Decembris vicesimus*, 15. cap. 2. pag. 281. e 2. *Ruddiman* reads *XXI*, because, says he, that is *St. Thomas*' day, not knowing that the eve or vigil makes a part of the festival, and that *Leslie*, agreeing with *Buchanan*, tells us, that *Henry VIII* caused the *Scotch* nobility, whom he had imprisoned, to be brought to him to *Hampton court XIII Kal. Januarii*, that is, the 20th of *December*, and differing from *Hall* and *Stow* who have it the 21st.

It would be needless to go over the rest of *Ruddiman*'s notes on proper names, the sum of which is no more than this, that they are of very little or no consequence, and that the same persons are by different authors and sometimes in the publick records, (which in some instances, he himself proves to be wrong where *Buchanan* is in the right,) called by other names, or the same story told with different circumstances, of which I shall only add two instances.

*Lib. 8. cap. 58. pag. 153. b 5.* *James Douglas* in 1330 on his voyage to *Jerusalem*, whither he was carrying the heart of *Robert Bruce* to be buried there, coasting by *Spain*, being informed that the king of *Arragon* was at war in that kingdom with the same enemy, with whom he should be obliged to fight in *Syria*, and deeming that it mattered not in what place he were serviceable to the christian cause, he joined himself to the *Spaniards*. *Ruddiman* tells us, if *John Froissart* is to be credited, *Douglas* did not serve the king of *Arragon*, but the king of *Castille* and *Leon*, and that *John Barber*, author of the life of *Robert Bruce*, who flourished under his son *David Bruce*, writes, that he landed at *Seville*, a town of *Hispania Bætica* (*Andalusia*) not of *Tarraconensis* (*Tarraco*, which comprehended both *Castille* and *Arragon*)

ragon) and served *Alfonfus VI* king of *Castille* and *Le*  
*Ruddiman* did not know that *James* king of *Arragon*  
*Valencia*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, and count of *Barcelon*  
 whose eldest son was *Alfonfus*, was standard-bearer, a  
 miral and captain general of the holy *Roman* church  
 for so he is designed in a letter of *Edward II* king  
*England* his dearest cousin, about not granting letters  
 marque, dated at *Grenham* 30th of *August* 1323, *Kymer's*  
*facd.* Tom. IV. p. 44. And the king of *Arragon*  
 has the very same titles in several other letters address'd  
 to him, published in the same collection, pag. 83, 9  
 128, 130, 1, 4, 5, 6, 166, 192. There are letters  
 of credit from *Edward III.* dated *Wodestok* 5th *May* 1330  
 for *William Trussel* and *Reymund Cornill* sent to the king  
 of *Arragon*, to the king of *Portugal*, to the king of the  
*Majoricas*, to *Don Alfonso* king of *Castille*, and a letter  
 of credit for the same *Trussel*, "quem ad vestræ ma-  
 gnitudinis præsentiam destinamus pro negotiis, defensionem  
 sanctæ ecclesiæ, & Christianorum, contra imperatores  
 Sacracenos, fines hostiliter invadere satagentes, contra  
 gentibus, super quibus nobis iteratis precibus scripsit  
 vestra regia celsitudo", address'd to the king of *Arragon*  
 and dated *Wodstoke* 19. *May* 1330. See *Kymer* Tom.  
 IV. pag. 442. So that nothing could be more perni-  
 cious than to enlist *Douglas* in the service of the gene-  
 ralissimo of the croisade or army of christians fighting  
 against the *Saracens*. I have already observed that *Ruddiman*  
 misnames *John Barber*, calling him *Joannes Barbarus*, i. e.  
*John the Barbarian* or *barbarous John*, and now I observe  
 that he calumniates him, making him speak of *Alfonfus VI.*  
 as the prince under whom *James Douglas* served in 1330;  
 for *J. Barber* speaks of *Alfonfus*, without adding any  
 number at all to his name. Here also our most accurate  
 chronologer falls into an anachronism of about 200 years,  
 of which, had he discovered it in another, he would have  
 made himself pleas'd

constant conquest. I prove what I have alledged by the following passages of *Mezerai*, Tom. I. pag. 474.

*Alfonfus* duke of *Portugal*, saluted and proclaimed king by his troops in 1139, was son of one *Henry*, who having passed into *Spain* about the year 1089, there to with his fortune, had married *Teresa* daughter of *Alfon-*  
*VI*, king of *Castille*, and had for dowry the county of *Portugal*, by him before conquered from the *Mores*.

pag. 515. *Blanche* daughter of *Alfonfus VIII*, king of *Castille*, was married to *Lewis* eldest son of *Philip II* of *France* about the year 1200. pag. 604. *Alfonfus IX*,

king of *Castille*, and *Leon*, is mentioned as having married in the time of pope *Innocent III*, who declared that marriage null. Tom. II. p. 80. *Alfonfus* of *Castille* surnamed *de la Cerde*, died in the village of *Gentilly* near *Paris* in 1327. He had a son named *Charles*, who was afterwards constable, but cause of great troubles. pag.

140. &c. *Alfonfus XI*, king of *Castille*, had by his lawful wife, a son named *Peter*, who succeeded him, and was justly surnamed *the cruel* and *the wicked*; for he shewed himself a greater friend to the alcoran than to the gospel, and had more affection to, and was more familiar with the *Mores* than the christians. In 1361 he poisoned his lawful wife *Blanche*.

The other passage of *Buchanan* is lib. 9. cap. 22. p.

161. b 6. *John Randolph* earl of *Murray*, one of the wardens of *Scotland* during *David Bruce's* exile in *France*,

having intelligence (*Geldorum validum exercitum*) that a strong army of *Gueldrians* was marching through *England*, in order to join the king of *England*, makes speed

towards the borders of *England*. *Ruddiman* affirms that our historians are here in a mistake, and that it was not

an army of *Gueldrians*, but of men of *Namur*. How does he prove his assertion? why, he shews that his

beloved *English* authors, *Tyrell*, *Barnes* and *Echard* have mistaken the name of the general of that army, in call-



ing him *John*; because *John* count of *Namur* having marched into *Prussia* against the enemies of the christian religion, died as he was upon his return 2d of *April* this very year 1335, and to him succeeded his brother *Guy*, the same who fighting on the side of the king of *England* fell into the hands of the *Scots*; for which we are referred to *Gramaius* on the counts of *Namur*, and to a better authority, viz. *Rymer's æta publica* pag. 666. *Tom. IV.* where he is expressly called *Guy*, and by comparing pag. 654 with pag. 658 and 660, we are told we may gather, that this conflict has happened about the beginning of *August* 1335, without referring us to *Fordun*, who tells us the precise day, viz. the pursuit of *July*. But unless he could prove that an army of *Gueldrians* was not, or could not be headed by *Gu* count of *Namur*, he says nothing against *Buchanan*; and till he prove that *Reginald* count of *Gueldre*, who three years before had married *Alianora* the king of *England's* sister, and had a great affection for him and the *English* nation, was not in that army, which he never can prove from *Rymer*, he says nothing against our other historians. See *Barnes* hist. of *Edward III.* book 1st. chap. 5. The count of *Namur* was hired by *Edward*, as is plain from the indenture made between them at *St. Johnston*, Aug. 26. 1335, by which *Guy* bound himself to serve the king of *England* and his heirs for life, against all men, except the duke of *Brabant*, the counts of *Henaud*, *Flandres* and *Gerle*, for 400 merks of yearly fee, and to furnish 200 men at arms or fewer at *Edward's* expence. *Philip* the count of *Namur's* brother and the count of *Juliers* were likewise in that army which was defeated by the earl of *Murray* in 1335. See *Rymer* pag. 652, 7, 8; 665, 6; 675, 6, 9; and 700 *Tom. IV.*

After all, we do not pretend so to warrant every parcel of *Buchanan's* writings, as tho' they contained nothing

thing but what might safely be justified in all respects,  
 and against all quarrels. Such reverence we ought to  
 give only to the word of God. No man's learning or  
 memory was ever infinite. If *Buchanan* has at any time  
 mistaken one name for another, such errors and over-  
 sights being void of malice, were never hitherto account-  
 ed damnable. The best learned have oftentimes fal-  
 len into them. For proof whereof, it were easy to say,  
 that *Cicero*, notwithstanding otherwise a great learned  
 man, alledged *Ajax* instead of *Hector*, *Agamemnon* in-  
 stead of *Ulysses*, *Eupolis* instead of *Aristophanes*: that  
*Aristotle* alledged *Calypso* instead of *Circe*, &c. In *Bu-*  
*chanan's* history, lib. 5. cap. 16. pag. 79. a. we find *Eu-*  
*genio* for *Dongardo*, lib. 8. cap. 56. pag. 152. b. and lib.  
 13. cap. 10. pag. 243. b 7. *Henrici* for *Eduardi* and lib.  
 14. cap. 44, &c. pag. 168. e, &c. *Jacobus* for *Gulielmus*,  
 and *Gulielmus* for *Jacobus*, speaking of the 1st and 2d  
 parts of *Douglas*, the three last of these errors having  
 been observed by *Thomas Crawford* with about as many  
 more of the same kind, which *Ruddiman*, doing his work  
 by halves, and forgetting his promise of improving his  
 author into all possible perfection, has not corrected.  
 But whatever other like errors shall be found in any of  
*Buchanan's* writings, we may discharge both his clerk,  
 and the compositor, and the printer and the corrector  
 of the same, and lay the whole upon himself. For er-  
 rors will creep between the fingers of writers, be they  
 never so watchful. In the heat and drift of writing,  
 when the mind is wholly occupied, and fully bent to  
 the substance of the cause, it is an easy matter, by some  
 confusion, one way or other, to disorder a word, or to  
 displace a number; which, tho' it be light in doing,  
 yet in the reckoning oftentimes is very great. And if  
 all such childish advantages should be taken, there  
 would no writer escape uncontrolled. Of this Mr. *Rud-*  
*diman* himself seems to have been sensible in his note on

*lib.* 7. *pag.* 116 c 4. where he observes, that it is fault not peculiar to the *Scots*, but with them common to the *English* and other writers, to be sometimes mistaken as to names of men and places; and that nevertheless the whole narrative must not for that reason be called in question. He ought not therefore so to charge others, as if he himself only were privileged and exempted from such dangers. For no one is oftner guilty not only in the small matter of alledging one name for another, but in mistaking and misrepresenting matters of fact, not merely thro' inattention, but downright ignorance and stupidity.

In his long and learned note on *Buchanan's* life, *pag.* 4, 5, 6. concerning the time when *John III* king of *Portugal* wrote to *Andrew Govea* to bring along with him men learned in the *Greek* and *Latin* to teach humanity and the elements of the *Aristotelian* philosophy in the university of *Coimbra*, he has committed the following errors. 1. That *Joseph Scaliger* was the eldest son of *Julius Caesar Scaliger*, tho' it be certain that he was the 10th child, 10 years younger than *Sylvius* the eldest son, and five years younger than another brother called *Audectus*. 2. That *Joseph* was sent by his father to the college of *Guienne* at six or seven years of age, of which the father's 40th letter is a proof, where in he excuses his not sending *Sylvius* sooner as he ought to have done, considering the ripeness of his genius, on account of the badness of the times and his son's want of health. 3. That *Andrew Govea* who died in 1541 in *Portugal* was *Joseph's* master in the university of *Bordeaux*, to which *Joseph*, born in 1540, was not sent by his father till he was eleven years old, that is till 1551, about three years after *Govea's* death. These three blunders *Burman* has proved so evidently from the writings of *Joseph Scaliger*, *Paul Freher* and others, that *Ruddiman* himself is forced to own his mistake. 4. That

*Bucha*



*Buchanan* taught the famous *Montaigne* at his father's house, at the time that *Montaigne* himself, in the very place quoted by *Ruddiman*, tells us he was a student in the university of *Bordeaux*, as I have already observed.

The college of cardinal *le Moine* in which *Buchanan* taught in 1544 is called that of cardinal *du Moine*.

6. Father *Bourbon*, a good poet and a good judge of poetry, who said he had rather be the author of *Buchanan's* psalms, than bearch bishop of *Paris*, and who told *Menage*, that *Turnebe*, *Buchanan* and *Muret* regented at the same time in the college of cardinal *le Moine*, that

*Turnebe* taught the first, *Buchanan* the 2d and *Muret* the

3d class, and that the three parts of the world were happy in being shared out among these great men : father,

*Bourbon* I say, is by *Ruddiman*, imagining, it seems *Pere* and *Pierre* to be the same, called *Peter Bourbon*,

tho' his true name was *Nicolas* ; as he might have learned from *Moreri* and other *French* writers, who men-

tion him always in terms of the highest respect. There were two learned men of the same name, the first *Ni-*

*colas Bourbon* died in 1542, two years before *Buchanan* was a regent in the college of cardinal *le Moine* : so it

must have been *Nicholas Bourbon* the younger that told *Menage* the above particulars, with whom *Balzac*, *Had-*

*rian de Valois* and others had an intimate friendship, and of whom *Guy Patin* writes thus to M. *Falconet* Dr. of

medicine lett. 14. Oct, 10. 1648. " I once had a good master, whom I have often heard say, that there was

nothing like being impudent, and that they were the impudent that governed the world ; and yet this wor-

thy man was nothing less than impudent, it was that great poet, the late M. *de Bourbon Nicolas Borbonius*,

who died being very old, in my arms, in 1644, the 7th of *August*. He was in his time a very great man and

a very good poet. And at this day we see worse than he said ; for now a-days fortune triumphs by impudence,

by ignorance and by imposture." 7. After calling *Turnebe*, *Buchanan* and *Muret* three heroes *literarum trium viri plane incomparabiles*, superior to *John Gelida* a man of very great learning, *Ruddiman* falls first a wondering why *Buchanan* in the account of his own life does not mention his having been a regent in cardinal *le Moine's* college, which was preferable to that of *Ste. Barthelemy* and next he falls a dreaming that he has only been a regent's depute in that college, because, otherwise, it is not credible that he would have left it, in order to travel into *Portugal* a strange country. This is strange and unaccountable stupidity in *Ruddiman*, after *Buchanan* had given him very solid reasons for leaving not *Paris* only, but the whole kingdom of *France*. He saw plainly that *Europe* then was or would soon be all in a flame of war, that *Portugal* would be the only corner of it that would be free of troubles, and consequently a proper place for men of letters to live in, and that in the company of those who had undertaken that journey to *Caimbra*, he might be deemed not so much a stranger, as one living among his relations and acquaintances. For most of them had for many years cultivated the strictest friendship, as having made themselves famous in the world by their writings, namely, *Nich. de Grouchy*, *William Guarenté* (both of *Roüen*), *James Tevio*, *Elias Vinet* (of *Saintonge*) ; to whom *de Thou* adds *Arnold Fabri* a native of *Bazats*. *Buchanan's* love of learning and good company made him not only forward for the journey himself, but led him to persuade his brother *Patrick* to join such a famous society. Yet *Gelida*, though a native *Spaniard*, could not be prevailed with to leave *France* : so he abode at *Bourdeaux* waiting *Govea's* return, who dying in *Portugal*, the other was established principal of the college of *Guienne*, which office he discharged with great reputation for seven compleat years, and died at length in the year 1556 ; so says *de Thou*, a very

very exact and consistent writer : but *Ruddiman* mis-  
 quotes him as saying that *Gelida* died in 1557, at which  
 time he would have been eight full years principal of  
 that college after *Govea's* death. This is *Ruddiman's*  
 blunder. The 9th is a repetition of the fourth  
 and seventh with additions, all existing no where but in  
 his own idle head, viz. that for above four years com-  
 plete, that is, between the year 1542 or 1543 and 1547,  
*Buchanan*, in the highest reputation for his learning, be-  
 ing in an unsettled state, did not stay long in any one  
 place, but wandered about, and rambled up and down  
*France*, seeking the conversation of learned men, and  
 between whiles stopping at some gentleman's house, or  
 assisting his friends in teaching some school. This i-  
 magination is by *Ruddiman* in his last performance con-  
 sidered as something really existing without his brain,  
 where he asserts, that the highest preferment that *Bu-*  
*chanan* arrived at, while abroad, was to be undermaster  
 of a grammar school at *Bordeaux*, on which see chap.  
 10. at the beginning ; and this *reverie* seems to have  
 been occasioned partly by 10. a misunderstanding of the  
 word *interea* and referring to the time of *James V's*  
 death which happened in 1542 in one moment, instead  
 of referring it to the pestilence which raged in *Aquitaine*  
 for some considerable time, of which I have spoken al-  
 ready under the word *Aquitania*. 11. He confounds the  
 present with the past time, in saying that the 3d pasto-  
 ral, intituled *Desiderium Lutetiae* wherein *Paris* is called  
*Amaryllis* was written before *Buchanan* left *Portugal*,  
 that is no later than the year 1552, and alledging for  
 the proof of it these two lines *Et me tympana docta ciere*  
*canora Lycisca, Et me blanda Melænis amavit, Iberides*  
*amba :* 12. *Ruddiman* is out in his geography, when  
 he says, that by *Lycisca* and *Melænis* may be understood  
 these two cities of *Portugal*, *Lisbon* the capital and  
*Coimbra* where the author taught, and that the follow-  
 ing



ing lines, *Quam superat Durium Rhodanus, quam Sequana Mundam, Lenis Arar Sycorim, Ligeris formosus Iberum, &c.* make the thing still plainer; for tho' *Coinbra* stands upon the river *Mondego*, yet *Lisbon* is not situate upon the *Douro*, but upon the *Tayo*, about three degrees farther south: and the *Segre* falling into the *Ebro*, the *Ebro* dischargeth itself into the mediterranean, not far from *Tortosa* on the opposite side of *Spain*. 13. *Ruddiman* is inconsistent, in joining with *Bayle* in his censure, (which is like several other censures of that critic both ridiculous and frivolous) because the years are not always set down by *Buchanan* in the account he has given us of his own life; and next in refuting the same censure, because *Buchanan* did not design a full history of himself in the way of annals, but only an abridgment or short account of the most important passages: here in shewing his great modesty and good judgment. Lastly, *Ruddiman* is grossly inconsistent, in first rejecting *Garasse's* forgery as most absurd, viz. that when *Buchanan* was at *Bordeaux*, he went out of the college in a drunken fit to take a walk in his night-gown and slippers and having found a ship in the harbour weighing anchor, sailed aboard that vessel as far as *England*; and in the very next leaf adopting *Garasse's* fable, with the change of time and place, as not altogether without foundation, to support another fable no less ridiculous and absurd, and by it the calumny of *Buchanan's* ingratitude to *Q. Mary*; and but two leaves after in his character of *Buchanan*, rejecting the accounts of him given by *Garasse* and others of the same stamp, as the most arrant impudent lies in the world. See before chap. 2. pag. 87. and chap. 4. pag. 226. In *Ruddiman* we evidently see the observation verified, that a spirit of calumny is almost always attended with a want of judgment.

## C H A P. VI.

Of numeral and other adjectives. Ruddiman's shameful blunders on the use of *unus*, *alius*, &c. Cardinal and ordinal numbers used promiscuously by the Roman writers, also the round for the precise number, and the extreme years one or both included or excluded. Ruddiman's ignorance of these particulars the cause of his falsely accusing Buchanan of errors in chronology, and corrupting the text of his history. Mistakes about the meaning, use and declension of other adjectives, and several other corruptions and false criticisms.

Under the head of adjectives, I shall begin with those called numeral.

I UNUS. hist. lib. 15. cap. 29. pag. 192. c 11. Cardinal Beton and governour Hamilton came to Perth, where they put four men to death for eating flesh on a forbidden day, and one woman with her infant for not praying to the virgin Mary, when she was in labour. *Taodunum inde profecti* from thence they went to Dundee, giving out that they were to inflict punishments on such as read the new testament, a most heinous crime in those days. "Ibi cum *Patricius Graius* claræ familiaritatis in illis regionibus princeps adventare bene comitatus diceretur *unus Comes Rothusius*.—There, that is at Dundee, word having been brought, that *Patrick* lord Gray chief of a considerable clan in those parts was coming with a good many attendants, together with the earl of *Rothes*, the stir being appeased by the means of friends, the governor commanded both the lord Gray and the earl of *Rothes* to come to him the next day. "Sed *Cardinalis parum tutum ratus duos homines nobiles, & factiosos, & bene comitatos in oppidum [Taodunum] recipere, unum instauratæ religioni addictissimum egit cum*

Prorege,

Prorege, ut Perthum rediret." But the cardinal, not thinking it safe to receive two men of their high rank and great influence with such a retinue of followers in *to Dundee, the most zealously attached of any town in Scotland to the reformed religion*, he dealt with the governor to return to *Perth*. It is evident by the connexion of the discourse, that *unum* refers to *oppidum* the town of *Dundee*, whose inhabitants, as *Knox* informs us, have early devoted themselves to the interest of the reformed religion. "Notwithstanding the tyranny of the papistical church, the knowledge of God did wonderfully increase within this realm——chiefly by merchants and mariners, who frequenting other countries heard the true doctrine affirmed, and the vanity of the papistical religion openly rebuked, amongst whom were those of *Dundee* and *Leith* principals, against whom was made a very strait inquisition by *David Beton*, cruel cardinal. And the citizens of *Dundee* were greatly confirmed in their zeal for the truth by the preaching and labour of that blessed martyr of Jesus Christ, Mr. *George Wishart*; of which afterward they gave signal proofs under the government of the queen regent, particularly at *Perth*, when the monuments of *Romish* idolatry were abolished in that town; where likewise soon after the reformed put on the glorious resolution of fighting to the death against the enemies of their religion and liberties, and in token thereof put six quarters of a tow about their necks, that if they fled, they should be hanged therewith, and if they overcame the *Frenchmen*, they should hang them. This is the original of the St. *Johnston* ribbands, of which we have an account in the history of *Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie*.

It is merry to see *Crawford*, *Ruddiman* and *Burman* blundering so egregiously on the above cited passage of *Buchanan*, the two first in correcting and the last in defending it. *Crawford* for *unum* would have us to read  
alterum



*alterum* : *Ruddiman* by *unum* understands *Rothusium* the  
 earl of *Roths*, and guesſes that *Buchanan* wrote *unum*  
*inſtauratæ religioni addiſſimum, alterum ipſi inimicum.*  
*Burman* is for retaining the reading of all the editions,  
 becauſe one of two perſons being expreſſed, it is eaſy to  
 underſtand that the other was of the oppoſite party, tho'  
 the lord *Gray* and *Roths* were both of the ſame ; and  
 adduces a paſſage of *Sueton* *Tib.* 52. concerning *Dru-*  
*ſus* and *Germanicus*, *alterius vitiis inſenſus*, referring us  
 for more to his notes on *Ovid* and *Velleius Paterculus*,  
 and acquainting us, that ſuch like expreſſions, in which  
 one part ſeems to be wanting, are illuſtrated by *Jo.*  
*Gronovius* on *Livy* and *Ja. Gronovius* on *Gellius*.  
*Ruddiman* in his MS. reply to *Burman*, forgetting that  
 he had poſitively affirmed in his printed note, that by  
*unum* we are to underſtand the earl of *Roths*, maintains  
 that it is uncertain according to the writing of the edi-  
 tions of *Buchanan*, whether *Roths* or the lord *Gray* be  
 meant, and therefore thinks it probable that *Buchanan*,  
 a clear writer, if ever there was one, meant to have  
 expreſſed the thing in plainer terms, *cum ex hac ſcriptura*  
*incertum ſit, utrum ex his Graiumne an Rothuſium,*  
*unum inſtauratæ religioni addiſſimum dicat, veriſi-*  
*ſimile eſt Buchananum, perſpicuitatis, ſi quis alius, ſtudio-*  
*ſum, clarius rem exprimere voluiſſe.*

But as *Ruddiman*'s ignorance of our hiſtory, and in-  
 juſtice to the citizens of *Dundee* in robbing them of the  
 honour of uncommon zeal for the true religion, may  
 appear from what has been ſaid, ſo the following examples  
 from ſome of the beſt *Latin* authors will make it evident  
 that he is unacquainted with the genius of their lan-  
 guage, and with the elegance, force and beauty of ſuch  
 expreſſions where *unus* is joined with the ſuperlative, of  
 which I have marked no fewer than ten in *Cicero* alone.  
*Nat. D.* l. 2. " Atque haud ſcio, an pietate adverſus  
 Deos ſublata, fides etiam & ſocietas humani generis, &

*una excellentissima virtus, justitia tollatur.*" I am afraid that when we have once quitted our piety towards the Gods, the very faith that we owe to human society and the most excellent of all virtues, justice will not long after it. *Tusc. qu. lib. 3.* "Hoc igitur propono tibi: amplitudinem, & quasi quandam exaggerationem quam altissimam animi, unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam." Lay down this for a maxim to yourself, that largeness and loftiness of soul mounted as high as may be above the common level of mankind, is the bravest thing in the world. *ib. lib. 4.* "Jam ægritudinem laudare, unam rem maxime detestabilem, quorum est tandem philosophorum? What sort of philosophers are they, beseech you, that commend discontent, the most detestable thing in the world? *ib. lib. 5.* comparat Archimedes the mathematician with Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, and giving the preference to the former. "Si vitæ modum, actionemque quærimus alterius mens rationibus agitandis, exquirendisque alitur, cum oblectatione solertiæ: qui est unus suavissimus passus animorum: alterius cæde, et injuriis, cum et diurno et nocturno metu." *Id. ad M. Brutum Orator*, speaking of *Pæan*, which some reckon a number not a foot, because it has three syllables. "Est quidem, ut inter omnes constat antiquos, unus aptissima orationi vel orienti, vel mediæ:" — *Id. pro Milone* "et amicissimi benivolentiam, et gravissimi hominis ceterum, et unius post homines natos fortissimi viri magnitudinem animi desideres." *Ad fam. 5. 10.* "Homine unum omnium crudelissimum, qui tot ingenuos, matres familias, civis Romanos, occidit, arripuit, disperdidit, regiones vastavit? *Ad Attic. 10. 7.* "Corruat iste necesse est, aut per adversarios, aut ipse per se: qui quidem sibi est adversarius unus acerrimus" — *Id. Amic. cap. 1.* speaking of *Scævola* the pontif, quem unius nostræ civitatis & ingenio, et industria præstantissimum aude

deinde dicere. *Ciceronis fragm. apud Asc. pro M. Æmilio Scauro.* Si me hercle, judices, pro L. Tubulo dicerem, unum ex omni memoria sceleratissimum & audacissimum fuisse accepimus. *Cic. Att. 8. 4.* unus omnium locustissimus. *Id. Fam. 13. 46.* "Lucio Egnatio uno acute Romano vel familiarissime utor." And 15. 16. Quamquam quicum loquor? cum uno fortissimo viro. *Plaut. Truc. 2. 1. 39.* "Sed est hic unus servus violentissimus." The four last passages I have taken from Faber, who refers us for more examples to *Burman* on *Quintilian*, (a proof that the latter has mistaken *Buchanan* thro' inadvertency,) and observes that *unus* is joined the same way to the comparative. *Sen. Controv. 2. 18.* "Ut illum versum, quo aiebat unum meliorem inveniri non posse." I shall only add two other examples of *unus* with the superlative from prose writers. *Textus Cæcilius in Gell. lib. 20.* speaking to *Favorinus*, "tu es, inquit, unus profecto in nostra memoria non Græcæ modo, sed et Romanæ rei peritissimus. *Quintil. lib. xi. cap. 1.* *Lyfias* qui unus in dicendo præstantissimus habebatur." And so *Buchanan lib. 10. cap. 31. 187. d 10.* on *James I.* "habebat apud se *Alexandrum Insulanum*, unum post Regem longe potentissimum." In all such passages *the* is the proper English of *unus*. See Dr. *Jo. Ker* de ling. Lat.

We find the same elegant expression in the poets. *Virg. Æn. lib. 2.* "cadit et *Ripheus*, justissimus unus, Qui fuit in *Teucris*, et servantissimus æqui." *Id. Æn. lib. 7. v. 536.* "Galæsus justissimus unus Qui fuit, Auloniisque olim ditissimus arvis." In the same author we find *alter* and *alius* with the comparative in the same or near the same sense, *quo non præstantior* or *pulchrior* *alter non fuit*, and *quo non a ius violentior*: also *ante alios pulcherrimus omnes*; and in him and *Sil. Ital. & Statius* *or de millibus* or *tot millibus unus*; in the last we have *unus* with the superlative *Achilleid. lib. 2. v. 61.* —



“Metuam, quid enim tibi cuncta fateri, Cum Graius notaque fide celeberrimus unus?”

2. ALIUS. *lib. 15. cap. 18. p. 287. c. Matthew Stewart earl of Lennox* had put a garrison into the archbishop of *Glasgow's* castle. *James Hamilton* governor of the kingdom, having besieged it for the space of ten days, and battered it with brass cannon to no purpose at length making a truce of one day, came to a parley with the keepers, and the castle was surrendered on condition that the lives of those of the garrison should be saved. Yet they were all put to death, save one or two. [These, according to *Lindsay*, were two brothers, *John* and *William Stewarts*, sons to the abbot of *Dryburgh*, to whom cardinal *Beton* and the governor promised great gifts of gold and silver and to all their gentlemen and servants that were with them, and to make them sure of their lives, lands and goods: but no jot of these promises were kept: immediately after they were taken out of the castle, they were shamefully hanged, and not one of them that were in it escaped but the two *Stewarts*, who were imprisoned during the governor's pleasure.] Ibi cum arcem decem dies obsesam æneis tormentis converberasset frustra, tandem induciis in unum diem factis, & custodibus per colloquia tentatis, incolumitate præsidariis promissa, arx dedita est. In omnes tamen præter unum, & alium est sævitum.” *Ruddiman* puts *frustra* before *converberasset* blends both sentences into one, and upon the authority of the MS. for *alium* reads *alterum*; not knowing that the author having so often in other places used the expression *unum* & *alterum*, has here, for the sake of variety, in revising his work changed *alterum* into *alium* well knowing that as *alius* sometimes signifies *one of two* so *alter* in some instances denotes *one of more than two*. In the very first sentence of *Cæsar's* commentaries, we find *alius* for a second. “Gallia est omnis divisa in partes

*partes tres ; quarum unam incolunt Belgæ ; a'iam Aquitani ; tertiam Celtæ.*" In *Cicero*, " tam te has phalaras à Philarcho Centuripino abtulisse dicebant, quam al'as item nobiles ab Aristo Panormitano, quam tertias à Cratippo Tyndaritano." In *Justin lib. xi. cap. 12.* After *Darius* fled to *Babylon*, " per epistolas Alexandrum deprecatur——interjecto tempore alie epistolæ Darii Alexandro redduntur." And a few sentences after, " scribit itaque et tertias epistolas." That *alter* signifies another in a distribution of more than two, or a third, seems plain from *Cicero de Divinat.* " Joves tres memorant, ex quibus primum, et secundum, natos in Arcadiâ, alterum patre Æthere." *Ter. Andr. 1. 1. 50.* *unus et item alter*, one or two, or rather, two or three, indefinitely ; for *Donatus*, with whom *Manutius* and *Scaliger* agree, will have *alter* here to signify three ; because it follows, " verbo, hi tres simul amabant."

3. ALTER. *Archibald*, the 5th. E. of *Douglas* died of a fever altero ab *Jacobi primi morte anno lib. 11. cap. 4. p. 100.* a 12. two years or the 2d or next year after the death of K. *James I*, which happened 20th Feb. 1437, i. e. says *Ruddiman* 1439, which also *Boëthius* expressly affirms, and to him he might have added *Lindesay* ; but he adds " that *Hume* and after him *Geo. Crawford* write that that earl died 26th June 1438, which they prove by the inscription on his grave, tho' this is absolutely inconsistent with the two original papers which *Abercrombie* says he saw in the possession of the lord *Gray*, the one dated at *Edinburgh* the 28th of *November*, and the other the 8th of *December* 1438. As I have seen none of these myself, I leave the whole matter undetermined." This is but a very indifferent compliment to his most accurate friend *Dr. Abercrombie*, and a new proof of his own inconsistency with himself. For his friend positively affirms, that by both these original papers it appears, that a parliament or general council of the

three estates was held at *Edinburgh* on thursday the 27 of *November* 1438 by the most excellent prince and lord *Archibald* duke of *Tourain*, earl of *Douglas* and *Longoville*, lord of *Galloway* and *Annanda'e* and lieutenant general of the kingdom : and the swaggering Dr. pretends from this added to his own imagination, which supplies him abundantly where histories and records fail to *demonstrate*, in opposition to what is said by our historians, that the government of the king and kingdom was not divided between sir *William Crichton* and sir *Alexander Livingston*, but that *Archibald* earl of *Douglas* was superior to them by his authority, as well as by his power. This inference is by *Ruddiman*, who seems to doubt of the truth of the fact on which it is built, looked upon as just : tho' earl *Archibald's* parliament might have been as much an usurpation as those held by his son *William* the sixth earl of *Douglas*, who according to the same Dr.'s. imagination, which he is ever opposing to the authority of our historians, must have been the person that gave the harsh answer to one of the messages of *Crichton* and *Livingston*, and whose father must have been dead before this fell out, that is, he who was alive in the end of *November* 1438, must have been dead before the year 1437 or 1438 ; for under one of these years most probably was the above message sent and the harsh answer returned, according to the order of the facts related by our historians. Yet *Ruddiman* approves of his friend's opinion as reasonable, and refers us to his own next note, where it is discredited, and where he seems disposed to believe nothing on this subject without he had seen with his own eyes. But tho' earl *Archibald* had died not the 26 of *June*, as *Hume* and *G. Crawford* have it, but the 21 of *Febr.* 1438, *Buchanan's* expression of *altero anno* might be defended ; since *alter ab illo* denotes the next to him, and that known passage of *Virgil* *alter ab undecimo*, according



ing to some learned critics, signifies the 12th, and that of *Cicero*, *centesima lux est hæc ab interitu Clodii*, & ut opinor *altera*, the hundred and first.

4. PROXIMUS. (1.) The pope's legate arrived in England on his way to Scotland under pretence of levying money for the holy war. The Scots looked upon that tax as the more heavy and unjust, that the *English* seemed willing to extort a confession that Scotland was dependent on England; besides they were under apprehensions that the legate would wantonly squander away the money levied for the war, as they remembered had been done a few years before: so they forbade him to enter their territories, and said they would collect the money for the expedition into Syria themselves without his help, and send soldiers to it. And in fact they sent the men, commanded by the earls of Carrick and Athol, to Lewis king of France, and 1000 marks of silver to the pope, that he might not seem to be altogether slighted. (*Lib. 7. cap. 65. p. 131. d 8.*) *Proximo anno* mortuo Rege Anglorum Henrico successit Eduardus primus, the next year Henry of England dying, was succeeded by Edward I. Ruddiman's note: "This expedition to the holy land was made in 1270, in which year also, viz. 25 of August Lewis the French king died; and Henry of England died the 20th of November 1272: nor was his son Edward crowned till two years after, that is in 1274. See Mezerai and Tyrell. Either then Buchanan ought to have said *post quatuor annos*, or some such thing, or at least to have expressed a little more clearly to what that *proximus annus* has a reference." Here 1. Ruddiman confounds the beginning of the crusade with the time when the Scots were sent towards it. 2. He does not attend to the words immediately preceding, to the time when the 1000 merks were sent to the pope, to which the *proximus annus* most probably refers. He says falsely that Henry III of Eng-

and died *Novr.* 20th for that was the day of his burial; he died *Novr.* 16. 4. *Ruddiman* supposes that his son *Edward I.* did not succeed him till he was crowned in 1274, tho' the father died in 1272; and here he falls into the same heresy which *Buchanan* and our other historians have fallen into, and which ruins the hypothesis of hereditary indefeasible right, namely, the reckoning the years of the kings reigns from the time of their coronation. 5. He is ignorant of the *English* history, which informs us, that tho' *Edward I.* was absent, and not even heard of, the barons with one accord swore fealty to him on the day of his father's burial. Lastly *Ruddiman* here, as in many other places, has not attended to *Buchanan's* concise way of writing, who comprizes the history of about twenty years in less than twenty lines, and in one line three or four years.

(2.) *Lib. 8. cap. 42. pag. 146. Proximo vere Beruic- cum de Anglis est captum, post vicesimum annum quam in eorum potestatem venerat. i. e.* The next spring after the battle of *Bannockburn*, which was fought on the 23d and 24th of *June* 1314, the town of *Berwick* was taken from the *English* twenty years after it had fallen into their hands. *Ruddiman* seems to say *Berwick* was taken four years after the spring of the year 1315, viz. on the 2d of *April* 1318; for which we are referred to *Tyrell* and a barbarous monkish verse is quoted from the *extra* confirming what he says. It is true, adds *Ruddiman*, *Robert Bruce* laid siege to *Berwick* in 1315, but was obliged to leave it without carrying his point. And here we are referred to *Abercrombie*. On the words *vicesimum annum* we are told that it appears from what has been just said, that it ought to have been written *vicesimum tertium*, (tho' according to the preceeding note between the spring of the year 1315 and the 2d of *April* 1318 there were no less than four years,) because *Ber-*  
wick

ick was taken by the *English* in the year 1295. But  
 even this mistake of *Buchanan's*, who had not (nor could  
 he have) the records published by *Rymer* before him,  
 shews his exactness. Our historians that wrote before  
 him, *Fordun* particularly, say that *Berwick* was buttwen-  
 ty years in the hands of the *English*, and at the same  
 time that it was taken from them in 1318. This to-  
 gether with the damp struck upon the *English* by their  
 terrible loss at *Bannockburn* and *Robert Bruce's* besieging  
*Berwick* the next spring, has led *Buchanan* to think that  
 the mistake of those that wrote before him was on the  
 number 1318 and not on the number 20. By the way  
 we may take notice of one of *Abercrombie's* calumnies.  
 He says, *Buchanan* forgets to tell us in what year of  
 God *Mary James II's* queen was crowned, tho' he ex-  
 pressly tells us *lib. 11. cap. 31.* that it was *anno proximo*  
 the next year to that which he had just mentioned 1448  
 that is 1449, and that she was crowned in the month  
 of *July* that year in the church of *Holy-rood house* near  
*Edinburgh*.

(3.) *Lib. 9. cap. 18. pag. 159. c 10. vere proximo*,  
 that is the spring next after *Edward Balliol* returned  
 from *Dunnoon* a castle in *Cowall*, which he had taken.  
*Ruddiman* observes that our historians fix the siege of  
 the castle of *Lochlevin* to the year 1335, in which year,  
 as *Abercrombie* gathers from the *acta publica*, *Balliol* ha-  
 ving been again expelled *Scotland* kept himself for the  
 most part in *Northumberland*; and consequently it is  
 not probable that his party would at that time be besieg-  
 ing castles in the bowels of *Scotland*. But there is ano-  
 ther objection to this siege, *viz.* the truce which was  
 this year agreed to on the 4th of *April* and was to laste  
 till the 24th of *June*, the very time that our historians  
 write that this castle was besieged: for according to  
 them the siege was begun in *Midlent* and lasted till *St.*  
*Margaret's* day or the 10th of *June* (that most auspicious  
 day)



day) and which for that reason I should think happened in another year than the 1335." And for this we are referred to the *Fæd. Ang. vol. 4. pag. 640.* Here 1. *Abercrombie* says falsely from the *fœdera* that *Balliol* and his army took up their winter quarters in *Engl.* for the record say only that he was staying in *England* 6th of *March* 1335. 2. *Ruddiman* calumniates his friend *Abercrombie*, making him say that which he does not say, viz. that *Balliol* staid for the most part in *Northumberland* and this from the publick records; for he only says from *Tyrell*, that *Balliol* kept his court for the most part at the castle of *Ravensketh* in *Yorkshire*. 3. *Abercrombie* sets *Buchanan's* account of the siege of *Lochevin* castle which he labours to support, in opposition to that of *Boëthius* and *Holinshed*. 4. He and *Ruddiman* both fix the feast of *St. Margaret* to the 10th instead of the 20th of *June*. 5. *Ruddiman's* objection from the truce is answered by his friend, who supposes *Balliol's* party might have been guilty of a breach of faith. 6. *Ruddiman* and *Abercrombie* both are guilty of falshood in saying from the *fœdera* that the truce between the *Scots* and *English* ought to have hinder'd the besieging of castles in the bowels of *Scotland*; since it extended no farther than to the borders of it and *England*; for the record referred to bears expressly, that *Edw. of England* at *Nottingham, April 4.* made a promise to the ambassadors of *Philip* king of *France* that seeing the bishop of *Brechin* and *Thomas de Carnoto* ambassadors of *Scotland*, who had come to treat with the *French* within *England*, had promised that betwixt and *Easter* next they should cause open and publick proclamation to be made, that from the same feast to the feast of the nativity of *St. John Baptist* next to come, no *Scots* man adhering to their party should offend *Edward III's* subjects or adherents on the *Marches* of *England* or *Scotland* in persons or goods, under pain of bodies and goods: *Edward*

say, was willing to make the like proclamation, when the Scots had made theirs. The record does not bear, whether such a proclamation was ever actually made by either of the parties.

(4.) *Lib. 9. cap. 53. pag. 172. a 12.* The French having hoisted sail, "*Scoti sine laboribus bellicis superioris anni fatigati, sine præda tot secundis expeditionibus satiatæ, ea quidem hieme quieverunt. Proximo vere, &c.*" The Scots whether tired out with the fatigues of the war of the year preceeding, or glutted with booty in so many prosperous expeditions, were quiet that winter. The next spring *William Douglas* son of *Archbald* lord of *Galloway* sailed to *Ireland*, in order not only to revenge for the present the frequent descents of the *Irish* on *Galloway*, but also to put a stop to them for the future. *Ruddiman* 1. calumniates *Jo. Major*, who, according to him, affirms that the French staid but three months in Scotland, tho' the account he really gives of that matter is, that *John de Vienne* admiral of France made frequent incursions or inroads into England together with the earl of Douglas; that the Scots by means of the French took three castles, viz. *Furde*, *Wark* and *Cornwell*; after which the French admiral marched with Douglas into Wales, where he destroyed all with fire and sword; that at last they proposed to besiege *Carlisle*, but lest the French should be in danger there, they laid siege to *Rexburgh* a castle nearer the Scots, but did not take it. "*Tribus autem mensibus elapsis in quibus Galli a militia nunquam quieverunt — ad Gallias redierunt.*" which words refer to the latest expedition into England. 2. *Ruddiman* supposes that *Buchanan* has said that the French returned the same year that they came into Scotland i. e. in 1385; tho' by the fatigues of the former year he seems to intimate that the French only sailed home again in 1386. And tho' the battle of *Ottirburn* happened in 1388, as all agree, yet all do not agree with the extra-

Ita that *William Douglas'* expedition into *Ireland* happened the same year : but tho' they did, it is possible to defend *Buchanan*, as meaning by *proximo vere* the first spring after the winter 1386 (in which they had laid quiet) that the *Scots* did any warlike exploits : for, according to some very nice criticks, "*Proximum etiam dicitur, quod non statim sequitur, & hæret, sed quod remotum longius est, ut tamen inter ipsum & primum nihil intercedat : unde & a secundo differt : Id enim est quod sequitur statim atque adhæret.*" *Virg. Æn.* 320. *Proximus* huic, longo sed *proximus* intervallo.

(5.) *lib. 12. cap. 17, 18. pag. 224. c.* after an account of the settling of the debate between the mother of *James II* and others about the regency of the kingdom during his minority, particularly of her being intrusted with the care of the education of the rest of her children, "*Rebus domesticis ita constitutis, legati Anglorum auditi : petentibus induciæ in annos quindecim datæ. Proximo anno, qui fuit 1463. Regis mater decebat parum secunda pudicitix fama.*" *Ruddiman* says, this account is not enough exact ; because it appears by the records of both kingdoms, that a truce of about a year was first made which was to last from the 16th December 1463 by land and from the 1st February by sea, till the last of *October* of the following year. He owns that the truce was the same year 1464 prorogued to the term of fifteen years, referring us only to *fac. Angl. tom. II. p. 510, 525.* and upon the words *proximo anno* he says, that *Buchanan* intimates that the truce made in 1464, was made in 1462 ; not attending, that the *proximus annus* refers, not to the time of making the truce, but to the time when the affairs of the government of the kingdom of *Scotland* were settled in the manner he had before related, which was in 1462 : not to mention the critic's false hypothesis, that every thing transacted is to be found in the records published by *Ibo. Rymer*,

Before



Before I proceed to examine the rest of *Ruddiman's* numerous notes on *Buchanan* under the head of numeral adjectives, it will be proper to observe, that cardinal and ordinal numbers are used promiscuously by the best *Latin* writers ; that the round is sometimes taken for the precise number ; and that the two extremes, one or both, are either included or excluded.

That cardinal and ordinal numbers are used indifferently, will evidently appear from the following authorities. *Livy* 21. 15. "*Octavo mense, quàm coeptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum. Polybius, en octo mesi. quanto demum mense quàm a Carthagine profectus sit in Italiam pervenisse.*" *Polyb. en pente mesi. c 38. "quindecimo die Alpibus superatis."* *Polyb. hemerai pentecostideca. Livy* borrows and translates from *Polybius*, as *Suidas*, *Appian* and *Plutarch* do from *Livy*. lib. 33. cap. 15. "*Moritur altero et septuagesimo, cum quatuor & quadraginta annos regnasset.*" *Suidas* on the word *Attalus* translates this passage, and says, *Attalus* lived 72 years. In *M. Seneca* *controv. 2. 2.* intituled, *raptor patris sui non exorans, triginta dies* and *tricesimus dies* are used promiscuously. In a good many places there is no translating of the ordinal into our language but only cardinal numbers, as *Tac. Ann. lib. 2. "Rex Artabanus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur ;* especially where there is an addition of the adverb *jam* to denote time past ; as *Liv. 40. 36. "Is ipse exercitus aegrè explebatur propter pestilentiam, quæ jam tertium annum urbem Romanam atque Italiam vastabat."* That very army was recruited with difficulty by reason of the pestilence, which for three years past had wasted the city of *Rome* and *Italy*. That *Buchanan* used the cardinal and ordinal numbers indifferently, is plain from the dedication of the history *post viginti quatuor annorum peregrinationem* compared with the dedication of the *Franciscanus, post vicesimum quartum exilii mei annum.* This.

This is very common in *Tacitus* speaking of the Roman legions, *legio undevicesima, una et tricesima, una et vicesima, una et vicesimani, duo et vicesimani tertianique*, &c. *Nay Ruddiman* himself justifies *Buchanan's vicesimumnum annum lib. 12. cap. 25. p. 227. a 7.* by a quotation from *Cic. de Senect. cap. 5. uno et octogesimo anno mortis est*; and charges those editors with *importuna diligentia* who *lib. 12. cap. 49. p. 235. c 9.* for *vicesimo uno* have printed *vicesimo primo*. Such expressions as these are the foundation of *Linaere's* remark, that cardinal numbers are used for ordinal, and *vice versa*.

That the round is taken for the precise number, may be seen by the following instances. *Varro R. R. 2.* "Si, inquam, numerus non est admodum, ut non cum dicimus mille naves iisse ad Troiam, centumvirum esse judicium Romæ." *Liv. 9. 34.* "Cum centesimo jam annus sit ab Mamercio Æmilio." *Æmilius* was made, as *Glarsan* observes, A. U. C. 322. at this oration was delivered, A. U. C. 405. *Id. 1. 2.* "Et neganti Albano, bellum in trigesimum diem intererunt," the round number thirty for thirty-three; below it is written, "Si non deduntur quos exoptavit, diebus tribus & triginta, tot enim solennes funus peractis, bellum ita indicit." This is something more than taking the round number of years, when there are but some days or even months over or under; a thing common to all historians, the sacred not excepted. And without allowing such a liberty, both *Mr. Ruddiman's* chronological tables of the kings of Scotland, the one prefixed to *Buchanan's* history, and the other to *Anderson's diplomata*, are nothing but one continued anachronism; unless he could prove that these princes, reckoned to be 115 in number, reigned precisely so many years as he has marked, without a day or a month more or less.

The third observation is, that the extreme years, one both, are included or excluded. *Liv.* 30. 44. "fini-  
 um est *decimo septimo anno* Cn. Corn. P. Ælio Pæto con-  
 sulibus." When *Livy* says the war was ended seventeen  
 years after it was begun, he means the 18th year without  
 counting the first; for so also in other places "*Annis ante*  
*l. pax cum Carthaginensibus facta est.*" Again, "*tres*  
*sexaginta anni sunt a primo Punico ad secundum bel-*  
*lum finitum :*" neither of the extreme years is included  
 in this way of speaking. But when he says in this very  
 book, "patre, & patruo ex servitute *post sextum deci-*  
*um annum receptis,*" and a little after, "*Annibalem*  
*post sextum decimum annum ex Italia decessisse,*" he counts  
 both the extreme years: for *Servilius's* father was taken  
 in the year 532 and recovered his liberty in 547, and  
*Annibal* came into *Italy* in 532 and departed from it in  
 547. *Id. lib. 10. cap. 31.* "Superfunt etiam nunc Sam-  
 nitum bella, quæ continua per quartum jam volumen,  
 et *sexaginta & quadraginta* à M. Valerio, A.  
*Cornelio* Consulibus, qui primi Samnio arma intulerunt,  
 existimus." Here both extremes are included, the year  
 in which *Valerius* and *Cornelius* were consuls. *Cicero de*  
*senectute cap. 6.* shewing that old age does not always  
 render men incapable of public business, among other  
 instances adduces that of *Appius Claudius*, named *Cæcus*,  
 because he was blind in his old age, who made an ora-  
 tion against making peace and a league with *Pyrrhus*,  
 which the senate was disposed to consent, when he  
 was extreme old. "Atque hanc ille egit (he made  
 this oration) septem et decem annis post alterum con-  
 sulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni X. interfluxissent,  
 censorque ante consulatum superiorem fuisset." Now  
 according to the *Fasti Consulares* *Appius Claudius Cæ-*  
*cus* was made the first time consul A. U. C. 446. and  
 the 2d time A. U. C. 457. So there were ten free  
 years,



years, both extremes excluded, between the two confutes of *Cæcus*.

These remarks being premised, it will be easy to judge what reason *Ruddiman* had, in his notes on *Buchanan*, to censure or correct the following passages.

1. *Lib. 7. cap. 52. pag. 127. d. Alexander II.* was fifteen years old *sedecim erat annorum*, when he began his reign. Therefore, says *Ruddiman*, he was born in 1199 on St. *Bartholomew's* day say the *extracta* and the chronicle of *Maitross*; for otherwise he would not have been sixteen but only fifteen years old; not attending that *Buchanan* includes both extremes, that is the year 1199 in which he says, that prince was born, and 1214 in which he began his reign. In the same page *cap. 53.* king *William* died in the 74th year of his age in the year of our Lord 1214. So *Fordun*, *Major*, and *Boëthius*, whom *Ruddiman* opposes two authorities, neither of them of the best, that is, his own and that of the chronicle of *Maitross*, which say that *William* was born 1143 and died *December 4th* in the 72d year of his age.

2. *Lib. 7. cap. 58. pag. 129. c 12. Alexander III.* his coronation was not out of his 8th year, *nondum annum octavum egressus*, having been born 4th *Sept.* 1249 and his father dying 8th *July* 1249, he was, says *Ruddiman*, seven years and about ten months old when he began his reign: but here we are referred to *cap. 6. pag. 131. e 5.* where he imagines the author contradicting himself, in saying, that *Alexander III* died in 1285 19 *March*, lived 45 years and reigned 37: because he was only going on the 45th of his age and 37th of his reign. *Buchanan* did not mean that the last years of his life and reign were compleat, as *Fordun* does, who says he reigned 36 years. But we hear nothing of *Lesly's* blunder who says, that king died in 1283, the 34th year of his reign, departing from *Boëthius*, whom he abridges, and who has it the 37th.

3. *Lib. 8. cap. 57. pag. 152. d 3. David Bruce* a little before his father's death was going upon the 8th year of his age. In this particular, says *Ruddiman*, *Buchanan* heedlessly following *Boëthius*, not only contradicts others but also himself, because *lib. 9. cap. 38. p. 157. c 3.* he says he died in 1370, the 47th year of his age, and consequently must have been born in 1323, *Winton* expressly affirms, and that in the month of March, *Balfour*, a careless writer adding *the 5th day*: and we are referred to *lib. 9. cap. 3. pag. 154. e 2.* where we are told that *David Bruce* about the beginning of August, when the earl of *Mar* was chosen warden of the kingdom was going on the 10th year of his age — but tho' *Buchanan* here differs from others, he does not contradict himself, unless he had said that *David Bruce* was born in 1323, which he does not; and therefore must be understood to mean the year preceeding. And when he says that the same king died *anno ætatis 47*, the ordinal for the cardinal number, he means compleat years. It seems no good proof of *Balfour's* want of exactness, that he fixes *David's* birth to the 5th of March, especially seeing *Fordun* says the same, and that it fell on a *Monday* in the first week of *Lent*.

4. *Lib. 9. cap. 30. pag. 164. b 11.* compared with *cap. 8. pag. 156. b.* where we are told that in 1332, *David Bruce* and his wife, that they might be out of danger, were sent by the states to his father's friend *Philip king of France*, and that in 1342. 4. *Non. Julii* the 4th of July for the 2d of June they landed at *Ennervie*, *anno quàm discesserat nono*, (the ordinal for the cardinal number) nine years after his departure. Here *Ruddiman* observes, that most of our historians are in a mistake to say, that *David II* was sent to the king of France in 1332, because *Pat. Abercrombie* has shewed from *Froissart* and the *foed. Angliæ* that he was not sent into France before the year 1333, that is, till after the

defeat at *Halidon* and the surrender of *Berwick* : but he acknowledges that in 1332 *David* and his wife, that they might be out of danger, were received into the castle of *Dumbarton* by *Malcolm Fleming* the governor, who afterwards accompanied them into *France*. And, admitting were so, does not this explain what is said by *Buchanan* and others, of *David* and his wife being bound for *France* in 1332 ; for they do not say that they arrived in *France* that year ? But to shew you that *Dr. Abercrombie* is as great an empiric in history as his friend *Mr. Ruddiman* the 1st record in *Rymer* dated at *Rokesburg*, not the 22d but the 23d of *November* 1332, *Tom. iv. p. 536, 7. &c.* not 336, 7. intituled *divers donations, concessions and recognitions* to the king of *England* confirmed by *Edward* king of *Scotland*, bears, that in case the marriage between *David de Brus* and *Joan* the king of *England* sister is not made or does not hold, and *Joan* be willing and assent to be married to *Balliol*, he should marry her, and augment the dowry which was lately assigned to her in *Scotland* on account of said *David* with l. 500 of land rent *per annum* in the said kingdom, within three months after the marriage ; and that if it chanced that *Balliol* did not take her to wife, he should pay the king of *England* within a year l. 10,000 sterl. to help to marry her to another or to support her ; and that *Balliol* should provide for the estate of the said *David* according to the ordinance and advice of the king of *England* and his council. To confirm in his name these and all other things contained in the above letters patents *Edward Balliol* at *Burgh*, *Feb. 12. 1333* names *M. A. exr. de Moubray* and *M. John de Fe'ton* as his procurators. From these premisses the *Dr.* by the help of his imagination, draws this conclusion, that the king of *England* would have required neither of these obligations from *Balliol* in behalf of king *David* and *Queen Jean*, if they had been already conveyed to *France*, and



out of their reach. Then the *Dr* alledges a most evident falshood, viz. that we are told by *Froissard*, who says nothing like it, that king *Edward*, before he drew his army to the fields, sent ambassadors to require allegiance and fealty from *K. David*, who with equal wisdom and vigour rejected the overture. Lastly, the *Dr*. after referring us to the chronicle of *Lanercroft* cited by *Tyrell* as authors of very good credit and as telling us, that *Balliol* himself, just before or immediately after the siege of *Berwick*, sent to the same *K. David* and offered him the private estate of his family, provided he would resign the crown : after this reference, I say, the *Dr*. concludes, as a thing unquestionably true, that *K. David* did not leave *Scotland* till after the overthrow at *Halidonhill*. The same is affirmed by *Ruddiman*, who calumniates *Buchanan* in making him say, not that *David* was sent, or bound, or went so far on his way, but that he actually went to *France* in 1332 after the battle of *Duplin*, and in charging him with self-contradiction, because at that rate *David* must have staid about ten years in *France*, not knowing the meaning of *Buchanan's* expression. *Fordun*, with whom my old MS. agrees, fixes *David Bruce's* return from *France* to the year 1341, in which the castle of *Edinburgh* was taken from the *English* 17 April.

5. *Lib. 9. cap. 38. p. 167. c 4, 5.* *David Bruce* died in the castle of *Edinburgh*, “anno vitæ quadragesimo septimo, regni prope tricesimo nono, salutis humanæ millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo, septimo die mensis Maii:” in the year of our Lord 1370, the 7th day of the month of *May*, after he had lived 47 years, and reigned near or about 39. On this passage *Ruddiman* entertains us with three notes, 1. on the years of *David II's* reign, about which we are told, that not *Buchanan* only, but also the charter-house book of *Perth*, *Major*, *Boetius*, *Lesly*, *Ballenden*, &c. have blundered egregi-

ously : that by unexceptionable documents, that is, besides *Rymer's* letter to the bishop of *Carlisle*, and the register of *Kelfo*, by about twenty of this king's charters preserved in the public records at *Edinburgh*, it plainly appears, that he did not die till the 4<sup>th</sup> of his reign, that the most of our historians (he should have said a few of them) have gone upon a false hypothesis in reckoning the years of our kings reigns not from the time of the deaths of their predecessors, but from the time of their own coronation : that this way of reckoning, (from the 24<sup>th</sup> of *Novr.* 1331, in the present case) tho' plausible is contrary to the received custom of our kings, as is plain from the charters of *David II* and *James I*. Where has *Mr. Ruddiman* learned this logic ? 2 of our kings reckoned the years of their reign from the death of the immediate predecessors ; therefore all the rest, to the number of 102, did so likewise.

As for *James I*, it seems he has looked upon the whole of *Robert* and *Murdoch Stewart's* government, who ruled the kingdom during his captivity, and in the charters reckon only the years of their government without the least mention of a king, to have been an usurpation of the crown, having held their memory in the utmost abhorrence and put *Murdoch* and his 2 sons to death. And as to *David II's* registers or charters *Mr. Ruddiman* himself in the preface to *Mr. Anderson's diplomata*, tells us something that is most surprizing, quite amazing and a together incredible, if there were not many undeniable evidences of the truth of it, namely, that *David* himself or his counsellors or secretaries in counting the years of his reign, are perpetually a year behind, that is the 1<sup>st</sup> year of his reign is counted instead of the 2<sup>d</sup>, the 2<sup>d</sup> instead of the 3<sup>d</sup>, and so on. Of this paradox *Ruddiman*, after beating his brains about it, could find no other cause but this, that *David*, who during his abode in *France* probably granted very few or no charters

charters, returning home 21 *June* 1342, that is in the  
 end of the 13th year of his reign, his secretary, not ad-  
 verting that the 7th day of that month began a new year  
 of his reign, thro' strange and incredible carelessness,  
 added the whole of the year following to the 13th year  
 of his reign; and that this error being once committed,  
 thro' the same carelessness, or thro' wilfulness, the true  
 calculation having possibly been discovered afterwards,  
 has been persisted in even to the end of *David's* life.  
 As the world is full of wonders, I have seen something  
 that might strangely puzzle and perplex Mr. *Ruddiman*,  
 as able a chronologer as he is, namely, an authentic  
 copy of a charter granted by *K. David Bruce* to all the  
 boroughs of *Scotland* at *Perth* 28 of *March* of his reign  
 the 34th year, the year of our Lord 1365, which con-  
 firms the hypothesis of our historians, who count the  
 years of that king's reign from the time of his coronati-  
 on. The charter impowers the burgessees to buy and  
 sell in every place within the freedom of their own  
 burghs, prohibiting any of them to buy or sell within  
 the freedom of another without a licence, and any cler-  
 gy man or layman to buy or sell wool, skins, &c. or o-  
 ther wares but only from or to the merchants of the  
 boroughs within whose freedom they reside. The wares  
 were to be presented at the cross and market place of  
 the boroughs, where the king's custom was also to be  
 paid. No foreign merchants coming with ships or  
 merchandise were to sell or buy any sort of wares but  
 to or from the merchants of the royal burghs. The  
 first copy of this charter may be seen at the begin-  
 ning of that book of the records of the burgh of *A-*  
*berdeen* which begins with the year 1603, and ends  
 with 1605, with this *note*, this charter is ordained  
 to be registrate in the books of council, and to be  
 transcribed at the instance of the boroughs of this  
 realm upon the 24. of *May* 1605. If it should be  
 said



said, that the year of the christian *era* is not in the body of the charter, there lies full as strong an objection against the other charters of the same king, which M. *Ruddiman* has seen, who owns that he himself marked the years of Christ answering to the years of the reign of *David II.* And here it may be observed that in Mr. *Anderson's* collection of charters, the place where they were granted is not so much as mentioned before that of *David I.* to the canons of St. *Andrew* gifting them the isle of *Lochlewin*, which is said to be done at *Berwick*, without mentioning the month or year. The next is at *Ercildon* in *June* without day or year, and so the next at *Haddington*: the next at *Perth* in *June*, and the next two without any date. The first that mentions the year of Christ is that of *Malcolm IV.* at *Roxburgh* 1159, without that of his reign or month or day: so other charters of the same king and of *K. William.* The first that mentions the year of the king's reign is that of *Alexander II* dated at *Soyon* the 23d of *October* of his reign the 23d, without the year of our Lord, which we do not find mentioned in any of the king's charters in the above mentioned collection, till we come to that of *Francis* and *Mary* in 1558: so that the year of the christian *era* must be discovered by other means than by the charters themselves. It may likewise be observed that *K. Robert Bruce*, father of *David*, reckons the years of his reign, and so does M. *Ruddiman*, not from the time of the death of *K. Alexander III.* nor from that of the death of his father or grand father, but from the time of his own coronation 1306; and that M. *Ruddiman* counts the years of the reign of *James VI.* not from the time of the death of his mother *Q. Mary*, but from the time of her deposition and his coronation in 1567, which quite demolishes the *Palladium* of divine, hereditary, indefeasible right for which our antiquary has shewed himself so zealous.

advocate : not to mention his marking the years of  
 our kings reigns since the year 1688, tho', according to  
 him, a continued usurpation, just as any revolutioner  
 would do.

Upon the whole, it seems pretty plain, that the hy-  
 pothesis of our historians, who count the years of the  
 kings reigns from the time of their coronation, is not  
 built upon a false foundation ; especially if we attend  
 to what the *French* writers have said upon this subject,  
 and remember that of old they were a free people, and  
 their constitution the same with ours, as has been a-  
 bundantly evinced by *Hotoman* in his *Franco-Gallia*.  
*Mezurai* tom. 1. pag. 260. under the year 847. " *Hi-*  
*berto Charles II* had not taken the title of king, or at  
 least he had not taken the crown. The custom of  
 those times was, that the people did not believe that a  
 prince wore it lawfully, if it was not set upon his head  
 by the hand of a bishop, and by the consent of all." Car-  
 dinal *James Davy du Perron*, *Perroniana* pag. 336, 7.  
*Revue des Rois*, " *Hugh Capet* and his four first suc-  
 cessors got their children crowned in their life time, and  
 caused them take an oath to their people to maintain  
 the catholic religion, that they might reciprocally re-  
 ceive from their people the oath of allegiance : and  
 this stipulation was esteemed so necessary that the kings  
 anciently counted their reign only from the day of their cor-  
 onation, and not of their succession ; which nevertheless  
 has been changed since, lest, if such delays and hind-  
 rances should happen as would render it impracticable  
 to proceed so soon to the coronation, or to hold the u-  
 sual assemblies for that purpose, the royal authority might  
 stand at a stay, without being able to provide for the  
 urgent necessities of the state ; in regard it has been  
 thought that the people were presumed to have taken  
 the oath to their kings in the person of their ancestors,

and the kings in like manner to have taken the oath their people in the person of their predecessors."

In the next note on the years of the reign of *David II, Ruddiman*, in opposition to *Tyrell*, justifies *Buchanan's* adding the word *prope* to *tricesimo nanno*, and rejects the ellipse of *exacto*, which *Sage* the most sagacious author of the preface to the works of *William Drummond of Hawthornden* would have us to understand : and in following note on the words *septimo die mensis Maii* tells us that *Froissart* led *Buchanan* into this mistake, who had affirmed the very same thing before him, tho' he says *vol. 1. chap. 313.* that *David* of Scotland died the 7th of *May 1373*, a proof that *Buchanan* did not blindly follow him, but finding him and *Boëthius* to agree as to the day and the month, has preferred the authority of the latter to that of our other historians, who have expressed themselves ambiguously in saying that *David* died *festo cathedræ Sancti Petri* ; in regard there were two festivals so called, the one at *Rome*, *January 18.* and the other at *Antioch*, *22. of February* ; and this latter one of those festivals which they called *double*, capable of being transferred to another day, about which there is a rubric in the *Roman breviary*. My old MS. prefixed to that of *Jo. Major* is more express, which says *Anno MCCCLXX. VIII. Kal. Marcii obiit David rex apud Edinburgh.* To prove this, *Ruddiman* alledges the authority of the continuator of *Fordun* instead of that of *Fordun* himself, who carries down the history to near the end of the year 1385, at which *Bower* begins.

6. *Lib. 10. cap. 26. p. 186. a 1.* " *Jacobus* igitur ita liberatus domum rediit decimo octavo quam captus fuisset anno : a Christi adventu 1423. So *James I.* being released in this manner returned home eighteen years after he had been taken captive : in the year of our Lord 1423. *Ruddiman* observes first, that *James I.* according to *Winton*, a cotemporary writer, was taken captive



1405, tho' according to most of the *English* historians in 1406 : that being released he entered Scotland 1st April 1424, as may be gathered by comparing the 13th article of the convention between the ambassadors of both kings, with *James's* own letters confirming the same, *foed. Angl. Tom. 10. pag. 305, 343.* That therefore *James* was kept in *England* nineteen years eleven days less : but that all our historians agree with *Buchanan* because the release was agreed upon the year preceding.

2. On the year 1423, which may refer either to the time of *James I's* returning or to the time of his release from his captivity, *Ruddiman* remarks, that *Buchanan* and most of our other historians are in a mistake : because *James* returned to *Scotland* 1st April 1424, was at *Melroß* the 5th, and came to *Edinburgh* three days after, i. e. the day before the second Sunday before *Easter*, which that year happened to be on the 23d of *April*. Now supposing all this to be true, was it any fault in *Buchanan* to follow the historians that wrote before him, as he had not *Rymer's foedera* by which to rectify the dates of events and transactions ? But how could *Ruddiman*, who had these records before him, fall into such a double blunder as to say, that the 4th part of *James's* ransom was remitted by the king of *England*, and that *Joan* the earl of *Somerset's* daughter *James's* wife had 10,000 pounds of portion ; when the record bears that she had but 10,000 *merks*, the 6th part of the whole of his ransom, i. e. of 40,000 pounds.

7. *Lib. 10. cap. 30.* *James* came to *Ennerness* to hold justice courts *biennio post*, i. e. two years after the year just mentioned 1426. This *Ruddiman* understands of the year 1428, tho' he tells us the *extracta* and *Major* write, that this happened in 1427 : but if we should include both extremes, both the accounts might be reconciled, as both the extreme years are excluded *lib. 7. cap.*

cap. 57. *biennio proximo, anno scilicet 1242*, where the author seems to me to have added the year 1242 way of explanation, in order to remove the ambiguity of the word *proximus*, which signifies before as well after. See chap. IV. pag. 129

8. *Lib. 10. cap. 59. pag. 197. c 5, 6. James I. died in the beginning of the year 1437 ad vicesimum diem Februarii, cum regnasset annos tredecim*, on or about the 20th day of February, having reigned thirteen years meaning incomplete. As *Ruddiman* before had shewed Dr. *Abercrombie's* charging *Buchanan* with an undeniable error in fixing *Robert III's* death to the year 1406 to be mere rant and rodomontado, so here it shews the same with respect to the time of his father *James I's* death, and that even *Rymer's fœdera* and the *Scots* acts of parliament as well as the Dr. are in the wrong where *Buchanan* is in the right; which might have convinced him that the publick records ought to be read with more caution and judgment than he has done in many places. But then he censures *Buchanan's* account of the years of *James's* reign as not exact enough: since having returned to his own country in the month of April and having been crowned 20th of May 1424 and dying 20th Febr. 1437, he should have been said to have reigned only twelve years and nine months. And after repeating the same false assertion that he had been already taken notice of, viz. that it was never the custom of our kings to reckon the years of their reign from the time of their coronation, but from the death of their parents; of which he has no other proof, but the records of this *James I.*; \* he concludes that the

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\* By the following narrative taken from *Thomas Goodwin's* hist. of *Henry V*, book 7. under the year 1420. pag. 275, 6. and vouched by *le Bouvier*, *Boethius*, *Gaguin* and *Major*, it appears. that *James I.* did not look upon himself as king of *Scotland*, during the time of his captivity in France.

prince reigned thirty one years  $10\frac{1}{2}$  months. On this observe 1. *Buchanan* fixes his coronation to the 21 of April 1424; consequently he reigned twelve years and ten months, but one day less. 2. Supposing his father to have died 4 of April 1406, as *Ruddiman* would have it, and reckoning the years of the son's reign from that event, they were at most but thirty years, ten months and sixteen days: consequently our chronologer has committed a greater blunder than that with which he falsely and ignorantly charges *Buchanan*, and *Ruddiman* falls into the same blunder in his chronological table of our kings, where he says *James I* reigned thirty one years instead of thirty years  $10\frac{1}{2}$  months. 4. He has the assurance to exclaim against the negligence of our historians in the business of chronology or arithmetic in the very next note, being the first on the XIth book, where he shews his gross ignorance of the meaning of the adverb *vixdum*, and his impudence in calumniating *Boetius*, and alledging that he has *nondum* where he has *vixdum*. But of this under adverbs.

England. "K. Henry had brought the K. of Scotland with him, because many troops of that nation being in the Dauphin's service, he thought the presence of their king in his army would awe them from employing their arms against him, if it did not draw them to the same party. He would have persuaded him to command his subjects to leave the service of the army. With this design he held a council of his officers, and sent for the Scotch king, to whom he directed his speech in these words: "You know, said he, how much I have suffered from the Scots both in England and France, and what little reason they have to be my enemies, who were treated with so great clemency by my father in the last expedition he made into Scotland. You know with what generous kindness you have been entertained in our court, not as a prisoner, but a prince. I only ask, that in some return for all these favours, you would make use of that authority you have

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diman,



9. *Lib. II. cap. 50. pag. 217. c. Jas. II* died in the year of Christ 1460, not long before the autumnal equinox *ætatis anno 29*, [the ordinal for the cardinal number *postquam regnare cæperat 23*, after he had lived twenty nine years and reigned twenty three, meaning complete years. So *Major*, so the *auclarium Scotichroni* published by *Hearne* from the *Harleian* MS at the end of the 5th vol. of *Fordun*, so *Boëthius* and *Lindsay* his continuator in several MS. copies of his history. *Ruadiman*, ignorant of *Buchanan's* meaning, has corrupted his text, without any authority reading 30 and 2 instead of 29 and 23. *James II* lived 29 years 9 month and about 18 days, and reigned twenty three years four months and some days, having been born about mid *October* 1430, begun his reign about the end of *March* 1437, and died 3 *August* 1460. see chap. 4. under the word *dies*.

over the *Scots* your subjects, and command 'em to leave *France*; which if you obtain of 'em, I will set you free without ransom, and bestow those rewards which are suitable to the bounty of an obliged king. "I shall always endeavour, reply'd the king of Scotland, to preserve a remembrance of the noble benefits received from your father and you, that I may be mindful to repay 'em when it shall be in my power, tho' now all the return I can make, is thanks. But I admire, Sir, that you should think me capable of persuading the *Scots* to withdraw from their enemies troops, Since I, being a captive, have no authority over 'em, nor are they bound by any oath of allegiance to obey me. If I were free, and so had the power of a king, I would gladly do what might be for the good of my kingdom but in my present condition, I desire you not to ask things that are not in my power, or if they were, yet are of such a nature, as I know would prove hurtful and dishonourable to my country." The king praised his noble and prudent answer, and pronounced that people happy over whom he should reign.

10. *Lib. 12. cap. 62. pag. 239. c.* James III died in the year of our Lord 1488, *regni vicesimo octavo, ætatis vicesimo quinto*, having reigned twenty eight years and lived thirty five. Having been born, says *Ruddiman*, between the 7th and 22d of *Janr.* 1453, and dying 11th *June* 1488, he lived thirty five years and about five months ; consequently must be said to have died 36 *ætatis anno*, not knowing that the ordinal is put for the cardinal number, nor attending that the years of *James III's* reign are incomplete, as those of his age complete. Here I cannot help observing, what to me appears probable, that *Buchanan's* not marking the years of the reign of *James IV*, which concluded with the fatal battle of *Flowdon*, *inter paucas Scotorum clades memorabiles*, has been a designed omission ; and that he meant to say of the 9th of *September* 1513, what *Job* said of his birth-day, *let it not be joynd unto the days of the year, let it not come into the number of the months*, or, in the words of *Statius*, *excidat illa dies ævo-nos certe taceamus.*

11, 12, 13. *Lib. 14. cap. 61. p. 280. a.* *James V* died “ *decimo tertio Decembris, relicta filia hærede ante quintum diem nata,*” the 13th of *December*, leaving for his heir a daughter born five days before. 1. *Ruddiman* reads *XIV die Decembris*, and renders it doubtful whether it should be the 14th or the 13th. For the former he adduces the authority of the *MS. Lesly, Holinshed, Pat. Anderson, James Gordon-Lesnoir*, and *Sir Robert Sibbald's* testimony, who says he saw the 14. *December* inscribed on *James V's* leaden coffin. To support the authority of the printed copies of *Buchanan* he adduces the authority of *Drummond, Geo. Crawford*, and the letter of governour *Hamilton's* to the pope, dated 14. *May* 1543, in which *James* is said to have died on the ides of *December* : but *David Chambers* of *Ormond* says the 10th and *Pitcottie* the 20th. *Ruddiman* adds, that *James V* died in the 30th year of his reign

and 31st of his life, and not, as *Lefly*, *Drummond*, *Spotswood*, &c. contradicting themselves, the 32d year of his reign, and 33d of his life ; where he is unjust to *Spotswood*, who, without mentioning the years of that king's reign, says he departed this life in the 32d year of his age. 2. He reads *ante octavum diem nata* for *ante quintum diem nata*, for fear that otherwise the author should be inconsistent with himself, who says, *lib. 15. cap. 1. p. 281. a*, that *Mary James V's* daughter was born *octavo ante ejus mortem die* eight days before his death ; but he adds, that if it had been free for him to do it, it should rather have been written *ante septimum diem*, as *Lefly* (who as *Ruddiman* shews has blundered as to the time of her father's birth and coronation, and the years of his life and reign) the most faithful by far of any of her servants, (who did her infinite damage by his passion and pains to cherish the discontent of the *English* papists) has left it on record in three different places, and is followed by most other writers. 3. *Lib. 17. cap. 9. p. 328. e 6*. " *Patre intra sextum quam nata erat diem orba*" having lost her father within six days after she was born, *Ruddiman* reads *octavum*, lest the author should contradict himself once more ; both which last alterations he has been induced to make by *John le Clerc*, who thought it was not possible that *Buchanan* should have committed such errors. But neither of these critics have adverted, that the author, without any real inconsistency, might have said that *Mary* was born either five or eight days before her father's death and that she lost him within six days after she was born, as either both extremes are excluded, or one or both included. For supposing *Mary* to have been born the 8th of *December*, as *Knox* has it, and her father to have died *December 14. 1542*, there were five free days between these two events, six including one, and seven or a week or eight days including both extremes, as in

com-



common speech we say such a thing happened *nundius*—  
*hunc q. d. nunc est dies octavus*, this day sevensnight, a  
 week or eight days ago, tho' but five days intervene,  
 the day on which the thing came to pass, and the day  
 on which we are speaking being both brought into the  
 reckoning. It will be the same, if we should suppose  
 with Dr. Mackenzie, who has no voucher, that *Mary*  
 was born the 6th of *December*, and succeeded to her  
 father the seventh day of her age. But tho' we  
 should suppose her to have been born the 8th, and,  
 with the first edition of *Buchanan's* history, to have  
 lost her father the 13th of *December*, it would not  
 be necessary to correct the other two passages, as *Rud-*  
*man* has done; since she might be said to have been  
 born five days or within six days or a week or eight  
 days before her father's death, as one or both extremes  
 are included, or the greatest part put for the whole.  
 See Dr. *Pearson's* exposition of the article of our Savi-  
 our's rising from the dead on the 3d day, or after three  
 days.

14. *Lib. 17. cap. 43. pag. 339. d.* about the end of  
 autumn, by the queen's permission, *Matthew Stewart*  
 earl of *Lennox* returned into *Scotland* “ 22 anno, quam  
 turpiter a Rege Gallorum destitutus abierat,” two and  
 twenty years after he had been basely abandoned by the  
*French* king and gone away. ——— “ Ac proximo an-  
 no qui fuit 1564, mense Januario” ——— and the next  
 year, which was 1564, in the month of *January* in a  
 parliament called to meet for that effect, the process of  
 forfeiture led against him was reduced, and his estate  
 restored. *Ruddiman* pretends to prove from our other  
 historians, (of whom he names none, and *Spotswood* says  
 1563) and *Camden the Englishman*, that *Lennox* did not  
 return to his native country till 1564; which he says  
 is put beyond dispute by a letter of sir *Thomas Randolph*  
*Q. Elizabeth's* ambassador to *Q. Mary* preserved in the

Cotton library, wherein he informs sir *William Cecil* of *Lennox's* coming to *Edinburgh* 27th *Sept.* 1564. we are further told by our critic, that the next year, according to the *Roman* supputation, was 1565, and that if we follow the old *Scots* way of beginning the year, it should not have been said *proximo anno*, but *eodem anno*. If it be so, he ought to have corrected this, as he has done in other passages with less reason; but instead of that, altering without reason, for 22 he reads 20 on *Crawford's* authority, and for a proof that *Lennox* went into *England* in 1544 he refers us to his note on pag. 288. 9. where we are told that *Lennox* himself 26 *June* 1544 subscribed an agreement made between him and *Henry VIII* by *William* earl of *Glencairn* and *Robert* bishop of *Caitness* his brother in his name: but we have no proof what time *Lennox* was forsaken by the king of *France* or when he left *Scotland*, without which there is nothing said to the purpose. It appears by Sir *Ralph Sadler's* letters, that *Lennox* left the party of *France*, and went over to that of *England* in 1543; for in the postscript of one of that ambassador's letters to his master *Henry VIII*, which the editor shews must be placed between those of 15 and 24 of *September* 1543, we have the following passage, to omit many more in other letters "Touching the earl of *Lennox*, as I was closing up this letter, came to me one of his servants, and brought me two letters from my lord of *Glencairn*, to be addressed, one to my lady *Margaret Douglas* (whom *Lennox* married 24 *June* next year) and the other to my self, which two letters it may please your majesty to receive here inclosed. And for credence he told me, that the earl of *Lennox* his master had left the governour and cardinal's party, and being hitherto noted a good *Frenchman*, is now become a good *Englishman*; and will bear his heart and service to your majesty, and very shortly intendeth to dispatch a servant of his to your highness and

and to the said lady *Margaret*, with his full mind in all  
 behalfs." So *Lennox* must have been informed before  
 this time, that the *French* king had cast him off, and  
 from the year 1543 to 1564, including both extremes,  
 are 22 years, as *Knox* and *Spotswood* tell us, that he  
 was restored after 22 years exile. But tho' he had not  
 been abandoned by the *French* king before 1544, the  
 reading should be, not 20 but 21 *anno*, both extremes  
 being included.

In pag. 39. and 40. of *Ruddiman's* animadvers. on a  
 late vindication of *Buchanan*, we have a diverting pas-  
 sage. "The vindicator thinks he has made a mighty  
 discovery, that he has catched me in a mistake in fi-  
 gures; that in my preface to Mr. *Anderson's* *diplomata*  
 I say that *James VI.* took upon him the admini-  
 stration of the government, 15th Febr. 1578, but  
 that in my note on *Buchanani epistolæ*, &c. No. 28.  
 I say it was on 8th March 1579. I own it to  
 be an error, and that what I have said in one place  
 disagrees with what I have said in another. But it is  
 an error in cyphers, (whether by my own fault, or that  
 of the printer, is not material;) and every body knows  
 that there is nothing more common in writing or printing  
 than such escapes as these; of which I could shew him  
 innumerable examples in the best authors, and in none  
 more than in his own *Buchanan* and Mr. *Logan*.—The  
 errors I find fault with in *Buchanan* are chiefly such as  
 are momentous, as relating to matters of fact, which he,  
 to serve the ends of a wicked party, has most grossly misre-  
 presented. As for his errors in chronology, I do not re-  
 proach him for them, as this author here does me, but  
 simply point out and rectify them; and I assure myself  
 every lover of true history will commend me for so do-  
 ing. And the vindicator will here forgive me that I  
 mention a very odd one in that author, and worse than  
 that of mine, viz. that he makes his great patron the earl  
 of



of *Murray*, to have been killed in the year 1571, when we are sure from the publick records and otherwise that that happened two years before, according to the then computation, and one year before that now in use with us." One would think a man doted either with age or some other feebleness, who would thus trifle and expose himself by such drivelling and ridiculous malice much below *Don Quixot*. Something seems to have injured his memory and reason, and his imagination seems to be disturbed with fears of the rabble, or somebody's having some strange design upon him : but we have reason to be angry with those that have thus affrighted him ; for otherwise we had had a better book or, which had been as well, none at all. In the beginning of it " after the *numberless* treatises, pamphlets and other scurrilous writings within these few years published against me &c." as he would have us to believe there are *innumerable* errors in chronolgy, like or worse than that of his in *Buchanan* and the best authors. He assumes a liberty of calling one two, as where he tells us, that he calls the translation of *Buchanan's* history two, tho' really but one. And if we were to magnify and multiply his anachronisms as he has done those of *Buchanan* and others, their size and number would be very considerable, in these following instances, without searching for more. 1. In his notes on *Buchanan's* life, pag. 7. he says, probably he went into *Piedmont* and was made preceptor to *Timoleon* the marshal de *Brissac's* son in 1654, that is when *Oliver Cromwell* was protector. [These that follow are within the compass of one column ; notes on *lib*, 13. p. 253. d 3. 255. c 3, 4.] 2. After taking notice that *James IV* reigned twenty five years three months, and lived forty years, five months and three days, and, thro' the same ignorance as in many parallel instances, accusing our historians of an error, who write that he died *anno regni* 25, *vita*

no 39, he adds, that *James IV* was born on St. *Patrick's* day, i. e. 17th *March* 1573, and fathers this under on *Buchanan*, as he does the next, 3. on *Lesly*, who, according to him, says that *James V* was born 5th *April* 1412, tho' he says it was in 1512. 4. *Rudiman* tells us, that an embassy was sent to the king of *Denmark* in *James V's* name, about 100 years before he was born, that is 16. *January* 1413. After having committed a vast number of errors both in chronology and history, he has the assurance to say, that he does not reproach *Buchanan* for his errors in chronology; tho' by these, according to him, *pref. pag. 11* and 17. when he had a better opinion of the author than he now has, the whole face of our history has been miserably defaced, defiled and deformed, than which a greater reproach could not have been cast upon the author in relation to chronology, " ——— tot & tantos, in re æternitatis chronologica, errores, qui universi operis faciem misere deturparunt." And again " cum nos partem (*chronologiam*) ab historicis nostris, & a nullo magis (quod dolentes referimus) quam a *Buchanano*, aut plerumque neglectam, aut misere involutam, aut insignibus denique erroribus deformatam reperimus; nulla in re melius utiliusve industriam nostram collocari posse existimavimus, quam si *sceleratissimam* hanc maculam annalibus nostris, quantum pote, elueremus; " We have said enough, if not too much, on the article of numeral adjectives; let us now proceed to adjectives of another kind, according to the order of the alphabet.

1. ANORMIS, *Franciscan. pag. 17. ver. 17.* " *anormis* comes," we are told that in the later editions it is *anormis*, and that possibly the author wrote *abnormis*, having that line of *Hor. 2. Sat. 11. 3.* in his eye, " *Rusticus abnormis, sapiens, crassaquæ Minerva,*"

making *Buchanan* a servile copier and not an imitator of the antients, contrary to his own character of him.

2. CUNCTANTIOR. *hist. lib. 17. cap. p. 331.*

*Q. Elizabeth* giving reasons to *William Maitland Lettington* against her declaring *Q. Mary* her nearest and lawful heir to the crown of *England*, in case she should have no issue. "I know what a dangerous thing it is to touch this string, and I have ever upon great respects abstained from bringing in question the right of the crown; for so often hath the controversy of marriage lawful and unlawful, of legitimate and bastard children, been agitated, according as mens affections and humours led them, that even in regard of those disceptations, *I have hitherto forborne to match with any husband*, ut haecenus ad nubendum fuerim cunctantior. *Ruddiman* blindly following the foreign editions, without minding the first, reads *cunctatior*, tho' *Virgil Aen.* 133. has *thalamo cunctans regina*. *Suet. I. Cæs. 6.* "dimicandum cunctantior factus *Lucr. 3. 193. ætius. Colum. 11, l. 14. cunctans ad opera.*

3. DECORUS. *Margaret de Valois* *Q. of Navarre* sister of *Francis I.* was a lady of the most distinguished merit, learned herself, and a great patroness of learned men, who strove, as it were, to outdo one another in praising her. To her *Buchanan* addresses the epigram *l. 11.* where he says that all the perfections which the antient heathens ascribed to their several deities were united in her, and that in an eminent degree. *v. 4. decoræ Venus*; *Ruddiman* conjectures it should be *decora* referring us to *epig. 50.* in which the same incomparable princess is equalled to *Pandora* celebrated by *Hesiod*, on whom every god bestowed a gift, beauty, wisdom, eloquence, &c. to make her more compleat: but as by her box being opened, all evils and mischiefs flew out and filled the world with diseases and calamities, *Margaret*, on whom piety, justice and equity had been like

will



life bestowed, is preferred to the other. In this poem  
 the substantive *decor* occurs, which seems to be the foun-  
 dation of *Ruddiman's* conjecture, who v. 13. of the for-  
 mer poem reads *quæque* wrong for *quæque*, and has not  
 corrected the false title of this, *ad reginam Navarrae Mar-*  
*garettam Borboniam*; for the surname of *Margaret Q.* of  
*Navarre* was not *Bourbon*, but *Valois*, as was that of her  
 first husband *Charles* duke of *Alençon*. In 1527 she was  
 married to *Henry d' Albret* K. of *Navarre*, and by this  
 marriage she had *Jane d' Albret*, whom she educated  
 in the reformed religion, and who married *Antony de*  
*Bourbon*, father of *Henry IV.*, surnamed the great, king  
 of *France* and *Navarre*, over whose marriage with *Mar-*  
*garet de Valois* daughter of *Henry II.*, it may be said that  
*Pluto* and *Megara* presided, as it was a prologue to the  
 bloody tragedy of the *Bartholomew* massacre in 1572.  
 It could not be this last *Margaret*, infamous for lewdness  
 that *Buchanan* praises, as he was out of *France* long before  
 she was *Q. of Navarre*: nor was it usual with the *La-*  
*ins*, so far as I know, as it is with us, to give women  
 their husbands surname. Instead of *Borboniam* therefore  
 in the above title we ought to read *Valesiam*. The title  
 of the 23d of the *Jcones*, *Margarita regina Navarrae*,  
 seems likewise to be wrong; because the poem itself  
 says that whereas others looked upon her as happy in  
 having a king for her father, husband and son, she  
 would judge herself to be really happy in this respect if  
 the Lord would chuse her for his hand-maid: and it is  
 certain, that *Margaret* daughter of *Charles* of *Orleans*,  
 duke of *Angouleme*, and niece of *Lewis XII.*, had no son  
 that was a king, as had her daughter *Jane d' Albret*,  
 who was also a most excellent lady, eminent for her  
 piety and zeal for the protestant religion. And there-  
 fore in the title of this 3d poem, for *Margarita*. I  
 would chuse to read *Joanna*.

4. DEXTER. *hist. lib. 1. cap. 25. p. 11. a*  
 “Below *Athol ad dextram Tai ripam* on the south  
 of *Tay* is situate the town *Caledonia, vetus \* tantum*  
*men retinens*, which retains nothing but its anti-  
 name, commonly *Duncalden*, that is a hillock plain  
 with hasles. For as the hasle spread itself far and w  
 over the untilled ground, and covered the fields w  
 the shadiness of the woods, it gave name both to  
 town and people. For the *Caledones* or *Caledonii* ar  
 ently one of the most famous nations of the *Britai*  
 made one of the two parts of the kingdom of the *Pi*  
 whom *Amm. Marcelline* divides into the *Caledones* a  
*Vecturiones*, of whose name there is hardly now any  
 stige remaining. Below *Caledonia* about 12 miles  
 the same south side *in eadem dextra ripa* is *Perth*.  
*sinistram ripam*, on the north side below *Athol* is *Ga*  
 lying eastward.” *Ruddiman* not attending that the a  
 thor is describing old *Caledonia*, which the critick hi  
 self owns is mentioned by some as having been antier  
 ly built on the south side of *Tay*, and that there a  
 some vestiges of it still remaining, proposes to read *inf*  
*Atholiam ad sinistram Tai ripam*, and below, *in dext*  
*Tai ripa*. Had he considered the context and the mea-  
 ing of the adverb *tantum*, and that the author embrac  
 every opportunity of describing the most curious an-  
 quities of his native country, he would not have fall  
 into this biunder. *T. Crawford* places *Perth* on the sou  
 west side of the *Tay*, and *lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 8. a* *Marc*  
*sinistrum Tuedæ latus attingit*, *Merse* borders upon t  
 north side of *Tweed*, he observes that *dextrum* and *sin*  
*strum* in all other rivers are to be understood in lik  
 manner. This is partly confirmed by *Livy's* account

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\* “*Nomen tantum virtutis usurpas, quid ipsa valeat i-  
 noras.*” *Cic. parad. 2.*

of Numa's installation 1. 18. "Augur *dextras ad meridiam partes, laevasque ad septentrionem* esse dixit."

5. DURUS. *Baptist. pag. 29. Chor. v. 25. duro flammans verbere.* Ruddiman conjectures we should read *surdo*, and that the author here imitates Juvenal Sat. 13. v. 192. *surdo verbere cædit*, not attending to the context, or not knowing that *surdum verber* is that which is not heard, and *durum* the same with *sævum* or *crudele*. Does not Ruddiman richly deserve for such criticisms as these *dura flagra pati*, to borrow an expression from the same Juvenal 5. 173?

6. EXTER. *hist. lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 76. d 4.* "Nec soli exterorum perpetui hostes" i. e. according to Ruddiman himself *soli exteri* or *inter exteros*, that is, as the author explains it at d 12 *Scoti et Picti*: but a blind conjecture is added, viz. that the author wrote *eorum*. Had he not just spoke of enemies that the Britons had within themselves; and could any word be more proper to express those *without* them than *exterorum*?

7. GNARUS. *Buch. de vita sua, pag. 3.* a reason of James V's commanding Buchanan to write a satyr on the gray friars, *ignarus* a typographical error for "gnarus offensionis, quæ ei cum Franciscanis esset," the king knew that the author and they had fallen out. This is explained in the dedication of the *Franciscanus*, "not that the king looked upon me," (says the author with a great deal of modesty) "as a chief master in that kind of writing, but because he expected, as I suppose, that stimulated by private resentment I would be the keener to revenge a publick injury; since according to that of Juvenal, *Si natura negat, facit indignatio verum*, what nature cannot, anger will endite. Instead of mending a slight typographical error, Ruddiman, who in all such places had promised to render the author consistent with himself, charges him with self-contradiction, occasioned thro' a slip of memory.



8. ILLUSTRISSIMUS. *hist. lib. 16. cap. 25. p. 312. d. 11.* "The noblemen sent from the congregation to interceed with the queen regent in behalf their ministers, whom she had summoned to *Stirling* and designed to have banished, were *Alexander Cunningham* earl of *Glencairn* and *Hugh Campbeil* sheriff of *Air*, equ *illustris*. a most renowned knight," laird of *Lowdon* and forefather to the earl of *Lowdon* chancellor in the time of *Charles I.*, "that by the dignity of the persons they might the more easily obtain what they wanted, might have the greater influence on the queen regent." *Ruddiman* reads *illustris*. Did he imagine that *illustris* was the superlative? Or could he not read the abbreviation which the foreign editors had read to his hand, and which we meet with in the title of one of the poems *quitis clariss.* for *clarissimi*? Or lastly did he grudge the epithet of *most* renowned; because the gentleman was of a clan that have done and suffered so much for the cause of truth and liberty, which *Ruddiman* during the course of a long life has been opposing with all his might?

9. IMBELLIS. *lib. 10. cap. 7. pag. 179. b. 9.* *Robert* duke of *Albany* despised his brother king *Robert III.*, a weak prince, "fratre velut *imbelle* contempto," — *Ruddiman* upon the authority of the *Elzevir* edition reads *imbelli*. See chap. V. pag. 309, on the words *Dunelmensis* and *Varvicensis*.

10. IMMODERATUS. *lib. 17. cap. 25.* "*immoderata reginæ luxui nihil erat satis.*" p. 333 d. so *Ruddiman* owns it is in all the editions, but he hardly doubts but the reading should be *immoderato*, as in some following pages *immoderata luxuria* and *immodicus luxus*, and in *Cicero* *immoderata intemperantia*; the meaning of which criticism must be, that *immoderatus* is improperly applied to a person, contrary to *Cicero* pro *Cælio*, *immoderata mulier* and *ad Att. lib. 13.* "*Alexandrum* postquam

quam rex appellatus sit, superbum, crudelem, immoderatum fuisse."

11. INEXPECTATUS. lib. 18. cap. 50. pag. 364.

5. William Chisholm bishop of *Dumblane* ambassador to the *French* court to excuse *Q. Mary's* marriage with *Bothwell* was interrupted in the lying harangue, which he had begun on that subject and in praise of *Bothwell*, the *Q. of France*, who took out a letter she had received from *Scotland*, bearing, that the *Q. of Scots* was prisoner and *Bothwell* forced to flee; the poor ambassador, was so struck with the sudden and unexpected misfortune, that he was quite disconcerted and had not one word more to say, "*subito inexpectato ictus malo concutit.*" Either the word *inexpectato* or *subito* to *Ruddiman* seems superfluous: and according to him, *Cicero* must be guilty of a perissology in many places, of which I shall only set down one or two. *Tusc. lib. 4.* "Quid est, quod tantam gravitatem, constantiamque perturbet? an improvisum aliquid atque repentinum? quid potest accideretale ei, cui nihil subitum est, quod homini evenire potest?" *Id. de provinc. Consular.* "Ecce illa tempestas, caligo bonorum, et subita, atque improvisa formido, — *Liv. 40. 15.* *Demetrius'* speech before his father vindicating himself from the crimes laid to his charge by his brother *Perseus*, wherein he makes mention of the suddenness and unexpectedness of the accusation, and of his want of time to prepare his defences against a charge that had been ready prepared long before "*repentino atque inopinato malo, vix quid objicere potui: nedum satis sciam quomodo me tuear.*" *Plin. epist. 1. 13.* "Sibi nuntiari jubent, an iam recitator intraverit, an dixerit præfationem, an ex magna parte evolverit librum, subitum recitanti inopinatamque venisse." *Suet. J. Cæs. 87.* *Cæsar* having formerly read in *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus* in his last fit of sickness, had given some orders concerning his funeral, ex-

pressed his abhorrence of such a lingering death, wishing his might be *quick and surprizing* “*subitam sibi celaremque optaverat.*” And the day before he was slain upon occasion of a discourse started at table, in *M. Lepidus’s* house, concerning the best sort of death, *repentinum inopinatumque prætulera*t, he declared for that which was *sudden and unexpected*. And here it may be observed, that in the case of every good man that died a sudden death, the ideas of *sudden* and *unprepared* are distinct.

12. LEVIS. see on *leviter*.

13. MAJOR. *lib. 5. cap. 40. pag. 86.* d *Donald Doneuald* 53d king “*nihil majori studio egit, quam ut verum Dei cultum tueretur:*” *Ruddiman* without any authority reads *majore*, contrary to a part of note 99 *etymol. lib. 1. cap. 2.* of his own large *Grammar*, which is as follows. “*Val’a* and *Linacre* have proved, that as the ablatives of comparatives, when joined with the feminine, end in *e* oftener than *i*, so when joined with other genders more frequently in *i*, as “*constat majori bellua sumptu*, *Juven. VI. 77. Majori pondere pressum Signiferi mersere caput*, *Lucan. VII. 162.*

14. MAXIMUS. *lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 10.* d 6, “*Qua Grampius mons humilior est, & magis peruius Braid Albin regio vocatur, hoc est quasi altissimam Scotiæ partem dicas, ac ubi maxima pars illa attollitur Drum Albin, id est Scotiæ dorsum vocatur, nec omnino sine causa.*” On the first part of this sentence our critic shews very great acuteness. How *humilior* lower, say he, and yet *a’tissima pars Scotiæ* the highest part of *Scotland*? mistaking the author’s meaning, thro’ ignorance of the *Latin* idiom, there being an ellipse of *paulo* or *aliquanto* understood to *humilior*: and likewise blundering about what may be easily understood by such as are capable of understanding any thing, *viz.* that the country in general may be called the highest part of *Scotland*.



Scotland that is fit for being inhabited, and yet one part of it, or of the same mountain or ridge of mountains, may be higher than another, as *the highest top of a mountain* is good *English*. The sense of *Buchanan's* words is this: "where the *Grampian* mountains are somewhat low and pretty easy to be passed, the country is called *Braid Albin*, that is, as if one should say *the highest part of Scotland*: and where that part riseth to the greatest height, it is called *Drum Albin*, that is *the back of Scotland*, and not altogether without reason." The last part of the sentence *Ruddiman* has corrupted by robbing it of an elegance, and for *maxima* attollitur reading *maximè*, contrary to the authority of all the books printed and MS. as he owns himself, and I add, contrary to the genius of the *Latin*, in which adjectives are very often used for adverbs, as will appear by the examples adduced under the following word

15. OBSTINATUS. *lib. 13. cap. 6. pag. 241. e. 8.*  
*obstinati pugnarunt.* *Ruddiman* on the authority of the MS. reads *obstinatè*, owning that the reading of the printed books is elegant enough, but pretending without any proof, that the other is more common in *Latin* writers and in *Buchanan* himself, whom this critic will not allow to retouch his own work, or vary his expression. That adjectives are very often used for adverbs is evident to any one that has read the classic authors. *Liv. 38. 23.* "*ruunt cæci per vias, per invia,*" they blindly push forward through thick and thin. *Just. 8. 5.* "*trepidi ad arma confugiunt,*" they run to arms in a fright. — *Virgil.* "*nunc spicula vertunt insensibramiaque interritus extulit* — *trepidi ce'erare* — *tautique incidere funem* — *Verrimus & proni* — *regni demens in parte locavi* — *solvite vela citi* — *serie citi flammæ* — *fertur cita gurgite classis* — *alacris Æneæ stetit ante pedes* — *haud tarda sequentur* — *arbos tarda venit* — *se lætus ad auras*

palmes agit—tam patiens *sines*?—In other authors “*re-  
ri pugnarent disperſique* they would fight in thin compa-  
nies—*invitus feci*, I did it contrary to my mind. “*A-  
tu, Catulle, oſtinatus obdura.*” *Hirt. B. Afr. c. 90. libe-  
tes cupidique* conditionem acceperunt c. 38. *reliqui concita-  
in caſtra confugiunt. Nep. fragm.* “nam petere veniam ſe-  
lemus, aut cum *imprudentes erravimus*, aut cum *compu-  
peccavimus. Livy* again, *reſtitit pavidus*—ut ad lucum a-  
mati *frequentes adeſſent*—*pacem ſupplices petunt.* To pa-  
over hundreds of ſuch examples, I ſhall only obſerve that  
the ſame authors in the ſame or different places have  
ſed variety: as *Cicero Off. lib. 1.* on phyſicians, “*ſe-  
ut ad urendum & ſecandum, ſic nos ad hoc genus c-  
ſtigandi raro, invitique veniamus*” *Id. ad Attic. 2.* “*ha-  
ſcripſi properans, & mehercule timide.*” *Quintil. 11.*  
“*ut inviti, & neceſſario, & parce judicemur dixiſſe*  
*Sil. Ital.* ſometimes *ocius ite* and ſometimes *ite citi.*  
for *Buchanan’s maxima attollitur*; in *Pliny lib. 12. ca-*  
*14. 2.* we have *attolluntur colles aſti*, that is, *aſurgunt*  
& *elevantur*, in *Tacitus, lib. 5.* “*nuntiavere acco-*  
*Euphraten nulla imbrum vi ſponte & immenſum attolli*  
Where there ſeems to be no greater occaſion for ſu-  
plying in to *immenſum* than to *immenſa* in the follow-  
paſſage of *Livy 32. 4.* “*immenſa panditur* planities,  
ſubjectos campos terminare oculis haud facile queas  
So large a proſpect is preſented to our view, that o-  
can ſcarcely diſcover any bounds it hath.

16. OCCIDENTALIS & *orientalis.* See before chap.  
4. p. 253. at the word *rex*, and chap. 5. p. 343. at the  
word *Pomona.*

16. PRIMIOR, of which *primor* is an abbreviation  
the comparative of *primus*, as *proximior* from *proximus*  
in *Seneca epiſt. 108. or 109.* and from *poſtremus poſt-*  
*miſſimus* in *C. Gracchus* quoted by *Ge’lius 15. 12. Buc-*  
*lib. 6. cap. 31. p. 102. c 7.* “*Is [Kennethuſtertius] co-*  
sul

s "re  
ompa  
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multis qui aderant ex primioribus," Ruddiman reads *primioribus* without accounting for the alteration in his notes.

18. *PRIVATUS*. *lib. 12. cap. 26. pag. 227.* "*par. nobilitatis privata foedere connexa,*" — a special part of the nobility being confederated. Ruddiman, either blindly following the foreign editions, without consulting the first or attending to the context, or ignorant of the meaning of *privatus*, or mistaking and misapplying the concord of the adjective and substantive, or all these together, has corrupted this passage, by turning *privata* into *privato*. It was no private association that the nobility had made with the *Boys*; the thing was transacted publicly in parliament, as *Buchanan* had just told us, adding, that the king himself also subscribed the promise whereby the nobility bound themselves to be liable to punishment, if they did not abet the *Boys* in all publick actions or causes.

19. *PROCLIVUS*. On the words *lib. 5. cap. 21. pag. 80. e 2.* "*quo minus in tenues & imbecillos graffarentur,*" — Ruddiman finds fault with the *Frankfort* and following editions for changing *imbecillos* into *imbecilles* without reason, since both alike are used by the *Latin* writers: and yet the same Ruddiman, *nil unquam fuit sic d'spar sibi*, *lib. 19. cap. 16. pag. 372. d 11.* "*ille [the earl of Sussex] in Havarti partes proclivus,*" reads *proclivis*, tho' the *Latins* use *proclivus* alike as *proclivis*. *Varro R. R. 2. 2.* "*solum stabuli oportet esse proclivum, ut facile possit everri.*" *Catull. 2. 270.* "*Zephyrus proclivas incitat undas.*" *Seneca epist. 86.* "*Junius mensis est quo tibi scribo, jam proclivus in Julium.*" *Id. de vita beata cap. 25.* "*quemadmodum corpus in proclivo retineri debet, in ardua impelli: ita quædam virtutes in proclivi sunt, quædam clivum subeunt.*"

20. *QUAMPLURES*. *lib. 15. cap. 46. pag. 297. 64.* "*paratæ quamplures equitum turmæ,*" and *ib. cap. 55. pag. 300.* "*quamplures menses ejus adventum expectaverat*"



pectaverat"——In both places *Ruddiman* reads *complures*, on the latter alledging the authority of the MSS. and referring us to a note on the former, where there is no note at all; and pretending that *quamplures* is contrary to the authority of ancient writers and the analogy of the *Latin* tongue. And yet in the best edition of *Sallust*, *Cat. cap. 19.* we read "*quia boni quamplures præsidium in eo putabant* : —— And *Beatus Rhenanus* on the passage of *Livy lib. 4. cap. 31.* "*documentoque fuere quàm plurimum imperium bello inutile esset. Tentando &c.*" tho' he chuses to read *complurimum—esse*, yet he supposes that in the old MSS. it had been *quamplurimum*, which has afterward been turned into *quamplurimum*, and that the first letter of the following word *tentando* has been added to the infinitive *esse*. It had been better to prove than barely to assert that *quàmplures* is contrary to the analogy of the *Latin*, in which we read *quàm multum* *Plin. ep. 6. 24.* *quàm multa* *Cic. Amic. c. 6.* *aliquammulti* in *Apuleius*, *Cicero* and *Buchanan* (for which see *Ruddiman's* note on *lib. 14. pag. 272. c. 6.*) and *quamplurimus* frequently in *Cæsar* and *Hirtius*, as *quammaxima* *quamminime*, *quamplenissime* *quamlongissime* in one word in *Quintilian*. If *Vossius* proves any thing, it is no more but that *quamplures* ought to be written in that manner and not in two words. See *Rob. Stephen's* and *Faber's Thesaurus* for more examples.

21. **SUBITUS.** see on *inexpectatus*, to which I shall add some more examples, because *Buchanan lib. 10. cap. 18. p. 183. a 3.* and *lib. 18. cap. 26. p. 355 d 5.* has "*adversus subitum et inexpectatum hostem*" and "*re tam subita, et inopinata omnes attoniti*;" both which passages have escaped the notice of our quick sighted critic. *Cic. Tusc. lib. 2.* "*Cyrenaici non omni malo ægritudinem effici censent, sed inexpectato, nec opinato malo.*" *Id. Tusc. lib. 3.* "*hostium re-*  
pens

mens adventus magis aliquanto conturbat, quàm expecta-  
 tus : & maris subita tempestas quam ante provisa, ter-  
 ret naviganteis vehementius." Plin. panegy. Trajan.  
 "plura inopinata, plura subita." Gell. 2. 19. "qui  
 factum aliquod occultius aut inopinatum insperatumque  
 cognoscit, is dicitur propriè rescire.——aliter enim  
 dictum esse, rescivi, aut, rescire, apud eos, qui diligenter  
 loquuti sunt, nondum invenimus, quam super his rebus,  
 quæ aut occulto consilio latuerunt, aut contra spem o-  
 pinionemve usu venerunt, quanquam ipsum Scire de om-  
 nibus communiter rebus dicatur, vel adversis vel prof-  
 peris, vel insperatis vel expectatis."

22. TANTUS. lib. 5. cap. 19. p. 80. a. on Congallus  
 the 44th king. "Primum se moribus publicis emen-  
 dandis dedit : nec tantum prius quam creatis novis ma-  
 gistratibus, & per eos litibus, furtis, & latrociniiis cohi-  
 bitis disciplinam veterem revocare est aggressus." So the  
 first and foreign editions : but Ruddiman, without rea-  
 son and without authority, reads tamen for tantum, tho'  
 the latter word, whether we take it for an adjective or  
 adverb makes good sense : an adverb ; "Congal did  
 not so much as attempt to restore the antient discipline,  
 till he had first created new magistrates, and by their  
 means repressed feuds, thefts and robberies : or, if we  
 take tantum for an adjective noun, the substantive nego-  
 tium put in apposition with disciplinam veterem revocare  
 being understood, the meaning will be, "he did not  
 undertake such an important work as the restoring of  
 the antient discipline, till he had first, &c."

23. TUMULTUOSUS. lib. 20. cap. 49. p. 402. d  
 11. "Oppidani tandem tumultuosi in urbem reje-  
 cti." Ruddiman doubts whether we should rather read tumul-  
 tuose. See under o'stinatus.

24. UNIVERSALIS. lib. 20. cap. 8. p. 388. c 11.  
 "Erant qui ad conventum procerum universalem rem  
 integram differendam censerent : "—— Ruddiman  
 having

having informed us, as of himself, that the word *universalis* is condemned by *Nizolius* and defended by *Joan Verneretus Pontarlianus* upon *Quintilian's* authority, who sometimes says *vocem* and sometimes *quæstionem universalem*; also of *Varro L. L. lib. 8.* where we find *causæ universalis*, and of *Cornificius* or the author *ad Herennium lib. 2. cap. 24. universali ratione* where *Gruter* reads *universa*; after all this, I say, *Ruddiman* refers us to *Vossius de vitiiis sermonis lib. 7.* which he needed not to have done, if it were not to shew us how exactly he has copied him, omitting nothing that the other has said, save only that the word *universalis* is not *Cicero's*. And what then? Is it therefore not *Latin*? Did *Quintilian* write barbarous *Latin*, who says 2. 14. “*semper moris fuit quam minime me alligare ad præcepta, quæ catholica vocant, id est (ut dicamus, quomodo possumus) universalia, vel perpetua*”? Some indeed have adduced this passage to shew that *Quintilian* himself did not think *universalis* a proper *Latin* word; whereas he only meant that it did not sufficiently express the *Greek* word *catholicus*; as in the following passages he plainly enough intimates, that the *Greek* is more perfect and significant than the *Latin*. *lib. 5. cap. 10.* “*Enthymema, quod nos commentum sane, aut commentationem interpretamur, quia aliter non possumus Græco melius usuri*”: *Lib. 6. c. 3.* “*alteram [speciem affectuum Græci vocant] ethos, cujus nomine, ut ego quidem sentio, caret sermo Latinus*.” See *lib. 3. 5. lib. 8. cap. 5.* where the same author uses the word *universalis* without any qualification. In *Varro lib. de philosophia A. Popma's* edition we read *universaliter*.



## C H A P. VII.

Of pronouns. M. Ruddiman's ignorance of their use and meaning, another source of corruptions and false criticisms.

Here I shall follow the order of the division of pronouns into demonstrative, relative, &c.

I. EGO. (1.) lib. 1. cap. 9. pag. 4. d 11. "*quod majores nostri in Morinis, & Moremarusa, et Armo-  
nicis fecisse videmus:*" Here Ruddiman imagines there is an error in all the editions, *majores* being of the accusative case; because tho' we find *majores vestrum* in *Ballust*, yet he is almost persuaded that it is impossible any where to find *majores vestri* or *nostri* so as *nostri* or *vestri* is the genitive plural: and therefore he thinks the reading should either be *majores nostros* or in the following line *fecisse videntur*. In the classics, says *Li-  
nacre*, the demonstrative is often taken for the possessive. *Plaut.* "*duorum labori hominum parvissem lubens,  
mi te rogandi, & tui respondendi mihi.*" *Mei* and *tui* for *meo* and *tuo*. *Ter.* "*cujum puerum hic apposui?  
vestri. cujus vestri?*" *Pamphili:*" where *vestri* is put for the possessive, or at least for the primitive *vestrum*, as *nostri* for the primitive *nostrum*. *Vossius* lib. 7. cap. 57. proves that the rule about partitives, comparatives, superlatives and numerals requiring the genitives *nostrum* and *vestrum*, and other nouns *nostri* and *vestri*, admits of exceptions; and shews the mistake of *Apollinaris* in *Gellius* 20. 5. who thinks we should say *miseretur nostrum* and not *nostri*, because *Afranius* says *miseritus nostri*, and *Sylla*, *Terence* and *Laberius* use the genitives *nostri* and *vestri*, and *Cicero* himself IV *Catil.* has *habetis ducem memorem vestri*. Our famous critic and grammarian did not know that

Bu-

*Buchanan's majores nostri* is an Hellenism, as the Greeks say *pater hemon* for *pater noster*; and that there are many instances of such an imitation of the Greeks to be found in the best *Latin* writers. I shall only mention three, *Catullus* 59. in nuptias *Juliae*, & *Manlii*, "*Qvestri numerare vult multa millia lusum.*" *Tibullus* 5. de se ægrotante. "*Natalem primo nostri vident parentes, Cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.*" *Propertius* 1. 4. ad *Bassum*. "*Non ullo gravius tentat Cynthia damno, Quam sibi cum rapto cessat amore Deus, præcipue nostri.*"

(2.) *Lib. 18. cap. 34. p. 358. c.* "*Et quanquam eo res processit, ut omnia nobis in meliorem partem finire accipienda, gravissimè tamen tum nos offenderant hæc primum arrogantia, quòd nullam referendæ gratiæ reliquam nobis putaret superesse facultatem, nisi me ipsam ei velut officiorum præmium traderem: occulrationes, & consilia, ac tandem apertus me contemptus & vis adhibita in me (ne conatu frustraretur) in suam potestatem redigenda.*" i. e. *vis adhibita in redigenda me in suam potestatem.* Albeit now seeing we are so far proceeded with him, we must interpret all things to the best; yet have we been highly offended, first with his presumption, that thought we could not sufficiently reward him, unless we should give ourself to him for the recompence of his service; next for his practices and secret means; and at length the plain attempting of force to have us in his puissance, for fear of being disappointed of his purpose. So it is in the copy of the original of *Q. Mary's* instructions to the bishop of *Dunblane* to excuse her marriage with *Bothwell* at the *French* court, published by *Keith*. *Ruddiman* not only turns *me* into *ni*, but spoils *Buchanan's* translation of a real beauty for a. *me c. reading apertus mei contemptus*, and shewing his little acquaintance with the *Roman* authors. *Virg.* "*Me adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum, O Rutuli.*"

11. "*Silius Italicus* an imitator of *Virgil*, who flourished in the time of *Nero*, *Vitellius*, *Domitian*, and who is frequently mentioned in the epistles of *Pliny*; lib. 4 sub finem. "Aut si velle nefas superos, fixumque sedet-que, Me, me, quæ genui, vestris assumite votis." The expression doubled or tripled, to make it the stronger,

2. IPSE. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 155. a 12. *Laurence Twine* or *Twyname*, an adulterer and excommunicate, who had fled from *Scotland* to *France* persuading *Edward Balliol* to attempt the recovering of his father's kingdom; "complures præterea genere Anglos a patre ipsius donatos [*sc. agris*] privatos expeditionis comites libenter futuros." *Ruddiman*, whose great memory should serve for a standard of history, on the very place where *Buchanan* tells him the story, cannot remember of any *Englishmen* that had gifts of lands in *Scotland* from *John Balliol*, but from the king of *England*, the other's superior lord, both whose wills were one and the same in this matter; but it better served *Tuina's* purpose to name *Edward Balliol's* father as the donor. Next, *Ruddiman* corrupts this passage, not upon the authority of the MS. but of a later hand that has been tampering with it, and for *donatos* reads *donatis*, owning that the former were tolerable, if *privatos* did not immediately follow it. The sound of *Cicero's* Latin *pro P. Sextio* as published by *Lambin* from the best MS. would be very grating to such a delicate ear as that of our critic. "ut ab eo armato privato, qui sine armis remp. etiam consul conservarat." Where *consul* and *privatus* are opposed.

3. HIC. (1.) lib. 15. cap. 1. quoted at the word *dies*, cap. 4. pag. 150. "*Hii die noctuque*." — *Ruddiman* reads *hi diu noctuque*, spoiling the sentence of its harmony, and rendering it lame of a foot; as you will easily perceive, if you try it by the ear. He has imagined that *hii* was peculiar to the writers of the barbar-



ous ages : yet I have found *hii* and *hiis* in *Cicero*, *M. Brutum*, orator. speaking of the parts of a sentence called members. “ *Hii* igitur [in] singulis versibus quasi nodi apparent continuationis, quos in ambitu conjungimus.” *Id.* *Philip.* 7. speaking of *Antony*. “ nemo sit alius, nisi ii, qui una sunt, et *hii* qui hinc ei non aperte favent : parumne erunt multi ? ” *Id.* de *Inventiva Rhetorica lib.* 1. “ Materiam artis eam dicimus, qua omnis ars, et ea facultas, quæ conficitur ex arte versatur, ut si medicinæ materiam dicamus morbos vulnera, quod in *hiis* omnis medicina versetur.” *Id.* *Legib.* 1. *cap.* 21. “ Nec *Manilia* lege singuli, ex *hiis* tres arbitri fines regemus. In the *tabulæ Catoinæ*, quoted by *Sigonius* on *Livy* 40. 43. to prove the two consuls *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus* were brothers german, *hei* fratres germani fuerunt, *hei* for *hi* or *ii*.

(2.) A reason for digressing from the affairs of Scotland to those of England, both being so closely connected together, that without it the former could not be understood *lib.* 19. *cap.* 39. p. 380. d 11. “ Status rerum Anglicarum *his* [rebus sc. Scoticis] paulum diversitate cogit. So *Ruddiman* owns the first edition has which he has corrupted thro’ meer caprice, for *his* reading *hic*, without any authority.

4. *IS.* (1.) *Buchanan* knew well the common use of *is*, that it begins a sentence after a man’s name is mentioned, concerning whom a fact is to be related : but at the same time he knew that the pronouns *is* and *ille* are sometimes elliptically understood, as *Ruddiman*, Latin grammar, part 2. pag. 26. proves by two examples. *Nep.* XVI. 5. 3. “ *cujus belli cum ei summa esset, et eique cum exercitu profectus esset,*” for *eique is cum exercitu*. *Plaut. Epidic.* V. 252. “ *Ain’ tu te illius invenisse filium. Ep. inveni, & domi est ?*” for *& illa domi*. The same *Ruddiman* tells us, that *Scioppius* and *Vossius*

have observed, that this ellipse of the pronoun is pretty frequent in *Livy*, *Cæsar* and *Hirtius*. And yet the same *Ruddiman* has censured *lib. 4. cap. 16. pag. 57. c* on the XIth king, *Durftus* son of *Finnan*, as obscure. *nec ulla tamen res æquè desiderium ejus auxit, ac Dursti filii qui ei successit, vita in omnia vitia projecta. paternos primum amicos, ut molestos voluptatum suarum interpellatores a se ablegavit,*” ——— The critic would have it made plainer by saying *Is paternos primum amicos*, tho’ it be plain enough without *is*.

(2.) *Lib. 1. cap. 30. pag. 12. d.* On *Stranaver*. “*Eam meridie Rossia claudit, ab occasu & septentrione mare Deucaledonium eam alluit, ab oriente Cathanesiam congrui.*” Here *Ruddiman* affirms that the repetition of the word *eam* is not at all necessary, and conjectures that it had been more elegant to have said *Cathanesia* than *Cathanesiam*. But if the author had omitted *eam*, ’tis not only but the critic would have censured him as having used an inaccurate expression, since without repeating *eam*, which is rather \* a beauty than a blemish, I could easily prove, *mare Deucaledonium* might be taken, not for the nominative agreeing with *claudit*, but for the accusative governed by it. As for the author’s varying the construction, *Ruddiman* but three pages before assures us, there are examples of it to be found in good writers. See note on *lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 3.*

*Cic. pro A. Cæcina.* “non fuisse armatos eos, qui saxa errent, quæ de terra ipsi tollerent : — non fuisse armatos eos, qui prætereuntes ramum defringerent arboris : —” *pro Archia poëta.* “adsunt Heraclienses legati, notissimi homines, qui hujus judicii causâ, cum mandatis, & publico testimonio venerunt,” strike the last *eos* and the *cum* out of these sentences; and you spoil their beauty, & render them lame.

(3.) *Lib. 9. cap. 20. pag. 160. d 11. of David Bruce* party. "Proreges creant Robertum Stuartum etſi adoleſcentem, tamen qui expeditiones has leuioreſ animi ſui obſides erga patriam dediffet : & Joannem Randolphum patre, ac fratre viris clariffimis dignum. Is cum ſatis valida manu ad regiones in ſeptentriones verſiſſimul concurrentibus ad eum quos immoderati Anglorum imperii pertæſum erat, Dauidem Cuminium ſubſtituta animorum inclinatione illa perterritum in Abria uſque perſequitur." After *Ruddiman* had miſpointed the firſt of theſe ſentences, by putting a *comma* for a *colon* after *dediffet*, he tells us, that it is not clear enough whether the author means the earl of *Murray* as *Boëthius* has it, or *Robert Stewart*, or both, as the *extra* have it ; and he obſerves that they forced the earl of *Athol* to yield, before they were choſen governours, *Boëthius* writes, and is confirmed by what follows. B. 1. How *Buchanan* by the ſingular pronoun *is* ſhould mean the earl of *Murray* and *Robert Stewart* both, not eaſy to underſtand. 2. *Major* ſays, as *Buchanan*, that *Robert Stewart* and *Randolph* earl of *Murray* were choſen wardens of the kingdom, before the latter compelled *Athol* to ſwear fealty to *David Bruce*, which he did according to *Fordun*, September 27th 1334. And it were more regular that *Randolph* ſhould be ſent with authority againſt *Athol*, than go of his own head. However both accounts may be reconciled, by ſuppoſing, either that *Boëthius* relates theſe two tranſactions according to the order of time, or rather that *Stewart* and *Randolph* were firſt choſen governors at *Edinburgh*, and their power afterwards confirmed at *Perth*.

(4.) *Lib. 12. cap. 56. pag. 237. d 8.* "Id cum aperta obtinere non poſſet, eos arte capere contendit cum aliis atque aliis ſe reconciliatum ſimulans comitatus ac paulò etiam blandius, quàm principem deceret, accipiebat. After *Ruddiman* had diſjointed this ſentence



by putting a point at *contendit*, he imagines it were better to say *eos accipiebat* in the end of it.

(5.) *Lib. 14. cap. 39. pag. 272. b 2.* “*Joannes [John Armstrang, head of a gang of thieves] Regiis militibus illectus neglecto fidei publicæ diplomate cum circiter quinquaginta equitibus comitatus inermis ad Regem veniret, incidit in exploratores, qui eum velut a se captum ad eum perduxerunt.*” To avoid the harshness of the sound of *eum-ad eum*, *Ruddiman* corrects the first edition printed by the author’s MS. revised and corrected, and for *ad eum* reads *ad Regem*, the author having considered the sound of *eum—ad eum* as less harsh than that of *ad Regem—eum—ad Regem*.

(6.) *Lib. 15. cap. 2. pag. 281. e 5.* “*Erant autem ex ordine supremo septem.*” And why not *ei* in the nominative as well as *eis* in the dative and ablative plural? *Ruddiman* for *ei* reads *ii*, without any authority, and affirms that the former is never to be found in the plural number, as some grammarians have falsely imagined. But that *Ruddiman*, who has been styled the first grammarian of the age, is here grossly mistaken, is plain from *Plaut. Pseud. 3. 2. 30.* “*ei homines cœnas sibi coquunt.*” But because *Ainsworth* rejects this authority as antique, I shall adduce that of *Cicero de lege Agraria ad populum.* “*Majores nostri non solum id, quod a Campanis ceperant, imminuerunt, verum etiam quod ei tenebant, quibus adimi jure non poterant cœmerunt.*” The common copies have *quod et tenebant*: but that *ei* is the true reading, says *Lambin*, “*vincunt libri veteres, vincit et ratio quæ non minus potest, et admonuit Lauredanus,*” a Venetian nobleman, who was both an orator and a philosopher. *Cic. ad Famil. 1. 2.* “*Multi rogabantur, atque id ipsum consulibus invitis. Nam ei Bibuli sententiam valere cupiunt.*” In the same *Cicero Tusc. lib. 2.* as *Lambin* has published from an old MS. we find *eidem* the compound of *is* in the nominative

tive plural. "Græci autem homines non satis animos prudentes, ut est captus hominum, satis hostem adspicere non possunt, *eidem* toleranter atque humanè ferunt." *Fra. Modius* on *Livy* 34. 5. *Dii quoque novi*, observes that the MSS. have *Dei quoque novi*. So in *Cic. N. D. Dei*, *Deis* plural. And which will appear as odd as any of the above instances, in several places of *Cicero* we find *hæc* the femin. plural, *Tusc. qu. lib. 4. cap. 36.* "quæ igitur *hæc* erunt moles?" So the *Vatican* and other MSS. *ib. 5. 30. hæc* de finibus *sententiæ*, and so *cap. 31.*

(7.) *Lib. 19. cap. 7. pag. 369. b 10.* "atque ab eo tempore *Reginæ* *Bodius* adversus veteres amicos *omnium consiliorum ejus fuit particeps.*" *Ruddiman* having proposed to improve his author into all possible perfection, and imagining that he could render this sentence more graceful than *Buchanan* had done, for *omnium consiliorum ejus fuit particeps*, which he owns is tolerable and is in all the editions save that of *Mosman*, reads *omnium consiliorum fuit particeps*, striking out *ejus*; and at the same rate *meorum* might be rased out of the following passage of *Cicero*, *ad Attic. 1. 15.* "Tu autem, qui sapientissime curam, & angorem animi mei, sermone, & consilio levasti tuo, qui *mibi* & in publica re socius, & in privatis omnibus conscius, *omnium meorum sermonum & consiliorum particeps* esse soles, ubi nam es?"

5. *IDEM. (1.) lib. 2. cap. 26. pag. 34. a 7.* "Ebora, quæ *Cerealis*, vel *Ebora*, quæ *felicitas Julia* Hispaniæ cognominatur."—Here *Ruddiman* reads *Liberaltas Julia*, owning that all the editions read *felicitas* and refers us to *Pliny*, 4. 22. where *Olisippo* is called *Felicitas Julia*, and to *Buchanan lib. 2. cap. 36. p. 39. 12.* where *Ebora* is called *liberalitas Julia*. But it appears that *Ruddiman*, ignorant of the meaning of *idem* in the passage of *Pliny* to which he refers, has corrupted *Buchanan's* text. *Pliny's* words are "Olyssippo, *felicitas Julia* cognominatum. Oppida veteris Latii *Ebora*"

ora, quod idem [the edition 1631 reads *item*] *Liberata Julia*, et Myrtilis ac Salacia, quæ diximus." It is plain he speaks of *Felicitas* and *Liberalitas* as synonymous: quod idem *Liberalitas Julia*, which town *Ebora* as well as *Olyssippo* is surnamed *Felicitas* or *Liberalitas Julia*. I shall only mention two passages of *Virgil* and one of *Suero*. to shew that *idem* signifies also, likewise, as well as. *Æn. lib. 3.* "Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos." *ibid. lib. 5.* "Solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra. *Idemque* ad tumulum, quo maximus occubat Hector, Victorem Buten immani corpore, qui se Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat." Cic. *Attic. 12. 28.* "Et de hac re quid tui consilii sit, mihi persuasum est: & eo magis quod *idem* tibi intellexi videri me ab Oppio & Balbo valde diligere."

(2.) *Lib. 8. cap. 43. pag. 146. e 4.* "Scripserunt *idem* Hiberni etiam ad Pont. Rom. ferè in eandem sententiam." And *lib. 17. cap. 17. p. 331. d 5.* "Nunc autem *idem* illi fortasse non sunt eodem erga me animo, non secus, ac pueri, qui inter quiescendum poma sibi per somnum oblata exultant, mox mane experrecti, ac suapte decepti gaudium in lachrymas commutant." Now it may be the same persons are not of the same mind towards me, as children that dream that apples are given them are greatly joyed, but in the morning when they are awaked, and find themselves deceived, they fall a weeping:——It seems *Ruddiman* has been dreaming when he corrected these passages, in both which for *idem* he reads *iidem*, and in the last of them, upon the authority of the two *Elzevir* and *Mosman's* editions, inserts in *ob* before *poma*, which he acknowledges is wanting in the first edition, and in those of *Geneva* and *Frankfort*, ignorant of the ellipse of the verb *esse*, than which there is none more common in *Latin* authors, and that the manner of the antients was to write *Dīs* for *Diis*, *īs* for *iis*, [*īdem* for *iisdem*, *īdem* for *iidem*, &c.



&c. *Sall.* Jug. 27. "*idem illi ministri regis,*" c. 3. "*homines nocentissimi, idemque superbissimi.*" *Caes.* ad Fam. 4. 9. "*isdem igitur de rebus, etiam, atque etiam hortor.*" *Quintil.* 5. 4. "*isdem in armis fui.*"

(3.) *Lib.* 12. *cap.* 49. *pag.* 235. b 4. *eodem die,* that is the same day that the duke of Gloucester refused to hearken to the remonstrances which the Scotch nobility had made by their deputies concerning returning the money received for the dower of the princess Cecily, affianced to James III's son, and touching the surrender of the castle of Berwick, or at least not assisting the besieged: that *same day* the earl of Argyle, the chancellor and the bishops of St. Andrews and Dumblane sent their letters patents to Alexander duke of Albany, promising to procure him a general pardon of all bygones, and to cause him to be restored to his whole estate. Ruddyman by the help of Rymér's *fœdera* has made a discovery, which he says can by no means be struck out of Buchanan's text, that it was on the 2d of August 1482. i. e. he would have Buchanan a meer journalist, minutely marking every day as is done in the *Caledonian Mercury* or other such gazettes. It is plain from Buchanan's text that midsummer was past *adulta jam æstate* when Gloucester brother of Edward IV began his march toward Scotland and stopped at Berwick, and that the day in question has been some time before Aug. 26, 1482. If there be any defect of chronology here, the same may be observed of the critic himself, who in his last piece *pag.* 10. has thought fit to tell us, that "he was but 10 years, two months, and 19 days old, when he saw his father weep upon the death of K. Charles II." For tho' history informs us that that prince died 6th of Febr. 1684, yet we know not the interval of time between that event and the news of it reaching Mr. Ruddyman's father, and so cannot precisely know the son's age. There is here also a defect in point of history: we

are

re not told whether the son be a cavalier by *hereditary* right, or whether the father was not of the disposition of a Greek peasant of old, who said after the death of a tyrant, *resodiò Antigonom*; or of the old woman in comedy, who being asked by the last *Dionysius*, why she prayed for his life, made him this answer, "I have seen the death of several tyrants, and the successor was always worse than the former: then camest thou, worse than all the rest, and if thou wert gone, I fear what would become of us, if we should have a worse still." There is a defect in the very end of Mr. *Ruddiman's* last performance, where he quotes but two lines of the last stanza of *lib. 3. Od. 26. of Horace*, omitting these two, which render it compleat.

*Vixi puellis nuper idoneus,  
Et mi'tavi non sine gloria :*

6. *QUIS* for *quisque*, *lib. 1. cap. 49. pag. 21. b 3.* accounting for the extreme poverty of the inhabitants of the *Fair isle* between *Orkney* and *Schetland*, "*Pisces enim, qui ex Anglia, Hollandia, cæterisque propinquis Oceano regionibus, quæ piscatum in illa maria singulis annis præternavigant, omnia pro arbitro rapiunt, & ferunt.*" *Ruddiman* strikes out *quæ*, which is to be found in all former editions, and gives a very shrewd reason for it, namely, that not the countries, but the fishers that inhabit them sail by. He did not see the figure *trajectio*, or *hyperbaton* which is here used, and was familiar to *M. Cicero's* brother *de petitione consulatus* of which I shall only mention that passage in *cap. 8.* "ita cum & hos ipsos, propter suam ambitionem, qui apud tribules suos plurimum gratia possunt, tui studiosos in centuriis habebis" and not *qui propter suam ambitionem*. *Virg.* "*Saxa vocant Itali mediis quæ in fluctibus aras.*" Neither did our critic know that *Buchanan* uses *quæ* for

for *quæque*, in imitation of the best *Latin* writers, and that he is to be understood as saying *piscatores rapium ferunt omnia quæque*. Liv. lib. 2. "Qui ante nexi fuerant creditoribus tradebantur, & necdebantur alii. Quo ubi *cui* militi inciderat, collegam appellabat, concursus ad Servilium fiebat: illius promissa jactabant, illi exprobrabant sua *quisque* belli merita." So *uter* for *ut* *terque* and *cujusmodi* for *cujusmodicunque* in Cicero, *quacunque* in Ovid, *quæque* for *quæcunque* in M. Seneca, *quandoque* for *quandocunque* in Horace, *quamvis* for *quantumvis* and *quamlibet* for *quantumlibet* in Buchanan and other authors.

(2.) Lib. 15. cap. 60. pag. 301. d 8. "Scoti, qui *cui* proximum erat, domos redierunt," so the first edition printed by the author's MS. revised and corrected by himself, but *Ruddiman* by another MS. to which the author had not put his last hand, has printed *cuique*. Cic. pro Sextio. "Qui autem ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia optimo *cui* probarentur, optimates habebantur." So *Lambin* from an old MS. and not *cuique* as the common copies.

7. QUI for *ut*. (1.) lib. 2. cap. 45. pag. 43. a 12. "Atque hæc res parum animadversa Hectorem Boëthium opinor fefellit *qui* cum Silures, & Brigantes alicubi legisset Scotos appellari, utpote ex Hibernia oriundos eos in parte regni Scotorum in Albido collocaret;" *Ruddiman* conjectures it should either be *collocavit*, or that for *qui* we should read *ut*, discovering his total ignorance of *qui* being elegantly put for *ut* in the best writers Cicero, "non tam insolens sum, non tam ineruditus, *qui* Minervam Jovis sororem [or *filiam*] meam esse sororem existimem," Id. de finib. bon. Quis enim est tam inimicus, &c. *qui* spernat &c. *qui* dicat, &c.

(2.) Lib. 14. cap. 51. pag. 275. d 11. "Hamiltonii occulte, quod proximi essent hæredes, id laborabant, ne Rex uxorem duceret, liberosque relinqueret, *qui* eos a successione



accessione regni *excluderet*." This passage *Ruddiman* has corrupted by reading *excluderent*, without pretending any reason for so doing. *Ter. Andr. Act. 2. Sc. lin. 7.* "Ah quanto satius est *te id dare operam, qui* *id* *magis libido frustra incendatur tua ?*"

(3.) The beauty of the following passage *lib. 16. cap. lib. pag. 320. b 11.* has likewise been defaced by *Ruddiman*, reading *impetraret* for *impetrarent*. "Restabat unica spes ab Anglis, sed lenta nimis videbatur: tantum privatim suorum amicorum fidem experiri *decreverunt*: atque ad equites duos notæ virtutis (qui tum *servici publicis muniis præfecti erant*) *Radulpum Sadernum, & Jacobum Crostum mittunt Joannem Cocburnum Ormistonium, qui vel modicam ad remedium præsentis necessitatis impetrarent pecuniam*" *Cic. ad Attic. 9.* "misit ad me statim qui salutem nuntiaret." *Id. Fam. 4. 12.* "se à Marcello missum esse qui hæc nuntiaret, & rogaret, uti cogerem medicos." *Id. Philipp. 6.* "Mittuntur qui nuntient, ne oppugnent consulem, &c. *Cæs. B. C. 1. 3.* "dicuntur etiam à nonnullis sententia, ut legati ad Cæsarem mittantur, qui voluntatem senatus ei proponant." Others moved that *deputies should be sent to Cæsar to acquaint him with the pleasure of the senate.* *Ruddiman* ignorant of another elegance, has corrupted an equal number of passages where we have

8. QUI for *quia*. (1.) *lib. 5. cap. 2. pag. 74. b 4.* "Magna utrinque cæde edita Romani superiores qui brevi in Gallias erant redituri, contenti hostes repressisse vallum Severi pluribus locis dirutum restitunt." *Ruddiman* reads *quia*, because the MS. not corrected by the author has it so. *Cic.* "peccasse mihi videor, qui à te discesserim." *Ter.* "Omitto istam tristitiam, qui quidem te habeam fratrem"

(2.) *lib. 20 cap. 29. pag. 395. a 9.* On the taking of the strong castle of *Dumbarton*, "Tum ei Joannes Flami-

Flaminius nomine Reginæ exulantis præerat. Et per se Regis factioni par viribus non erat, etsi in cæde prioris Regis non consenserat, tamen ad parricidari partes se addixerat :” *Ruddiman* blending both sentences together, for *qui* reads *quia*, in opposition to the authority of the first edition, as he owns himself. *O. Lucull.* “*Soritas* hos vocant, *qui* acervum efficiunt no addito grano.”

(3.) *Dial. de jure regni cap. 43. p. 20.* near the end of the *Æsymnætæ* among the *Greeks* and dictators among the *Romans*. “*Utrique enim tyranni legitimi erant sed tyranni quidem, qui legibus potentiores erant : legi mi autem, qui populi consensu electi.*” So the 2d edition printed in 1580 at *Edinburgh* in the author’s lifetime, in a small *octavo* not in 4to as *Ruddiman*, who has never seen it, has it marked in his list of the editions of the author’s works, for *qui* in both parts of the sentence reading *quia*, without pretending either to reason or authority. *Ter. Adelph. 2. 3. 8.* “*illius opera Syre nunc vivo : festivum caput, Qui omnia sibi post putarit esse præ meo commodo.*” *Cic. Attico 5. 96. 1.* “*Acti maluimus iter facere pedibus, qui incommodissimè navigassemus.*” *Id. pro Rosc. Amer. 31.* “*Domum suam istum non fere quisquam vocabat : nec mirum, qui neque in urbe viveret, neque rure vocaturus esset.*” See more examples in *R. Stephen.*

9. *QUI* repeated in the same sentence, as in the abstract of lord *James’s* answer to the letters sent to him as from the *K. and Q. of France lib. 16. cap. 39. pag. 317. c. 11.* “*Nihil enim ibi quæsitum, nisi divinæ gloriæ illustrationem : cujus consilii pœnitere non esse æquum, cujus habeat auctorem, fautorem, & propugnato rem Christum : quem nisi sponte abnegare vellet, ab incepto desistere non posse.*” As the repetition of *cujus* sounds harsh in Mr. *Ruddiman’s* ears, he proposes in place of the first *cujus* to read *ejus*. I should be glad to know

know how he would new-mould the following sentences in the father of *Roman* eloquence, so as to be less offensive to the most delicate ears of such a squeamish critic. *Cic. pro Q. Roscio Comædo.* “*Quæ cum ita sint, qui sit qui socium fraudârit, & fefellerit, consideremus.*” *Id. in Pisonem.* “*Vereor ne qui sit, qui istius insignem nequitiam frontis involutam integumentis, nondum cernat.*” *Id. pro Cluentio.* “*illi [maiores nostri] non hoc recusabant, ea ne lege accusarentur, quæ nunc Avitus accusatur, quæ tunc erat Sempronia, nunc est Cornelia.*” *Id. Tusc. lib. 2.* “*Quod huic officium, quæ laus, quod decus erit tanti, quod adipisci cum dolore corporis velit, qui dolorem summum malum esse persuaferit.*” *Id. in Catil. 2da.* “*quæ una gens restat, quæ populo R. bellum facere & posse, & non nolle videatur.*” And which is worst of all *de Divin. lib. 1.* “*Namque & Lysandri, qui Lacedæmoniorum clarissimus fuerat, statuæ, quæ Delphis stabat, in capite corona subito exstitit ex asperis herbis & agrestibus: stellæque aureæ, quæ Delphis erant à Lacedæmoniis positæ, post navalem illam victoriam Lysandri, quæ Athenienses conciderant, quæ in pugna quia Castor & Pollux cum Lacedæmoniorum visi esse dicebantur, eorum insignia deorum, stellæ aureæ, quas dixi, Delphis positæ, paullo ante Leuctricam pugnam deciderunt, neque repertæ sunt.*” *Livy* would likewise need to be mended in some places, in order to please Mr. *Ruddiman's* curious ear, *lib. 42. cap. 41.* “*sed vinci non oportuit eum, neque ea quæ accidunt victis pati: quorum casum cum ego subierim qui potest queri sibi accidisse qui causa belli fuit?*”

10. *SUUS. Dial. de jure regni cap. 38. pag. 18.* near the end, comparing a good king to the brazen serpent set up by *Moses* in the wilderness, which cured the bites of other serpents by barely looking at it. “*qui solus sine tua impensa, sine suo labore [without costing you*



expenſe or himſelf pains] omnes regni moleſtias leve  
 perturbationes ſedet, et vetuſta etiam animorum ulcer  
 ad cicatricem brevi perducatur." *Ruddiman* by read  
 ing *sine tuo labore* has altered the author's ſentiment and  
 corrupted his expreſſion, on what authority I know  
 not: for the 2d edition reads *sine ſuo labore*, and ſo  
 the foreign editions.

C H A P

Of verbs. *Mr. Ruddiman's ignorant of their conjugation, use and signification, the cause of many corruptions of Buchanan's text, and of many false criticisms.*

**A**CCERSO is always by Buchanan, except lib. 17. c. 53. p. 343. c 6. "primum injecta mentio de Germanis arcessendis: so it is in the first edition where there seems to be a typographical error, considered as a distinct verb and of a different signification from *arcesso*, according to what we find in *Agræti*us, a famous antient grammarian (with whom *Charisius*, *Diomedes* and a good many others agree) *accersit*, says he, *qui vocat, arcessit, qui accusat, sicut Cicero, nos capitis arcessere*. As to the derivation of *accerso*; *ciere*, says *Perottus*, is *provocare* & *quasi eis, hoc est citra movere*. He adds, we say also *cio*, as in the 4th conjugation, whence *accire* i. e. *advocare*, and from *accire* are derived *accersire* and *deaccire* of the same signification with it. *Valla* lib. 1. c 23. *arceo, arcesso, accio, accerso* or *accersio*; of which last he gives an example from the Latin translation of the N. Testament, "Mitte in Jopen, et *accersi* Simonem quendam, qui cognominatur Petrus." *Pareus* is positive that *accerso* is more antient than *arcesso*, and thinks both are Latin. But this difference has been confounded by *M. Ruddiman* in his edition of *Buchanan*, where we find *arcesso* always written for *accerso*: so *Lambin* in his edition of *Cicero* turns *accio* into *arcio* and *accerso* into *arcesso*; and both wrong: for an editor ought not to assume the liberty of changing any thing which there is reason to believe the author wrote; and, according to *Ruddiman* himself, what we find in all the editions of *Buchanan* probably came from the author's hand. *Davies*, who follows *Vossius*, as he did *Scaurus*, and is of o-

pinion that there is no such verb as *accersso*, and that *arcesso* alone is to be used in place of both, signifying *to call or send for* as well as *to accuse*; *Davisius*, I say on *Tusc.* 4. 32. owns that *Froben's* edition has *accersier* according to *Petreius' MS.* and the antient editions; to pass over a vast number of passages of other authors where *accersso* is to be found.

2. ADHIBEO. *epigram* 1. 15. 2. "nec nisi juratis *adhibere fidem*." on which *Ruddiman* has this note, and he calls it: "See *Ker's Observ. select.*" who looks upon the criticism as of little or no importance. On *miscell.* 15. 1. "Fama levis (si certa *fides adhibenda* poetis." I have already noted on *ep.* 15. 2." (tho' it be nothing but a reference to *Ker*, without telling us one word of what he says) "that *adhibere fidem* is not used in this sense (of believing or giving credit he must mean without saying what other sense) "by any of the purest writers of the *Latin* tongue. But *Buchanan* seems to have had in his eye that passage of *Ausonius*, "si quæ *fides falsis unquam est adhibenda* poetis." However he had better have said *addenda* in imitation of *Ovid Met.* 15. 361. "si qua *fides* rebus tamen est *addenda* probatis, altho' even there in some MSS. *Nic. Heinsius* found *adhibenda*." And to confirm the authority of these parchments, it may be observed, that not only do we find the phrase *fidem adhibere* in the common copies of *Cor. Nepos*, *Themist.* 7. but also in *Cicero de Divinat. lib. 2* quoted by *Borrichius*, "insanorum visis *fides non est adhibenda*, quod falsa sint &c. where *Ker* observes that *P. Victorius* chuses to read *fides habenda*, without determining whether he be in the right. And tho' in *Plautus* *fidem adhibere* signifies *to be faithful*, or *to use integrity* yet that does not prove the phrase to be taken in no other sense by good authors, any more than *fidem habere* in *Cicero* signifying *to believe*, or *give credit*, proves that the



the same phrase in *Terence* has the same meaning, *Eun.* 1. 2. 59. where it signifies *to promise, si fidem habeat*, (if I'll promise him) à me acceptam nempe, sibi à me dātam, h. e. *si promiserō*. This is the interpretation of a great master both of the *Latin* and *English* languages, *Ruddiman* himself being judge in his preface to *Willyam's Ovid's decerpta* published by him in 1733. Nor is it an uncommon thing for simple and compound verbs to admit of the same signification. We find *Scaliger* and *H. Stephen* using *fidem adhibere* in the same sense as *Buchanan*, and as the following author quoted by *Charron de la Sa-geſſe* liv. 1. c 7. “*Majorem fidem homines adhibent iis, quæ non intelligunt: cupiditate humani ingenii libentius obscura creduntur.*”

3. *ADSCRIBO*. *Ieph.* p. 10. v. 92. “*Deum crudelitati define adscribere tuæ.*” *Ruddiman* conjectures that the author wrote *inscribere*, in imitation of *Ovid. Met.* 15. 127. “*ipſos inſcripſere deos ſcleri.*” i. e. that *Buchanan* was a servile copier of the antient poets; tho’ the critic owns he was an original genius, and here seems to have imitated *Ovid’s* construction, and to have borrowed *adscribo* from *Cicero*, de *Invent.* “*hoc incommodum Scipioni adscribendum videtur,*” h. e. *impudendum*. Id. “*neque enim mihi negligentiam velim adscribas.*”

4. *APPORTO*. *hiſt. lib.* 1. cap. 50. p. 21. c 3. “*In hac habitare dicitur Bremensis mercator, qui omnes merces exoticas, quarum illic usus abunde omnibus ſup-  
peditet, apportet.*” A merchant of *Bremen*, ’tis said, resides in this wild island of *Zeal*, who imports foreign goods, and by that means furnishes all the inhabitants with plenty of necessaries. So *Ruddiman* owns it is in all the editions; but imagining the word *apportet* to have been foisted in by some ignorant transcriber, because the MS. not corrected by the author wants it, he has rased it out, adding another imagination that by ta-

king the verb *suppeditet* absolutely, that is in the same sense as *suppetat*, some meaning might be put on the above sentence as it stands in all former editions, tho' it is plain the verb *suppeditet* is there taken actively, and the adding of *apportet* makes the sense fuller. *Ruddiman*'s ignorance of the ellipsis of the conjunction *et* has been one reason of his corrupting this passage.

5. ASCENDO. *lib. 18. cap. 49. pag. 364. b* c  
 "Cum in diversorium *ascenderat*, mulier una è turba bene precata est. Illa ad populum conversa subiecit præter alias minas, se urbem incensuram, ac sanguine perfidorum civium incendium restincturam." When *Q. Marcius*, (whom the nobility had made a prisoner for the murder of the king her husband and marrying *Bothwell* the chief murderer) had got as far up the street of the city of *Edinburgh* as to the lodging, one woman of the multitude cried, *God save the queen*. She turning about to the people, by way of reply added this to other menaces, that she would set fire to the city, and quench the burning flame with the blood of the traitorous citizens. *Ruddiman* for *ascenderat* reads *ascenderet* without authority, and so has spoiled the sense of this passage; for according to his reading, the meaning would be, that the *Q.* was within the lodging, going up stairs, when she uttered her threats against the town of *Edinburgh*. "vestram *ascendisset in urbem* had come up to your city." *Virg. Æn. 2. 192.* *Ruddiman* has corrupted a multitude of passages, by changing the moods and tenses of verbs.

6. ASSEDEO. *lib. 19. cap. 54. pag. 385. d* 11  
 "ut quoties à bello vacaret, totum diem iudicium collegio *assederet*." *Ruddiman*, unacquainted with the manner of the antients, reads *assideret*. *Cic. Attic. 14. 9.* "ad quem [*Balbus*] a Vetere litteræ datæ pridie Kal. Jan. cum à se *Cæcilius* circum *federetur*, the common copies *fideretur*."

7. AUGEO

7. AUGEO. *lib. 18. cap. 31. pag. 357. b c.* "Hæc  
 molesta erant, vulgi tamen moestitia tacita tanto  
 magis *augebat* ferox Reginæ ingenium, quanto visa,  
 quam audita altius *in animo penetrant*" *Ruddiman* has  
 corrupted this sentence by turning *augebat* into *angebat*,  
 and *animo* into *animos* contrary to all the editions. *Sil.*  
*lib. 15.* "——— *præmissa feroces Augebant animos*  
*argenti pondera, & auri Parta metalliferis longo dis-*  
*crimine terris."* *Sall. Jug. 38.* "Jugurthæ, Bestiæque,  
 & cæteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat, *animi augeſcunt.*"  
 As for *in animo* turned into *in animos*, it seems owing to  
*Ruddiman*'s ignorance of *in* governing the accusative or  
 ablative promiscuously without regard to grammatical  
 motion or rest, and he has wilfully corrupted another  
 passage in the same manner, contrary to the 1st and  
 some other editions, *lib. 15. cap. 65. pag. 303. a 5.*  
*Maxima parte hominum secutas calamitates in reli-*  
*gione vertente" i. e.* as Mr. *T. Crawford* rightly explains  
 it, thinking they came from God's justice punishing the  
 innocent death of Mr. *Wiseheart*. *Ruddiman* reads *in*  
*religionem.*

8. COEMO. *lib. 1. cap. 51. quos [scalmos] factos*  
*emunt i. e. simul emunt* (quoted before *chap. v. p. 310.*)  
 for which *Ruddiman* reads *quas factas*. *Coemptio* among  
 the Romans was a form of the civil law, where the man  
 and wife, that were to be, did, as it were, buy one ano-  
 ther, so that by that means they had a right to one ano-  
 ther's goods : but, according to *Ruddiman*, the wife  
 bought the man, or the man the wife only : they did  
 not buy one another. *Mart 10. 80.* ——— & *gemitus*  
*animo promit de pectore, quod non Tota miser coëmat*  
*septa, feratque domum."* And fetcheth a sigh from the  
 bottom of his heart, because he can't buy the whole  
 stand of goods and carry them home.

9 COEPI. *lib. 2. cap. 41. pag. 41. d 10.* a refutati-  
 on of *H. Lhuyd*'s lye, "nempe quod *Scoti & Picti* im-  
 perante



perante Romæ Honorio primum in Britannia *cæper*  
*sedes* anno a Christo 420." Here *Rud.* besides changin  
*cæperit* into *ceperint* without any authority, makes *Scot*  
and *Picti* the nom. plur. instead of the genitive sing. and  
*sedes* the accusative plur. instead of the nom. sing. *Enniu*  
"neve inde navis inchoandæ *exordium cæpisset*, qua  
nunc nominatur nomine Argo" *Cic. Attic. 4. 1.* "al  
terius vitæ quoddam *initium ordimur*." *Col. R. R. 3*  
6. of trees. "id enim tempus [quadriennium] fere vi  
rentium generositatem declarat, quo sol in eandem par  
tem signiferi per eosdem numeros redit, per quos cur  
sus sui *principium cæperat*." *Liv. 44. 31.* "Et *princi*  

*pium* orationis ab accusatione stultitiæ *orsus suæ*." These  
expressions will justify that of *primum cæperit*. The  
singular is put for the plural, *Flor. 2. 2.* "affectaba  
autem ut *Romanus*, ita *Poenus*, Siciliam, & eodem tem  
pore, paribus *uterque* votis ac viribus imperium orbis a  
gitalat." But as the Romans coveted Sicily, so did the  
*Carthaginians*, and both with equal wishes and strength  
at the same time aimed at universal monarchy. In *Cic*  
in *Verr. lib. 4.* we find *sedes* plural for the singular *basis*  
"Speaking of an image of *Diana* transported from *Se*  
*gesta* to *Carthage*, and after the latter was taken by *Sci*  

*pio Africanus* in the 3d *Punic* war, gifted by him, and  
brought back to *Segesta*, in *suis antiquis sedibus* summa  
cum gratulatione civium & lætitia reponitur." Which  
*Verres* forced from them, after he had caused them suf  
fer many evils, and put them under apprehensions of  
suffering more for their refusal. "Hæc erat posita *Se*  
*gestæ* sane excelsa in *basi*." By the way we may observe  
that in the antient writers and grammarians *sedum* is the  
gen. plural of *sedes*. *Cic. pro P. Sextio.* "vestiarium  
*sedum*, templorumque causa."

On the subject of the antiquity of the settlement of  
the Scots in Britain *M. Ruddiman*, always like himself,  
that is always inconsistent, has the following note on

2. cap. 39. p. 40. b 11. that *Usher*, the bishop of St. Asaph, *Stillingfleet*, &c. treading the steps of *H. Lhuyd*, have endeavoured to prove that it is not a very long time since the *Scots* and *Picts* came into *Albion*, principally with this design, that the *Scots* might not get the start of their *English* with regard to the honour of antiquity: but that the *Scots* want not their defenders, who prove by invincible arguments (*invictis rationibus ostendunt*) that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain* many ages before the *Saxons* came into it; and among these defenders of the antiquity of the *Scots*, sir *George Matkenzie*, *James Dalrymple*, *Patrick Abercrombie* are expressly named. In his answer to Mr. Logan's treatise on government the same *Ruddiman* pag. 47. supposes the antiquity of his nation as a real fact. "That *Fergus I.* he was a chief prince among the people of whom the *Scots* themselves were descended, he can hardly be called a foreigner." But in pag. 60. of the same answer I believe we have no account of the kings before *Fergus II.* but what were formed out of *Boëthius's* or some other as *id'e head*, and so not to be regarded." In another place of the same answer Mr. *Ruddiman* reproaches Mr. Logan with a fault, of which not Mr. Logan, but himself, by his own confession, is guilty. "Here our author takes occasion to run down the antiquity of his own nation, by cutting off forty of our kings before *Fergus II.* I have acknowledged with him that these kings before *Fergus II.* are all fictitious." Pag. 97. and following, he reasons from the antiquity of our settlement as a real fact, and endeavours to prove "that the oath given to *Fergus I.* giving the crown to him and his posterity is still binding," and says "the *Scots* have religiously observed it to this day:" and in the same place "that what *Boece* and our other historians that follow him speak of *Feritharis Fergus's* brother (but not his descendent) being preferred to the throne immediately

ately after his decease, is enough to convince *Ruddiman* (the first article of whose creed is *hereditary right*) that what they say concerning that king *Feritharis*, is absolutely false.

10. *COLLIGO*. *lib. 2. cap. 38. pag. 16. c. 4.* on the isle *Rum* or *Ruma*, “ quia raris in locis habitata est, ves marinæ passim in campis ova ponunt, quorum quantum libet quivis vere adulto colliget. *Ruddiman* without so much as pretending either to reason or authority reads *colligit*.”

11. *COMMITTO*. *Detect. p. 22. l. 15.* “ *Committamus* ei nostram salutem, quæ soror fratrem, uxor maritum, Regina Regem excarnificavit? *Committamus* nostram salutem ei, quam nunquam pudor a libidine, sexus a crudelitate, ab impietate religio revocavit? *Committamus* veniam ætati, sexui, errori, cum nullis odiorum justis causis, in propinquo, Rege, marito, hæc omnia contempserit? *May we commit* our safety to her who a sister, hath butcherly slaughtered her brother, wife her husband, and a queen her king? *May we commit* our safety to her, whom never shame restrained from unchastity, woman-kind from cruelty, nor religion from impiety? *Shall we bear with* her age, sex and unadvisedness, that without all just causes of hatred, despise all these things in her kinsman, her king, her husband. As *committamus* *veniam* to *Ruddiman* appears an uncouth expression, he imagines that *Buchanan* wrote *concedamus*, which the transcriber has by a wrong cast of his eye changed into *committamus*: but as the greatest master of fine love variety, and particularly not to use the same word always in the same sense, and as this sense of *committo* is to be found in *Cicero*, there is no reason to doubt but *Buchanan* wrote *committamus* *veniam*. *Nonius* tells us, that *committere* signifies *donare, derelinquere*, quoting *M. Tul. in Verrem actione 2.* “ Is calumniatores ex finu suo opposuit, qui illam hæreditatem *Veneri Erycinæ commissam* dicerent.”

12. *COMPERIOR*



12. COMPERIOR. *hist. lib. 19. cap. 43. p. 382. a*

“ac si *compererentur* contra *leges factæ*,” *Ruddi-*  
man unacquainted with the manner of the antients, reads  
*comperirentur*. He had done well to have followed the  
example of *Hadrian de Valois Valesiana p. 117, 118.*  
who finding *poteretur* in a copy of verses that had been  
sent him, and not remembering to have read it in any  
good and antient author, he wrote to father *Labbe*, who  
returned the following answer. “Monsieur, I have  
marked in my *analecta prosodica p. 362. Ovidius* : Tu-  
is tuis armis, nos te *poteremur*, *Achille. Ausonius* :  
ortis progressis ut *potereris* equis. I have also made  
mention of the 51. letter of *S. Augustin*, where he speaks  
of the quantity of *potitur*. I might formerly have re-  
marked other passages, but I don't remember them.”

13. COMPROBO. *lib. 20. cap. 42. pag. 400. b 9.*

*nostramque causam comprobent.*”—an archaism, with  
which the foreign editors being unacquainted, have  
spoiled the beauty of this passage, reading *cum probent* ;  
and *Ruddiman* follows them. *Meursius cap. 4. ad Mer-*  
*itorem Plauti, 5. 2. 81.* “Qui isti credam, *commora-*  
*ty, chlamydem sumam denuo,*” observes, that the an-  
tients wrote *com* for *cum*, tho' the common copies of  
*Plautus* read *commoratur* in two words *cum moratur*, just  
as the later editions of *Buchanan* have *cum probent* for  
*comprobent*.

14. CONCEDO. *lib. 16. cap. 9. pag. 307. e.* “qui-

us malis corporis, & animi vires labefactatæ virtuti  
malorum tolerantia exercitatæ facile concedunt,” — On  
this passage *Ruddiman* has a blind conjecture, that *Bu-*  
*chanan* wrote *concidunt* ; but, to do him justice, in his  
MS. reply to *Peter Burman's* notes, he is for cancelling  
this note, and wonders how *Burman*, that had such a  
quick eye at spying other mens faults, had taken no no-  
tice of this,

15. CONVENIO.

15. **CONVENIO.** *lib. 15. cap. 19. p. 287. c*  
*Matthew Stewart* earl of *Lennox* desirous to give  
*Hamiltons* some signal defeat before he left *Scotla*  
held a conference with *William* earl of *Glencairn* :  
result was, the appointing of a day, on which he (*Len*  
*nox*) should meet at *Glasgow* with his friends (of wh  
*Glencairn* was the chief) and dependers, and from the  
he and they, that is *Lennox* with his friends and vassa  
should invade *Clydesdale*, which was possessed by  
*Hamiltons* only or their party, “dies dicitur, quo  
*Glascuam* cum amicis, et clientibus *conveniret*, atque  
de in regionem *Glottianam*, quam soli *Hamiltonii* te  
bant, impetum *facerent*.” *Ruddiman* by the help of  
MS. corrupts this passage, which the author had c  
rected, and turns *conveniret* into *convenirent*, becau  
forsooth, the words *impetum facerent* follow.

16. **DECLINO.** *lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 6. c 8.* “*Mo*  
*marusa* verò à (more) hoc est (mare) *declinat* ultima  
*laba* producta in morem participii græci.” *Ruddim*  
would rather have the reading to be *declinatur*, not  
tending to what *Vossius*, according to him the prince  
grammarians, has observed concerning this among  
ther verbs *lib. 5. cap. 4.* that it is seldom taken in an a  
tive but often in an absolute sense. If our critic wou  
have *declino* to be always active, he may suppose t  
pronoun *se* to be understood, as *me* is expressed in th  
of *Plautus Aulul. 4. 8.* “*Nam ego modo declinavi*  
*pauillum* extra viam.” Many other verbs under an a  
tive form must be understood either in an absolute  
passive sense. I shall only mention *ordino* in *Seneca*  
38. “*multos habes, quorum scripta nescio an sa*  
*ordinent*, that is, *ordinata sint, et materiam disponant*.”

17. **DECURRO.** *lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 8. b 3.* “*A*  
*nandia*——secundum *Soluzæum* in mare *Hibernicu*  
*decurrit*.” *Annandale* runs with a descent along th  
*Solway-frith* towards the *Irish* sea. *Ruddiman* think

the reading should rather be *excurrit*, and tells us, that the Latins say *ager, campus, terra excurrit*, or *procurrit*, but that he does not at all remember *terra decurrit*; as if no Latinity were to be circumscribed within the narrow limits of his frail memory, which that it has deceived him in this, as in many other instances, will evidently appear by the following passages of *Pliny's* natural history. *Lib. 3. cap. 1.* describing *Hispania Tarraconensis*, one of the three antient divisions of Spain, which was larger than the other two, containing now *Gallicia, Navarre, Castile* and *Arragon*. "Hinc affixa *Pyrenæo, totoque ejus latere decurrens*, et simul ad *Galliarum Oceanum, Iberico mari transversa se pandens, Sororio monte et Oretanis jugis, Carpetanisque, et Asturum a Bætica atque Lusitania distinguitur.*" *Lib. 6. cap. 17.* of India, which the attendants of *Alexander the Great* considered as a third part of the then known world, and not without reason, according to *Pliny*. "Seneca etiam apud nos tentata *Indiæ* commentatione LX annes ejus prodidit, gentes duodeviginti centurumque. Par labor sit montes enumerare. Junguntur inter se *Imaus, Emodus, Paropamisus, Caucas* partes, in quibus decurrit in planiciem immensam, & *Ægypto similem.*" Nay not only *terra decurrit* but even *arbor decurrit* is to be found in the same author, *lib. 12, cap. 14.* on *Arabia*. "Attolluntur colles alti, decurruntque & in plana arbores sponte natæ."

18. DICIDOR. *lib. 16. cap. 6. pag. 306. b. 12.* *George Gordon* earl of *Huntly* having been committed to prison for the murder of *William M'Intosh* chief of the *chanchattan*, some of the queen regent's privy council moved that he should be put to death, others, that he should be banished to *France* for some years: but both these opinions were over-ruled by his principal enemy, *Gilbert Kennedy* earl of *Cassillis*. "Eò tandem decursum est, ut pecunia cum eo diceretur,——the result

Q

was,



was, that he should pay a composition, be fined in sum of money, buy himself off. *Ruddiman* reads *deretur*, tho' he did not know but *dicidor* was to be found in some of the antients. We shall shew under the participle *disiccatus* how *Cicero* has been corrupted several places by reading *de-* for *di-* in compound words.

19. DICOR. *lib. 1. cap. 34. pag. 14. c. 8.* “*Bota ab Arania (uti dictum est) octo millia passuum ad orientem æstivum distans.*” *Boot* at eight miles distance to the north east from *Arran*, which we have already described, or according to the description before given. *He* *Od. 2. 12. 10.* “*Pedestribus dices historiis prælia Cæsaris.*” *Crawford* and *Ruddiman* are for expunging the words *uti dictum est*; the latter having put them within brackets, both mistaking the author's meaning, they have mistaken that of *lib. 10. cap. 6. pag. 179. a.* “*Henricus Percius junior, quem Plexippum diximus cognominatum, i. e. Henry Percy the younger whom we mentioned before, and who was called Hotspur.*” *Ruddiman* rejecting *Crawford's* emendation, who proposed to read *dicunt* for *diximus*, has foisted in cognomen *Plexippus* between the words *At Percius* and *uti erat ingens ferox lib. 9. cap. 58. pag. 174. a. 3.*

20. DISCEDO. *lib. 10. cap. 47. pag. 193. a.* “*Cum Rex liberorum orbis, & fraternæ libidini obnoxius ex mœnore subito discessisset*” — *Ruddiman* reads *decessisset*, contrary to all the copies, the MS. not excepted, as he owns himself, because tho' *Cicero* has written *discedere è vita*, yet he does not remember that *discedere* is taken simply for *mori*. Mr. *Ruddiman* is one of those critics whom *Harry Stephen* describes in the preface to his book *de Latinitate falso suspecta*: “they put so much confidence in their memory, tho' none of the most trusty, that, whenever a controversy arises about any word, they will be determined by its sense alone.” M. *Ruddiman's* memory has beguiled him

in the present case. For in *Seneca* ad *Helvium* matrem de consolatione cap. 12. we have *discedere* simply for *mori*. "Attilius Regulus; cum Poenici in *Africa* funderet, ad Senatum scripsit, ut *erectarium* suum *discessisset*." *Cicero* uses *excedere* simply for *mori*, as *Tacitus* *concedere* ann. 4. 38. in other places expressing the word *fato* or *vita* which is there elliptically understood; as we say in *English* to depart this life, or simply to depart. The same *Cicero* *Tusc.* 1. 9. "Qui *discedere* animum censent, &c." *Id.* de *senect.* "animum vero non me deserens, sed velut respectans, in ea profecto fuga *discessit* quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum: sed me ipse consolabar, existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum etsi *discessum* fore." And the word *discessus* very aptly expresses death, not only as it is a departing this life, but as it is a separation of the soul from the body. *Cic.* off. 3. 9. "Cum terra *discessisset*, &c." The earth opening by reason of some violent showers, *Gyges* went down into the hollow of it and found there lying a brazen horse, with a door in its side: so all the old MSS [and not *decessisset*] so *Notius* reads it, and he explains it thus; *hiare, dividere, discedere*: *discessisset* then is the same as *divisa esset, dirupta esset*. So *Plato*, from whom *Cicero* borrowed and translated this passage. So *Virgil* *Æn.* 9. "video medium *discedere* cœlum."

21. **DISPICIO.** *Psal.* 33. ver. 13. "Dispicit mundum pater è beata Cœli stelliferi domo," *Ruddiman* reads *despicit*, contrary to the authority of most copies, as he owns himself; because *Virgil* has "Jupiter æthere summus *despiciens* mare &c. and *Claudian* "ex alta mortalium *despicit* arce." And he explains *despicere* as signifying è superiore loco spectare. *Dispicere* is the same as *providere* or *circumspicere, tanquam in omnem partem lumina intendere, omniaque discernere*, and consequently is a very proper word for expressing the perfection of the divine knowledge

led, e and the watchful care of divine providence. Luc  
 3. 564. "nequit ullam *dispicere* ipse oculus rem." I  
 6. 648. "cunctas in partes *dispiciendum*." Tac. Agri  
 10. 9. "*dispecta* est & Thule,"—where it deserves no  
 tice that in this very passage of *Tacitus*, as quoted by  
*Buchanan lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 46. d 2.* the reading is *d*  
*specia*, for which *Ruddiman*, following the best copies  
 that author, reads *d'specta*. As for the original word  
*Nabhat* (adspexit) in *Hiphil missamaim hibbit* and *Psa*  
 80. 15. *habbet missamaim*, some render it by *respicer*  
 some by *prospicere* or *prospectare* è or *de cælo* or *cælis*.

22. DIVERSO. *hist. lib. 20. cap. 44. pag 400. d 1*  
 "cùm Regina in sua villa, nos Londini *diversaremur*."  
*Ruddiman* after the foreign editions reads *diversaremur*  
 tho' there are a multitude of such deponent verbs to be  
 found in antient writers and grammarians both in the  
 active and passive voice. *Pliny* 19. 6. near the end he  
*commoro*, and *Gellius* 12. 11 *diversans*. "Philosophus  
 nomine Peregrinum, cui postea cognomentum Proteu  
 factum est, virum gravem atque constantem vidimus  
 quum Athenis essemus, *diversantem* in quodam tugurio  
 extra urbem."

23. DOMO. *Franciscan. pag. 9. v. 45.* "terga ca  
 putque columno fuste *domat*," describing the monkish  
 mortifications. The verb *domo* properly *mansuefacio* &  
*quasi domesticum reddo* & metaphorically for *vincere* and  
*superare* has been appositely chosen in this place. *Ci*  
*Nat. D. 2. 64.* "belluæ *domitæ* & condocesfactæ." I  
*de orat. 43* "*domitas* habere libidines." So *Plautus* and  
*Seneca* *animum* or *animum rigentem domare*." *Ruddiman*  
 imagines that *Buchanan* wrote *fuste dolat* in imitation of  
*Horace Sat. 1. 5. 22.* "Ac mulæ nautæque caput lum  
 bosque *saligno Fuste dolat*,"—tho' in his character  
 of *Buchanan* he tells us that he borrowed from the best  
 authors the most apposite phrases in such a manner, that  
 every where they appear to have been peculiarly his  
 own



own. Does not such a wanton critic well deserve *fuisse* [saligno or colurno] *coerceri*, to borrow an expression from the same *Horace*?

24. EFFUNDO. *hist. lib. 6. cap. 21. p. 99. a 12.*

"Puella enim quod de salute Regis, ac fine vitæ proximis diebus quædam temere *effudisset*, capta" —

*Ruddiman*, by *Crawford's* advice, reads *effutisset*, contrary to the authority of all the books, because to him

it seems a much more apposite word than *effudisset*, which at the same time he acknowledges not to be altogether improper; and, agreeably to his own rule, it

ought to have been retained. To justify his reading, he tells us, that, according to *Pompeius Festus*, *futiles*,

whence *effutio* is derived, "dicuntur, qui silere tacenda nequeunt, sed ea *effundunt*;" which rather makes

against it. Nor will the passage of *Ter. Phorm. Act. Sc. 1. 19.* (or rather *act. 4. sc. 6.*) "Ne vos forte imprudentes foris *effutiretis*, atque id porro aliqua uxor mea rescisceret," so much establish the propriety of

*effutisset* in the place in question, as the following passages do that of *effudisset*. *Cic. Att. 16. 7.* "*effudit*

illa omnia quæ tacuerat." *Id. pro Flacco.* "At istud columen actionis tuæ *Mithridates*, posteaquam biduum retentus est testis à nobis, *effudit*, quæ voluit omnia" —

*ibid.* on tampering with an evidence. "Quid tu istum roges, *Læli*, qui, priusquam hoc, Te rogo, dixeris, plura etiam *effundet*, quam tu ei domi ante præscripseris?" *Id.*

*Orator.* "causa [aptæ scil. orationis] sic aperta est, ut mirer, veteres non esse commotos, præsertim cum, ut fit, fortuito sæpe aliquid concludere, apteque dicerent: quod cum animos hominum aureisque pepulisset, ut intelligi posset, id, quod *casus effudisset*, cecidisse iucunde." *Id.* "*Effudi* vobis omnia, quæ sentiebam."

*Senec. epist. 83.* "Onerati mero, quemadmodum non continent cibum, vino redundante, ita ne secretum quiddam: quod suum alienumque est, pariter *effundunt*."

*Gell.*

Gell. 2. 22. "rationesque omnium vocabulorum quia plus paulò addibi, effudissem." *Effutire*, according to Beroaldus, is *ineptè & inconsultè loqui*, according to Nonius, *cum mendacio dicere*: but neither of these interpretations will suit the forecited passage from Buchanan not even the first, without allowing a pleonasm. Nic. Perottus derives *futile* from *fundo*, and *effutio* from *futio* "a *fundo*, cum spargo significat, *futile* vas dictum, la-  
tissimi oris, ex altera parte arctum, quod statim positum effundetur; utebantur eo in sacris Deæ Vestæ, à quibus *futiles* dicti, qui continere tacenda non possunt, sed ea effundunt, & *futire* effluere, à quo *effutire* imprudenter & mendaciter loqui.

25. EJERO. On lib. 20. cap. 36. p. 397. d 11. *regni ejerationem*, Ruddiman observes that *ejuro* & *ejuratio* seem to be more usual than *ejero* and *ejeratio*: and that even Buchanan himself *ib. cap. 40. p. 399. a 12.* calls that *ejuratio* which here he calls *ejeratio*. What then Buchanan loved variety, and has Cicero's authority to bear him out in the present case. *de Orat. 2. 70.* "non ego mihi illum iniquum *ejero*, verum omnibus." I do not except against him as unjust to me, but to all.

26. EXQUÆRO. lib. 4. cap. 32. p. 63. c 3 "cum singulorum sententias *exquæsissem*," Ruddiman, following the foreign editions, reads *exquisissem*. Meursius exerc. critic. part. 1. cap. 4. ad Plauti Aulular. 4. 10. 70. "Intro, *exquiro* sitne ita ut ego prædico." observes that an old MS. has *exquære*; and that this is the true reading he proves by Priscian's authority, who lib. 1. says thus, "quæro, inquirō, *exquiro* quamvis *exquæro* Plautus dixit in Aululariâ. "Intro *exquære* sitne ita &c. "In Captivis 2. 2. 1. adds Meursius, perinan-  
sit hic archaismus: "Jam ego revortar, sequere hac me igitur, eadem ego ex hoc quæ volo *exquæsi* vero." Ca-  
lina 3. 1. 16. "Sed tu cave *inquæ*sitione mihi sis. Ut  
que adero domi." so an old copy reads it. In the com-  
mon

non copies we read *exquæro*, Stich. 1. 2. 51. "Quid  
huc est, quod huc *exquæsitum* mulierum mores venis."  
Attic. 10. 16. "Hæc potius *conquære* de Hispaniis,  
Maffilia." So an antient MS.

27. FACIO. *lib. 7. cap. 32. pag. 121. a 10.* "Sed  
Stephanus nihilo sanctius illic fidem coluit, quam in re-  
mo propinquæ invadendo prius *facerat*." Ruddiman,  
following the foreign editors, he and they alike igno-  
rant of the manner of the antients in forming the prete-  
rite from the present tense, of which I shall adduce ex-  
amples under the verb *premo*, reads *fecerat*.

28. GRAVOR. *lib. 7. cap. 66. p. 132. a 8.* part of  
the glorious character of K. *Alexander III.* "Hac rati-  
one assequebatur, ut totam nobilitatem nosceret, & ab  
omnibus noscitur, nec *populum*, qua ibat, turba auli-  
corum, quæ fere & rapax, & imperiosa est, *gravaretur*."  
Ruddiman, in opposition to all the books printed and  
MS, as he owns himself, has corrupted this passage by  
reading *populus*, alledging that the verb *gravor* is never  
deponent, as some think because it sometimes takes the  
accusative after it, as in *Silius* 2. 594. *lucemque gravan-*  
*tur*, where *ob* or *propter* is elliptically understood, which  
it cannot be in the above cited sentence. But here he  
discovers his gross ignorance. Had he consulted *Gelli-*  
*us* 18. 12. he would have told him, that the putting of  
active for passive verbs and *vice versa* is a kind of ele-  
gance of style, as *Plautus* says *contemplo* for *contemp'or*,  
*Varro*, *mutant* for *mutantur*, most elegantly, says *Gellius*,  
and he adds, that passives for actives are to be found in  
almost all the writings of the antients, of which he sets  
down the following instances upon memory, *muneror* for  
*munero*, *significor* for *significo*, *sacrificor* for *sacrifico*, *assen-*  
*tior* for *assentio*, *feneror* for *fenero*, *pigneror* for *pignero* and  
the like. The same *Gellius* would have taught our cri-  
tic 15. 14. that *populum gravaretur* is a Grecism like  
that in *Cæcilius*, "Ego illud minus nihilo exigor por-  
torium



*torium*, that is, nihilominus exigitur de me portorium  
*Ruddiman* might have learn'd from *Quin.* 9. 3. that the  
 are such figures in verbs “*fiunt & figuræ in verbis, ut*  
*bricatus est gladium & inimicos punitur est.* Quod mirum  
 nus est, quod in natura verborum est, & quæ faci  
 patiendi modo sæpe dicere, ut *arbitror, suspicor* : & co  
 tra faciendi quæ patimur, ut *vapulo*, ideoque frequ  
 permutatio est, & pleraque utroque modo efferuntur, *lu*  
*uriatur luxuriat, fluctuatur fluctuat, assentior assentio*  
*Linacre*, after adducing some examples from *Virgil* of the  
 passive for the active, declares it as his opinion, that the  
 ancient *Latins*, like the *Greeks*, gave every active its own  
 middle or common verb. Had our grammarian but look  
 ed upon *Chytræus'* note on *stimulor pectora* *Psalm.* 16. *fi*  
*pectus mihi stimulatur*, he would have told him, that *He*  
*race* said *purgor bilem* i. e. *bilis mihi expurgatur*, and *E*  
*rip.* *Hecuba*, *typhlumi phengos ommaton.* Nay, had  
 our editor but attended to his own note on the words  
 “*læsos etiam punitur amores*” *Silv.* III. v. 70. it might  
 have prevented his blundering in so shameful a manner.  
 For there he observes that the author has used *punitur*  
 actively in imitation of *Cic. de Offic. lib.* 1. 24. “*ne*  
*que ad ejus qui punitur aliquem, aut verbis castigat, a*  
*reip. utilitatem referri* : and *Tuscul. lib.* 1. “*Quo mu*  
*ti inimicos etiam mortuos puniuntur.*” The same *Cice*  
*Philip.* 8. “*ut clarissimorum hominum crudelissimam*  
*pæniretur necem.*” *Id. Attic.* 9. 12. expressing his dissa  
 tisfaction with *Pompey's* flight. “*Quid quæris? Sic*  
*in rebus amatoriis alienantur immundæ, insulsæ, indecoræ*  
*fic me illius fugæ, negligentiaque deformitas a*  
*vertit ab amore.* *Lambin*, not attending to the *Helle*  
*nism*, reads *alienant*, without any authority. *de Orator*  
*I.* 43. “*Vitia hominum atque fraudes damnis, igno*  
*miniis, vinculis, verberibus, exiliis, mortem mulentur.*  
*where others read morte.* *Parad.* 2. “*tuæ libidines*  
*torquentur.*” de legibus *vetari, quæri*, for *vetare, quære*

Tusc. 3. 11. "ergo hæc duo genera, voluptas generans & libido, bonorum opinione *turbantur*, ut duo re-  
 qua, metus & ægritudo, malorum." Tho' Camerari-  
 observes, that in *Plautus* *turbare* is used in the sense  
*pulsare*, yet he thinks *turbantur* is here put as *bellan-*  
 by *Virgil* and *punitur* and *puniuntur* by *Cicero*. de Di-  
 2. 2. "quoniam de rep. consuli *cæpti sumus*." E-  
 ven impersonal verbs are used in the passive for the ac-  
 tive voice. *Cic.* pro. *Ligario*. "cave ignoscas, cave te  
 trum pro fratris salute obsecrantium *miseretur*." So  
 the antient MSS and so *Priscian lib. 8. cap. de significa-*  
*tionibus vel generibus verborum*, and in confirmation there-  
 of he adduces this passage ex *L. Crassi Serviliæ legis sua-*  
*ne*; "neque me minus vestri, quam mei *miseretur*."  
 20. INQUIRO. *lib. 14. cap. 2. p. 258. c.* "Is [*Jo-*  
*Heburnus*] a prorege *per Scotiam universam*, ut de deli-  
 ctis eorum, qui vulgus oppressum prope servorum tene-  
 rant loco, *inquireret*," — Here *Ruddiman* shewing  
 his small knowledge of the doctrine of ellipses, imagines  
 that *missus* or some such word has been lost. Next, for  
*inquireret* he reads *anquireret*, supporting his reading by  
 the common use of that verb among the *Latins*, than  
 which he pretends there was none more apposite for  
 expressing the author's meaning, and by the authority  
 of the MS. in opposition to that of the printed copies,  
 not one of which could he adduce that reads *anquireret*,  
 the peculiar fitness of which he has not thought fit to  
 shew us. *Anquiro* is *undique & quoquoersus quærere*;  
 and the words *per Scotiam universam* may satisfy us that  
 the author (who *lib. 12. cap. 35. pag. 230. e* and *lib.*  
*17. cap. 51. pag. 343. a 6.* uses *anquiro*, "*Severus—*  
*questor electus, qui de vita, & moribus ejus anquireret.*  
 — *Conventus juridicos indictivos per omnes regio-*  
*nes denunciant, ad anquirendum de reliquiis conjuratio-*  
*nis.*") in retouching his work has changed *anquireret* in-  
 to *inquireret*, chusing to vary his expression, in imitation  
 of

of the *Latins* who use both words promiscuously, particularly *Livy* 40. 16. “non verbis se nec unius horum disceptatione causam eorum dijudicaturum, sed *inquirendo* in utriusque vitam, &c.” *Anquiro*, says one of the annotators on *Livy*, is an old law term, signifying the same that *inquiro* does now. *Cicero* ad *Attic.* 6. 6. “ego forte datum offenderem, aut etiam *inquirerem* in eum quem reliquisssem?” *Lambin* reads *ut etiam inquirerem* preferring *inquirerem* to *anquirerem* on the authority of several ancient MSS. *Gell.* 20. 1. “scis enim solitum esse me pro disciplina sectæ, quam colo, *inquirere* potius quam decernere.” See more examples from *Cicero* in *R. Stephen*.

30. INSTRUO. *lib.* 14. *cap.* 45. *pag.* 274. a 1. “ut & amicitiam, & foedus, & affinitatem *instrueret* cum Cæsare.” So all the editions. Here again *Ruddiman* discovers his want of judgment in reading *institueret* on the authority of the MS. owning at the same time that both readings are right, but pretending that his is more elegant and common; and to prove this, he gives us two quotations from *Cicero* and one from *Livy*, to which I shall add *Liv.* 36. 6. “ut amicitium secum *instituit* non bellum indici Romanis postularet,” that he may have still the more advantage. But *Ruddiman* himself being judge, he ought to have retained the reading of all the editions and preferred *instrueret* to *institueret*. See canons of criticism, speculative, chap. 3. *pag.* 114, 115.

31. INTERPRETOR. *lib.* 12. *cap.* 53 *p.* 236. 3. “Una conditio in eis induciis perplexè scripta erat, de Dumbaro Scotis restituendo, per quam Angli eam tenere, Scotus oppugnare posse salvis induciis interpretabatur.” *Ruddiman* informs us, that tho’ the MS wants *posse*, yet *se* is added before *interpretatur*; hence he imagines that the reading should be, *per quam Angli eam tenere, Scotus, oppugnare posse, salvis induciis, se interpretabatur*. This he pretends to confirm by these reasons



reasons, that he never found the verb *interpretor* taken passively, without it were the participle, and that Grammarians of very great name, of whom he names none, are positive that tho' participles be used as those of common verbs, that is either in an active or passive sense, yet that does not prove that the verbs from which they are derived ought to be accounted common. *Interpretor* is used passively by *Amm. Marcel.* 23. 12. and 24. who we need not doubt has herein followed more ancient writers. *Vossius, lib. 6. cap. 11.* who by *Ruddiman* himself is stiled the prince of grammarians, declares it as his opinion, that the preterites in *tus* often signify passion, because antiently their verbs were common: and among these he reckons *interpretatus*, quoting *Cic. lib. 2. de legib.* "Vesta quasi focus urbis, ut Græco nomine est appellata: quod nos prope idem Græcum *interpretatum* nomen tenemus." *Gellius*, nothing inferior to *Vossius, lib. 15. cap. 13.* on common verbs, *testata* itidem, & *interpretata* eadem ratione dixit *M. Tullius* in primo libro de divinatione, ut *testor interpretorque* verba communia videri debeant." *Tho. Linacre*, highly extolled by *Ruddiman* for an eminent grammarian, de *emend. Struct. lib. 4. p. 124.* edit. 2. observes that common verbs among which he ranks *interpretor*, are construed both as active and passive verbs. "Osculor te, et à te; Criminor te, & à te. Hujus generis pauca grammaticis notantur, criminor, experior, hortor, *interpretor*, largior, moror, osculor, *veneror*, stipulor. Quibus annumeratur fungor."

32. MINOR. *lib. 12. cap. 25. p. 226. e 3.* "Ibi contra Regem, & apolectis Robertus Bodius senior in Germania procidens conquestus est, suum erga Regem obsequium, quod in eo Edimburgum deducendo præstitisset, malignis inimicorum sermonibus traduci, & in peiorem partem rapi, ac minari illius consilii auctores poenas aliquando duros." Here it is obvious that the author varies,

varies the construction, and that there is an ellipse *inimicos* understood to *minari*. But to *Ruddiman*, who has mispointed this sentence by putting a semicolon after *rapi*, and blended it with the following one, it seems broken and not well connected, unless the verb *minari* be here taken in a passive sense : but as there is no example of this to be met with, the critic proposes to read *eosque minari*, or rather, because he is a more perfect master of the *Latin* than ever *Buchanan* was, to remodel the whole sentence in this manner, “ conquestus est inimicos suum erga Regem obsequium — in lignis sermonibus traducere, & in pejorem partem rapere, ac minari, &c.

33. NUBO. *lib. 12 cap. 40 p. 232. c. 12.* “ *Missa ad eam conficiendam legatio ab Anglis benevolentia excipitur : nec de pace modo conventum, sed ad eam confirmandam adjecta affinitas, ut Cæcilia Eduardi filia Jacobi Scoti filio cum primum nubendo maturuisse nuberet.*” According to *Ruddiman* *nubo* is a verb proper to women, not to men, having learned this, as would seem, from *Vossius*, de vitiis *serm. lib. 6.* who censures *James Faber* of *Estaples* for using *nubo* of a man, and therefore he imagines that *Buchanan* wrote *maturuisset*, tho’ *Ovid*, and *Pomponius* quoted by *Nonius* have both of them used *nubo* of men. The first says, “ *nubere, nympba, volentis votis cede dei.*” — *Nonius* “ *nubere veteres non solum mulieres, sed etiam viros dicebant, ita ut nunc Itali dicunt. Pompon. penulatis : frater meus frater major postquam vidit me inde ejectum domo, nupsit posterius dotatae vetulae, varicosae, asprae.*” Hence the old *Latin* translator of the *N. testamenti* *Mat. cap. 22.* “ *in resurrectione neque nubent, neque nubentur.*”

34. OBEO. *lib. 15. cap. 49. p. 298. b. 9.* “ *Verum tot armorum millibus ad prælium instructis, cum non in planum descendere auderent, nec obeundo fallere possent.*

sent, in loco superiore adventum hostium præstolantur." Common sense will tell any man that *Buchanan's* meaning is, that tho' the *English* army had a design of retreating, yet in their situation they could not *by fetching a compass*, deceive, and so escape the *Scots*. Yet *Rud.* owning that all the editions have *ob'eundo*, has corrupted this passage by the help of the MS reading *abeundo*. The situation of both armies at *Pinkie-cleugh* is thus described by *Knox*. "The *English* army were posted on the middle part of *Fawside* hill, having their ordnance planted before them, and having their ships and two galleys brought as near the land as water would serve. The *Scotish* army stood first in a reasonable strength and good order, having betwixt them and the *English* army the water of *Eske*, otherwise called *Mussylburgh* water."

35. OBHORREO. *lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 24 d 6.* "quid magis obborret a fide," ——— *Ruddiman*, after the foreign editions reads *abborret*, tho' the antients sometimes wrote *ob* for *ab*; as *Seneca de vita beata, cap. 26.* on the accounts which the poets give us of *Jove*, "alius fulgurum illum induxit, & obnoctantem," [meaning à *Junone sua noctibus emanentem*] so the MSS. where the printed copies read *abnoctantem*. *Ruddiman* himself retains the reading of the MS. and first edition *lib. 8. cap. 10. p. 138 c 5. aquis obsorpti*, contrary to all the other editions, which read *absorpti*; because *obsorptus* is to be found in *Plautus*. And, which is exceeding pleasant, the same *Ruddiman* improving his author into all possible perfection, instead of the corrupt editions of antient authors which *Buchanan* made use of *lib. 3.* gives these passages concerning *Britain* from the best copies, and *cap. 10. pag. 51. d 7.* from *Bede lib. 1. cap. 2.* where *Buchanan's* copy reads ——"Britannia ——— *floridæ juventutis alacritate spoliata, tyrannorum meritate abducta*, ——— *Ruddiman*, after *Chislet's* edition, which it seems he looked upon as the best, reads

R

*obducta*,



*abducta*, tho' he tells us in his note upon this place, that he would rather read *abducta*; which is something like *Harduin* on *Pliny* 37. 8. *sanguineis punctis obhorret*. *Froben* and *Dalechamp*; but *Harduin* reads *abhorret*, and adds in the notes *forte obhorret*. In *Sil. Italicus* lib. 1. ver. 178. edit. *Seb. Gryph.* 1547. we read *abortis*, where other authors would have said *obortis*. “*Talia cum gemitu lacrimis effudit abortis.*”

- 37. OBSERVO. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 30. c. II. “*Si cum Picci ferro cutem variarent, ac diversorum animalium figuris inscriberent, verius erit quærere quæ gentes vel in Scythia, vel Germania, regionibusque vicinis cepto illo pingendi corpora instituto non ad terrorem, sed ad decorem uterentur observare.*” To *Ruddiman* the word *observare* seems superfluous, and in vain added by *Buchanan*, whom he imagines to have been just such another dreaming dotard as himself, and to have forgotten that in the former part of the sentence he had expressed (not the same but) much the same thing (*id est* *fere*) by the word *quærere*; and therefore this doughty critic has put *observare* within brackets, as fit to be cancelled, shewing his gross ignorance of an elegance commonly used by the *Latin* writers in suppressing the conjunction &, and likewise of the meaning of these two verbs *quærere* and *observare*, confounding the different ideas of *inquiring* and *heedfully minding* or *taking good notice*, two things of which, especially of the last, he seems altogether incapable. In *Virgil* *Æn.* 2. *observare* is the same as *cognoscere*. “*Et vestigia retro observata sequi per noctem*”, — *Observare*, according to *Nonius*, *ciriose & suspiciter circum adspicere*, for proof of which he quotes *Plaut. Aulul.* “*oculos ego istos improbe effodiam tibi, ne me observare possis quid rerum geramus*.” *Observo*, according to *Valia* 4. 3. is *animo & oculis considerare, in modum speculatoris*. *Plautus*: *observa interius ne quid temere agat*. Hence *observatio* says *Perottus* qua

quali adnotatio quædam & animadversio. We find *observatum est* impersonally in *Pliny* 16 22. for *deprehensum est* & *animadversum est*. So one difference between *observare* and *observare* will be, much the same as between *searching* and *finding*. Had *Ruddiman* but attended to his own note, which he borrows from *Robert Stephen*, on *lib. 17. cap. 63. p. 346. b 4. qui in area adobservabant*, where we are told that *adobservare* there signifies much the same as *observare*, it might have been one mean of preventing his blundering in so shameful a manner about the meaning of the latter verb.

37. *OCCLUDOR. lib. 9. cap. 28. p. 1632.* in the account of the stratagem by which the castle of *Edinburgh* was taken; "Deinde suis, uti convenerat cornu dato signum dant: eodem sono & qui erant in insidiis custodes arcis admonentur, alteri ab amicis, alteri ab inimicis arcem teneri: utrisque properantibus Scoti opera in ipso portæ aditu dejiciunt, ne ante suorum qui difficilem clivum lentius vadebant, adventum valvæ sollici, ac ipsi *occludi* possent." So *Ruddiman* acknowledges all the printed copies have it; and that the reading is tolerable and may be supported by the authority of *Plautus*, who *Menech. 4. 2. 108.* takes *occludi* for *includi*. "Quæ non me excludet ab se, sed apud se *occludet domi*," i. e. *includet*: but then he affirms that *excludi* the reading of the MS. which he has not followed, is preferable. This shews his want of capacity to comprehend *Buchanan's* meaning which is obvious enough, viz. The Scots threw down their burdens in the very entry of the gate, to prevent the fastening of the leaves of it, that the doors of the gate might not be interposed betwixt them and those of their party, that they might not come so far up the castle-hill, and by that means the one part be shut out, and the other barred up within. *John Meursius* ad *Casinam cap. 3.* observes that *Plautus* has used *obicere*, after the manner

of the ancients, who said *ob* for *ad* as is evident from *Festus*; and so *ne objexis manum* signifies *ne attigeris*. See more examples in *Faber's Thesaurus*. *Perottus* observes that *occludo* is put for the simple *claudio* "*occlusit hostium ancillæ*." To which may be added that of *Cic. Cat.* 8. "*quorum si quæstus, occlusis tabernis, minui solet, quæ tandem incensis futurum est?*" whose income, if it lessened by shutting up their shops, what will it be, their houses should be burnt?

38. OFFERO. *lib. 18. cap. 48. p. 363. c. 9.*  
 "Cum multi homines primi ordinis, & in primis *Prætricius Lindesius* se offerret; atque pro omnibus, quos *Scotici* nominis incolumitate, & gloria tuenda sustinisset laboribus id modo præmium deposcebat, ut se permitterent cum *Bothuelio* decernere." *Ruddiman* for *offerret* reads *offeret*, which is evidently wrong; and confesses himself guilty of another error on this passage, not turning *deposcebat* into *deposceret*, which with *Cræford* he thinks is preferable, contrary to his note on *19. cap. 43. p. 382 a. 4. scribebat*, & velut subditis imperaret, where he tells us, that the best writers sometimes have *et* coupling different moods. He likewise shews his inconsistency, and condemns himself on the following verb

39. OFFIRMO. *lib. 13. cap. 10. pag. 243. c. 3.*  
*Perkin Warbeck*, a pretender to the crown of England "ad summam impudentiam & os, & animum offirmaverat." So the MS. and first *Edinburgh* edition, "whose authority," says *Ruddiman*, "we chiefly rely on, which being also confirmed by the authority of other writers, there was no reason for writing *obfirmaverat* in other copies." Yet the same *Ruddiman*, *lib. 15. cap. 1. pag. 287. b.* ["adversus *Levinii* deprecationem auctoris ejus animumque ita offirmarat," so the foreign editions, particularly those of *Frankfort* 1584 and 1624, the first edition



dition \* *affirmaret*] reads *obfirmarat*, without pretending any reason or authority for so doing, it being natural for him not only to magnify the minutest things, but also in these to be inconsistent.

40. PERFUGIO. *lib. 15. cap. 15. pag. 286. c. 8.*  
 ipsi (*Arran* the governor and *Beton* the cardinal who were at *Edinburgh*, when 10,000 *English* made themselves masters of the town of *Leith*, without any resistance) & civium & hostium pari odio se committere non possunt. *Limnuchum perfugerunt*. So the printed books: the MS. *profugiunt*: *Ruddiman* departing from both, reads *perfugerunt* discovering his ignorance of the *Latin* language: and his injudicious use of the MS. which the author, in retouching his work, has corrected, turning *profugiunt* into *perfugerunt*; because he knew that these two verbs convey different ideas, and that *profugio*, signifying to go far off, or, as far as one can, quasi porro or procul, as *proterrere* is the same with *procul terrere*, was not proper to express *Hamilton* and *Beton's* flight from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*, about seven miles or midway to *Sirling*, as *perfugio*, which signifies to flee for succour, shelter or sanctuary, whether the distance be greater or less. *Camerarius* on *Cicero's* off. 2. 18. "tuta quædam loca fugæ significat: sed *profugium* magis fugæ spatium notat, and *profugi* qui in fuga essent, as *italiam* fatis *profugus*, *Lavinæ*que venit *Littora*, that is, *refugiens* or *exsul* & *phygàs*? *Sen. de tranquill. animi.*  
 cap. 2. "Ubi odio infelicitatis operosæ ad otium *profugerant*, et ad secreta studia." *Col. R. R. 1. 3.*

\* *Dacier* on *Horace* Od. 3. 14. at the end "non ego hoc ferrem, calidus juvena, Consule Planco"——observes that *ferrem* is there put for *tulissém*; and that such a change of tense is very common in good authors, *Greek* and *Latin*. So Od. 4. 6. ver. 16. *falleret* for *sesellisset*, i. e. *latuisset* v. 19. *ureret* for *ussisset*. Od. 15. 19. "his pecore multa dives tellure *livebit* for *licet*."

“ adeo quidem, ut multi prætulerint carere penatibus et propter injurias vicinorum sedes suas *profugerint*. ibi “ quos hostis *profugiendo* desolasset agros.” *Id.* 9. 1 of the king of bees. “ Qui tamen et ipse spoliandus *et* alis, ubi sæpius cum examine suo conatur eruptionem *facta profugere.*” *Liv.* 8. 33. “ clam ex castris *Romam profugit.*” 22. 42. “ ita evenit, ut servi du qui inter pabulatores excepti à Numidis fuerant, *profugerent* eo die ad dominos.” In the same *lib.* 22. we find *profugio* and *perfugio* very near one another and on the same subject, tho’ even there, there is no necessity confounding the difference betwixt them. *cap.* 49 of the flight of about 2000 of the *Romans* at *Cannæ*, “ vicum ipsum *Cannas perfugerunt*; ” and immediately after “ consul alter (*Paulus* being slain) cum 50 *equitibus Venusiam profugit.*” *Cap.* 52. “ cum majoribus castris ad 4000 hominum et 200 *equitibus Canusium profugissent.*” And a few sentences after “ eos, qui *Canusium perfugerant*, mulier *Apula* frumento, veste, viatico etiam jovit,” *Gellius* 6. 2. h. “ *perfugiunt* in asylum.” *Livy.* 1. 8. “ asylum *apertum*, eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis, sine discrimine liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum *perfugit.*” He appointed a place for sanctuary, thither all sorts of people from the neighbourhood, without distinction whether bond or free, as pleased with novelties *fled for shelter.* 9. 27. “ nisi qui *Beneventum* [of old called *Maleventum*] *perfugerunt.*

41. PERSUADEOR. *lib.* 13. *cap.* 8. p. 242. d. “ atque eo perductus, ut hostem veterem adversus civem suos pugnaturum in regnum introducere *persuasus esset.*” *Persuasum est mihi*, says *Ruddiman*, is very good *Latin* but I don’t remember any one that has said *persuasus sum* but that the *Latin* tongue is not bounded within the narrow limits of his frail memory, *Burman* has shewn in this and some other instances, and that *Buchanan* d

not speak without precedent. *autor ad Herenn. lib. 1. cap.*  
 "Si *persuafus* auditor fuerit." Justin 2 2 "nihil erat  
 difficile persuadere *persuafis* mori, for quibus persuasum erat  
*esse moriendum. Buchanan* himself 15. 4. eo pecunia *persuaso*  
 to which he might have added *lib. 15. cap. 65.* "qui  
 multis & ejus veracissimis prædictionibus *persuasi* vim fur-  
 rari perspicendi divinitusei inditam credebant," meaning  
 the blessed Mr. *George Wishart*. This puts me in mind of  
 a passage of a letter written by a friend of mine about 3  
 years ago. "A year or two before *last rebellion*, in a con-  
 versation with Mr. *Ruddiman*, when he was more conver-  
 sible, for he is now absolutely of an implacable spirit and  
 full of resentment, I told him I was dissatisfied with his  
 note on *Buchanan*, hist. 13. 8. p. 242. d. well, says he  
 to me, what have you to say to it? for he has so much  
 vanity as to think no body in this country should pre-  
 tend to instruct him on that head. I told him, *Cicero*  
 in his familiar epistles to *Atticus*, says *persuadeor*, and  
 this abundantly justifies *Buchanan*. Besides, *Phædrus*  
 says, *tandem persuasa est jurejurando gruis.* After some  
 humming and hampering, he told me he had altered his  
 mind, and referred me to his *larger Gram.* part 2. pag.  
 143." where he quotes the two passages adduced by  
*Burman*, and adds a third from *Ovid* art. 3. 679.  
 "jamdudum *persuafus* erit." But because both he  
 and *Burman* think this a less usual as well as a less ele-  
 gant way of speaking, I shall add some more examples.  
*Cic. Ver. 7. 9.* "neque enim metuo ne hoc cuiquam  
*persuadeatur.*" *Phædr. 3. 5.* "*Persuafus* ille, fecit  
 quod monitus fuit: ——— *Hirt. B. fr. 55.* "quo-  
 rum [perfugarum] auctoritate facile adducti [Getuli]  
*Cæsarisque nomine persuasi, à rege Juba desciscunt.*"  
*Seneca* of different sorts of lies, some the authors of  
 which cannot easily be contradicted, others so gross and  
 impudent, that the authors may be convicted at first  
 blush *Nat. quæst. lib. 4. cap. 4.* "Nam ut fallar tibi,

verum



*verum* mihi quidem *persuadetur*, qui me usque ad mendacia hæc leviora, in quibus os præcidi, non oculi erubescunt, credulum præsto." *Quintil.* 10. 1. "neque *id* statim legenti *persuasum* sit, omnia quæ omnes auctores dixerunt, utique esse perfecta." *Propert.* 4. 1. "*persuasæ* fallere rima sat est."

42. PERVEHO. *lib.* 15. *cap.* 23. *p.* 289. a. "Eoque inoffensus prosperarum rerum cursus insolentiae Anglos *pervexerat*," an uninterrupted course of success had raised the *English* to such a height of insolence. — *Ruddiman* on the authority of the MS. which he has made a very indiscreet use, reads *provexerat*. It is possible that *perveho* and *proveho* have been confounded by the transcribers of antient authors: but that the former is more apposite in this place may appear by the following passages of *Cicero*. *Tusc. lib.* 4. 9. speaking of the immortality of the soul, he says there was some power, which had a special providence over man, nor would he beget or breed up such a being, as after it had run through all labours, should then fall into the eternal evil of death; and immediately he adds, "portum potius paratum nobis, et perfugium putemus, quo utinam *velis passis pervehi* liceat: sin res flantibus ventis reiciemur, tamen eodem paullo tardius referamur necesse est." *Id. off.* 2. 6. "Magnam vim esse in fortuna in utramque partem, vel secundam ad res, vel adversas, quis ignorat? *Nam et cum prospero flatu ejus utimur, ad exitum pervehimur optatos: et cum reflavit, affligimur.*" When fortune gives us a prosperous gale we are carried home to our desired haven; but when she blows against us, we are dashed to pieces and ruined. Agreeable to this is the common distinction between *perveho* and *proveho*; "*pervehimur ex alto in portum, provehimur ex portu in altum.*" *Cic. Attic.* 14. 21. "Ille [meaning *Brutus*] exilium meditari, nos autem alium portum propiorem huic ætati videbamus."

namus, in quem mallema equidem *pervehi*, florente Bruto nostro, constitutaque repub." *Provehere* is *producere*, to continue or draw out in length, to convey or conduct, and the *Latins* say *provehere aliquem ad dignitatem*.

43. POSTULO. lib. 15. cap. 27. p. 290. d 3. "legatus a Prorege in Galliam est missus, qui victoriam nunciaret, et auxilium *adversus postulata*, et *minas Regis Anglorum postulare*,"——Ruddiman thinks the expression *postulare auxilium adversus postulata* unworthy of Buchanan's polite ears; for which reason, and because none of the king of *England's postulata* are here mentioned, that word with the following conjunction *et* should be thrown out. But can any thing be more evident from the whole narration as contained in the context, than that *Henry VIII* demanded of the *Scots* their young queen in marriage for prince *Edward* his son, and that he was justly incensed, and threatned to take vengeance on them as covenant-breakers and violators not only of the treaty of peace and marriage which they had solemnly promised and sworn, but of the law of nations in the person of his ambassador, whom they had affronted at the instigation of the popish and frenchified faction headed by cardinal *Beton*. And is it not clear as noon-day, that *Henry* at the same time that he threatened to destroy the *Scots* with fire and sword for refusing to deliver the hostages for the performance of what they had promised and sworn, particularly for fulfilling the treaty of marriage, insisted that having failed in that respect, they should deliver the queen herself? By the the same reason, *minas* should be thrown out as well as *postulata*; because in the above cited sentence there are no *threats*, any more than *demands*, particularly mentioned. As for the expression *postulare adversus postulata*, (to pass over *occisione occisi*, *edicto edicere*, *jusjurandum jurare*, *multam multare*, and hundreds like these in *Livy*, *Cicero* and other the politest writers,) is it a whit more uncouth

uncouth than these following? *Sen. de ira* 1. 16. of the impiety of *Julius Cæsar*, “*Dio Cassius scribit eum machinam excogitasse, qua tonitribus obstrepere ac contra fulmina fulminarent.*” There is an expression in *Varro L. L.* borrowed from the augurs *deum manium postulionem* [for *postulationem*] *postulare*, which is very near in sound to that of *Buchanan*, and which *Jos. Scaliger* makes an archaism, like *ego hoc exigor portorium* and understands of humane sacrifices: “*populus Rom. postulabatur postulationem deum manium.*” *Suet. Calig.* 30. “*Cumque Tetrinius latro postularetur, qui postularet Tetrinios esse ait.*” Such passages where words of the same or near the same sound occur, if they are not affected or too frequent, are so far from being blemishes, that they are real beauties. *Cic. Fam.* 15. 6. quoting *Hector’s* words in the poet *Nævius* “*lætus sum laudari me abs te pater laudato viro.*” *Nat. de lib.* 2. “*torpore torpedines se tutantur.*” *Attic.* 12. 35. “*lege, quæso, legem, mihi que eam mitte.*” *Id.* “*cum in arce augurium augures acturi essent, jussissentque, T. Claudium Centumalum, qui ædes in Coelian monte habebat, demoliri ea, quorum altitudo officere auspiciis.*” *Claudius* had a house upon the *Coelian* hill, that stood in the augurs way as they made their observations: who therefore sent him orders to pull that part down which obstructed their auspices by hindering the prospect. *Cic. de Oratore* “*designant turpitudinem aliquam non turpiter*” *ibid.* “*quem laborem nobis Attici nostri levabit labor.*” *Id. orator.* “*in alienos insanus insanisti.*” *Id. pro Plancio.* “*vel quod illi in hoc ornando ordinem se ornare, et consulere liberis suis arbitrabantur*” *de Senect.* 11. “*ita sensim sine sensu ætas senescit*” *de Amic.* 1. “*sed ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitia scripsi.*” *Cicero* quoted by *Quintil.* 8. 3. “*non solum igitur illud iudicium iudicii simile iudicet non fuit.*”



44. PREMO. lib. 15. cap. 50. p. 298. e. penult.

Scoti prisci in unum globum congregati integris or-  
 nibus incolumes domum redierunt. Per loca enim  
 impedita, et equiti incommoda primum sunt progressi :  
 si quando in plana descendere cogeantur, equitibus  
 Anglis, qui sparsi fugientes *premerant*, eos ausis aggredi.”  
 Raddiman jumbles these two sentences together, cor-  
 rupts the last of them upon the authority of *Crawford*  
 and the MS. for *premerant* reading *premebant*, and tel-  
 ling us that the other editions except the first read *pre-*  
*merant* ; and proposes to corrupt this passage still more,  
 by reading *equites Angli*——*eos ausi sunt aggredi*, because  
 he knew not or did not attend that the best writers are  
 not, like him, always for uniformity, but that they love  
 to vary their style and construction. *John Meursius* in  
 his critical exercitations on *Plautus* observes, that the  
 corrupting of that author has been owing to this cause,  
 that the archaisms in him have not been attended to,  
 and *ad militem cap. 1.* where the common copies read  
*perque os elephanto brachium transmitteres*, he reads  
*transmitteras* : because the antients formed the preterites  
 from the presents, as *atterui* for *attrivi* in *Propertius*  
 and *Tacitus*, *occanui* for *occinui* in *Sallust*, *premi* for *pressi*  
 in *Cato cap. 66.* *consisti* for *constiti* in *Ennius* &c. *Vossius*  
 de arte Gramm. lib. 5. cap. 29. has the same observati-  
 on on *premo* and other verbs antiently retaining in the  
 preterite the consonant of the present tense. He quotes  
 two passages of *Columella*, where we have *excuderunt* and  
*percuderunt*. *Gudo* in the preterite has *cudi*, according  
 to *Phocas* ; and so *Servius*, *Priscian* and *Diomedes* in *Virg.*  
*Æn. 1.* “ ac primum filici scintillam excudit Achates  
 suscepitque ignem foliis” understand *excudit* of the pre-  
 terite. We find *tendi* the preterite of *tendo* in *Propertius*  
 and *Seneca*, *abscondi* in *Lucan. 10.* and *Sen. de benef. 3,*  
*25,* Nay in *Cicero* himself *de oratore*, we read *existerunt*  
 for *extiterunt*, “ Sic insulsi existerunt, ut nihil aliud eo-  
 rum, nisi ipsa insulstas, rideatur,”

45. PROBO,

45. PROBO, See on *comprobo*,

46. PROFITEOR. *lib. 14. cap. 60. p. 279. d*

“ Oliverius à sua factione in altum elatus, ac duabus hastis innixus, Regias *profiteri* literas jussit; quarum lectio adeo totum exercitum offendit.” *Oliver Sinclair* mounted aloft by his own party, [lifted up on men’s shoulders] and supported by two spears, ordered the king’s commission, naming him lieutenant general of the army to be read out or proclaimed, *profiteri* the same as publicè recitare, pronunciare. Hence says *Perottus* “ *professores bonarum artium dicimus vel eos, qui his eruditi sunt, vel qui eas publicè legunt. Nam et profiteri usurpamus pro publicè legere.*” *Ruddiman*, ignorant of the author’s meaning, has corrupted the above passage of *Buchanan*, for *profiteri* reading *proferri*, upon the authority of the M.S. and contrary to that of all the printed copies, and pretending as a reason for so doing the words at d 4 *quas intempore promeret* by which means he has confounded *Oliver Sinclair*’s own action with that which he commanded to be done by others; as he supposes *promo* and *proferor* to be synonymous. *Oliver* gave his commission from the king in a secret manner, which he was to open or produce in due time; and when he thought that time was come, he commanded another to read it publickly: but, according to our judicious critic, he commanded himself to produce his own commission, which was in his own possession, without commanding another to proclaim it. I own indeed, *proferri* is capable of that meaning which I have put on *profiteri*: but there is no reason to doubt that the author, upon revising his work, has made choice of the latter as more proper and less ambiguous.

47. PROPONO. *lib. 2. cap. 9 p. 26. b 7.* On the fable of *Brutus* and his descendants possessing themselves not only of *Britain* but subduing *Germany*. “ *Hoc non commentum tam ex omni parte absurdum non adduxi*

mus in medium, ut *confutarem*, sed ut Germanis *irridendum proponeremus*" so all the editions : but *Ruddiman* imagines the author wrote *propinare* in imitation of *Terence*, Eun. 5. 10. 39. "Hunc comedendum et *deridendum* vobis *propino*, and should have added another imagination, to render the copy perfectly like the original, that he wrote *deridendum* and not *irridendum*. On this note *Burman* animadverts to the following purpose : that tho' the phrase in *Terence* be commonly used in that manner, yet *Buchanan* with better judgment uses *proponeremus* ; because *Ter.* puts the verb *propinare*, by way of ridicule, in the mouth of *Gnatho*, whose mind being about the dishes and cups, he subjoins a verb, other than the spectators were expecting, suitable to his trade of parasite or smell-feast, to words to which it could not properly correspond ; but that this is no good reason for transplanting such expressions into the historical style, altho' it be common for men of great learning to misapply *Plautus's* jests to grave subjects. *Fruantur per me licet hac doctrinæ absurdæ affectatione, nobis modo sanior mens sit.* This remark, as just and reasonable as it is, does not satisfy *Ruddiman*, who rather than acknowledge his own criticism to be false, persists in his former imagination, that *Buchanan*, tho' a writer of most exquisite judgment, would probably imitate men of great learning in this instance where they discover a want of judgment, and that he wrote *propinaremus*, which also comes nearer in sound to the other verb *confutarem*. Here *Ruddiman*, besides want of judgment, shews his inconsistency in these three respects. 1. He supposes *Buchanan* to have been a servile copier of the antients, contrary to the character which he himself has given of him, who uses *propino*, where it was more proper, *Medea* pag. 197. "cave ut ne propines risui nepotibus Tē Sisyphæis,"——Methinks it had been as pertinent to have alledged the expression of



*Demosthenes*, who said of those that betray their country *propinein tois eithrois*, i. e. *propinare hostibus*, or that *Ennius Satyr. lib. 3.* quoted by *Nonius*. “*Enni poe salve, qui mortalibus versus propinas flammeos, medu litus.*” 2. *Ruddiman* in the same MS. reply to *Burman* asserts that what is to be found in all the editions of *Buchanan’s* history was probably so written by the author; and here he asserts the contrary. see *canons critici. ism*, ch. 3. pag. 114, 5. *Ruddiman* in the third place who makes the sound of *confutarem* an argument to prove that *Buchanan* wrote *propinarem*, contradicts himself on the following verb

48. PRORUMPO. *lib. 15. cap. 22. p. 288. d.* “*Itaque pluribus in ea sententia obstinatis, ut qua cumque proximum erat, machinis relictis domum prorumperent; aliis, qui magis providi & minus formidolosi videri vellent, consulentibus, ut eas, ne usui esse possent hostibus, pulvere gravius oneratas dirumperent.*” — *Ruddiman*, following the MS. in opposition to all the printed copies, reads *properarent* for *prorumperent*; and one reason of his choice is this, that *dirumperent* a word ending the same way follows immediately after. Thus in the same *lib. 15. cap. 25. p. 289. d. 6.* “*cum Mullerossiam ad Tuedam devenissent, ibique suos expectare decrevissent, Angli, qui Jedburgum jam pervenissent.*” *Ruddiman* after the MS. reads *pervenerant*, imagining that the printer’s eyes have been deceived by *devenissent* in the line above it. And in the very same *lib. 15. cap. 58. p. 301. b. 10.* “*Nec illi cessissent, nisi è collo propinquo acies alia sub signis se ostendissent.*” *Ruddiman* prefers *ostendisset* the reading of the MS. to avoid a certain appearance of a bad sound on account of *cessissent* going before. Let us hear *Quintilian* on the *lumen orationis* 9. 1. “*Nam & geminatio verborum habet interdum vim, leporem alias, & paululum immutatum verbum atque deflexum, & ejusdem verbi tum à primo*

petitio, tum in extremum conversio, & in eadem ver-  
 ba impetus & concursio, & adjunctio, & progressio, &  
 eundem verbi crebrius positi quædam distinctio, & re-  
 vocatio verbi, & illa quæ similiter desinunt, aut quæ ca-  
 vunt similiter, aut quæ paribus paria referunt, aut quæ  
 vult inter se similia. Of words ending the same way,  
 the author *ad Herennium* gives us examples. "Simi-  
 liter desinens est, cum, tamen si casus non insunt in ver-  
 bis, tamen similes exitus sunt hoc pacto: *turpiter audes  
 dicere, nequiter audes dicere. Vivis invidiosè, delinquis  
 audiosè, loqueris odiosè.* Whatever *Ruddiman* may ima-  
 gine to the contrary, *prorumpo* in the place in question  
 is a stronger word than *propereo*, and consequently fitter  
 to express the great haste of the greater part of an army  
 abandoned by their general, for a cause to them un-  
 known, thereby put into so much the greater fear and  
 fully resolved to disband, to leave the artillery and run  
 home with all speed, the nearest way they could, *pro-  
 rumpto, cum impetu feror* says *Perottus*; whose explicati-  
 on may be confirmed by the following authorities. *Virg.*  
*Æn.* 7. 32. "Tyberinus in mare prorumpit." So *O-*  
*vid.* *Met.* 14. 448. "In mare cum flava prorumpit Ty-  
 beris arena." *Cæsar* *B. G.* 5. 15. "per medios auda-  
 cissime proruperunt." *Cicero* *Philip.* 13. "prorupit fu-  
 git Brundisium, ut inde agmine quadrato ad urbem ac-  
 cederet." *Quintil.* *declam.* 3. "cum ex domo scene-  
 ratoris adductus lacero verberibus tergo prorupisset in pu-  
 blicum." *Tacit.* *Ann. lib.* 2. speaking of an earthquake,  
 "neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat in a-  
 perta prorumpendi." *lib.* 12. "in necem militum proru-  
 peram." *lib.* 13. "cubiculo prorumpit." *Id.* *hist. lib.* 2.  
 "in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant, vel re-  
 vehebantur." *Jul. Capitolinus* on *Pertinax*, "quum  
 ad interiora [palatii] prorumperent [milites] Pertinax ad  
 eos processit. "see more examples in *R. Stephen.*

49. QUÆRO. See *observo.*

S 2

50. RECLUDO.

50. RECLUDO. *Buch. de vita sua. pag. 6.* "um in monasterium ad aliquot menses *recludunt*. The Portuguese Inquisitors shut him up in a monastery for some months. As *Ruddiman* could no where find *recludere* taken in this sense, but for *aperire, patefacere*, he thinks we should read *includunt*. *Burman* observes that *Buchanan's* use of *recludo* may be justified by the authority of *Justin*, who lib. 26. cap. 1. said *in carcerem recludere*; nay that *Buchanan* might have used this phrase of set purpose, because some monks were properly called *reclusi*, as *Valesius* has proved on *Amm. Marcell.* 16. 10 where he adduces other examples, particularly from lib. 1. cap. 9, as the fathers of the christian church, *Tertullian* in particular, often used the verb *recludere* for *includere*. *Burman* likewise observes *le Clerc's* committing the same blunder in censuring the author of the *scholium Hieronymianum*. *Ruddiman*, in his MS. reply, instead of acknowledging his ignorance, discovers his bad taste, by putting *Justin* in the same rank with the ecclesiastic writers, and affirming that all approved authors use the word in a quite contrary sense of which, adds he, *Buchanan* could not be ignorant, who being so great a lover of the antient purity of the *Latin* tongue, it is not likely that he would have imitated those who wrote when that language was in its decline. According to this critic we are to judge of the style of *Latin* writers, meerly by the time in which they lived: and so *Buchanan* himself, (*vir antiquæ puritatis, si quis alius, studiosissimus*, are *Ruddiman's* very words) as well as *Justin* must be excluded out of the number of those who wrote pure *Latin*. *Justin* by the best judges is looked upon as a polite and elegant writer, and his *Latin* is true *Sterling*. *Scioppius* ranks him among the writers of the golden age, and tho' *Borrichius* rejects his opinion, yet he is for classing him with the writers of the silver one. "Justinum, ut cunque



"et demum Antoninorum principatu floruerit, *judice*  
*Justino*, propter cultam, tersamque dictionem, qua ple-  
 rumque delectat, huc forsan non inique revocabimus"  
 It is evident, that *Buchanan* has borrowed some expres-  
 sions from that author. Compare the following passages  
*Justin* 36. 1. "*recuperato regno paterno* Demetrius"  
*Buchanan* lib. 7. cap. 14. "*Milcolumbus recuperato*  
*paterno regno.*" *Just.* 13. 1. "*extincto in ipso ætatis*  
*et victoriarum flore Alexandro Magno.*" *Buch.* lib. 15.  
 cap. 1. "*Rege in ætatis flore non tam morbo, quam*  
*moeroris vi extincto.*" Nay *Ruddiman* himself in his  
 note on lib. 20 cap. 45. p. 401. b 10. conjectures that  
*Buchanan* imitated *Justin* in his use of the ablative of  
 the participle and leaving the ablative case of the pro-  
 noun to be understood, according to the observation of  
*John Vorstius* as lib. 2. cap. 3. "*uxorum flagitatione*  
*revocantur, per legatos denuntiantibus, ni redeant, fobo-*  
*rem se ex finitimis quæsituras.*" And lib. 3. cap. 30.  
 "*nullius magis arma metuebant, reputantibus quantum*  
*notum Pyrrhus parva manu Macedonum in Italia fe-*  
*cisset.*" In the third passage 18. 1. quoted by *Ruddi-*  
*man*, it is not the ablative of the pronoun but *Samnitibus*  
 and *Lucanis*, that is understood. additis *Samnitium* &  
*Lucanorum* precibus, et *ipsis* auxilia adversus Romanos  
*indigentibus.*" The passage in *Buchanan*, which *Ruddi-*  
*man* supposes an imitation of *Justin*, and thinks, accord-  
 ing to the received custom of speaking in the best au-  
 thors *petentes* should have been put in the place of *pe-*  
*tentibus*, runs thus. "*Idem quoque ad eos nostrum re-*  
*sponsum scriptum petentibus postridie illius diei, hoc est*  
*mensis Martii nono die ad aulam retulit.*" — The  
 same *Ruddiman* large Gram. part. 2. pag. 143. defends  
*Buchanan's* *huic audiam* psal. 119. 100. against *Burman*  
 by *Apuleius'* authority: and we need not wonder at his  
 standing fault with *Justin's* Latin as none of the best,  
 since Gram. pag. 162. that of *Livy* and *Horace* (and of

Cicero as we shall see afterwards) as well as *Sueton's Tacitus's, Seneca's, Plautus's, Gellius's*, is not to his taste.

To return to *recludo*: without insisting on the authority of *Palladius*, who wrote later than *Justin*, and use that verb in the same sense, *R. R. lib. 4. Tit. 10.* shall mention some passages of older authors where it seems to be taken in the same sense as the simple verb *claudio*. *Quintilian* declam. 13 on bee-hives and honey-combs. “*reclusas* interim scrutari apium domos ne per vacuas alvos foeda pestis insidiosas texeret plagas.” — *ibid.* “*Gemina* frons ceris imponitur, cum foraminibus tantum spatium detur, quantum ad generanda examina puram spem capiat, ipsi enim sibi invicem anguli hærent, et ita mutuo vinciuntur atque alligantur, ut quod volens id medium sit, his textis ne universi mellis effluat pondus, intersepta onera cluduntur.” *Silius Italicus, lib. 8.* “*fer* Paule inde via recti pectora cur uni patriam si affligere fas est, uni sit servare nefas eget improbus arcto jam victu Libys: & belli fervore recluso, laxa fides socium est.” on the *Punic* war, where *Fabius* was protracting it with *Annibal*. Compare the above lines with the consul's answer; “non me unum fallit cunctandi ratio, quæ te grassante senescens *Annibal* oppressum vidit considerare bellum.” It is evident that *Propertius 2. 29. ad Cynthia*, uses *recludo* for *secludo*. “*Sic ego tam sancti custode recludo amoris.*” There is a passage in *Horace, od. 24. lib. 1. v. 17.* easy to be understood, but not so easy to be explained, where *recludo* may be taken in the sense of the simple verb with an ellipse of *mole* or *obice*, as *Virg. Æn. 10. 377. claudos nos obice pontus*; “non lenis precibus fata recludere, stop or hinder the execution of the decrees of fate. *Dacier* indeed understands *recludere* in an opposite sense but his ellipsis seems to be somewhat too large and far-fetched. He thinks *Horace* said *fata recludere*, for *ea quæ semel satis clausa & obsecurata sunt, aperire.*

But tho' there were no examples in the *Latin* authors, the analogy of their language in which it is common for verbs compounded with *re* to have the same signification with their simples, as the same verb is sometimes used in opposite senses, might serve to justify *Buchanan's* use of *recludo*. Not only in *Cato R. R.* but even in *Salustius Jug. 4.* do we find an instance of the compound for the simple, "nunc ad inceptum redeo." *M. Ann. Senec. Suasor. 1.* "tum excæcatus Cyclops saxum in mare reiecit for jecit. So *reparo* for *paro* in *Horace*, *revertor* for *venio*, *renatus* for *natus* in *Cicero*; and *renuntio* for *renuntio* in *Cæsar* and *Terence*, as *And. 5. 1, 8.* *remitto* for *mitto*. "neque quid me ores, cogitas: nam si cogites, remittas jam me onerare injuriis." You do not consider what you beg of me: for if you did consider, you would forbear to press me with such unreasonable requests. *Valla* observes, that *refeco*, *recido*, *recingo*, *repurgo*, *resodio*, *repromitto*, *revinco*, have often the same signification as their simples; and so *Servius* of *resigno* *Virg. Æn. 4. 244.* "dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat." *Harry Stephen* in his treatise *de Latinitate falso suspecta* allows the use of some verbs compounded with *re* to signify the doing of a thing again, from the analogy of composition, tho' no such verbs are to be found in *Latin* authors; because they might have been found in the writers that are lost, or in those that are extant, if all their writings were preserved; adding, that the *Latins* did not make use of several words, because they had no occasion to speak of the thing, as the civilians use many terms which none other perhaps do; or because they might have express'd it by other terms, or have used the simple with some adjection for the compound. He further observes, that the particle or inseparable preposition *re* seems sometimes to be put before verbs merely for ornament sake, as in *reigare*, *revincire*, *reformidare*, *reclare*; that



that tho' in one passage of *Cicero* *Divinat. lib. 1. re-  
bare* signifies *iterum cubare*, yet in most places it has the  
signification of the simple *cubare*: and that sometimes  
signifies the same as *retro*, and sometimes makes an op-  
posite sense to that of the simple, as *recludere*, which  
also put for the simple *claudere*, as in *Justin* we find the  
participle *reclusus* for *clausus*, “quam tamen signifi-  
cationem plurimi ignorant.”

51. REPERIOR. *hist. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. 178. a*  
“nec repereretur, qui in absentis locum succederet.  
*Ruddiman* after the foreign editions, reads *reperiretur*. *se*  
*comperior*; and add from *Terence*, *Phorm. 5. 4. 2*  
“propria eâ Phædria ut poteretur:” so also in some  
verbs of the 3d conjugation, where the moderns write  
*i*, the antients wrote *e*, as *collego*, *intellego*, *neglego*, *neg-*  
*legentia*.

52. SENTIO. *lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 34. d 3. ut ego qui-*  
*dem sentio* delivering his opinion in modest terms: so  
*Ruddiman* owns it is in all the editions, but thinks *cen-*  
*seo* would do better, as, belike, better suiting his own  
positive, dogmatical, magisterial, dictating humour;  
which verb was also used by the *Roman* senators in giv-  
ing their votes, *censeo et volo*. That the verbs are dis-  
tinct is plain from *Cicero* *Attic*. “Nam de ceteris re-  
bus quid *senferim*, quidve *consuerim*, audisse te arbitror.”  
*dicam quod sentio*, ut quemadmodum *sentio* loquar, ego  
autem *sentio*, equidem sic *sentio*, sic enim *sentio*, quan-  
tum ipse *sentio*, ut ego *sentio*, ut quidem ego *sentio*, are  
frequently to be met with in *Cicero*. The same expres-  
sions may be found in other authors. I shall only men-  
tion *Quintilian*, *lib. 6. cap. 3.* and *lib. 9. cap. 4. ut ego*  
*quidem sentio*, and *quantum ego quidem sentio*, as I humbly  
think, in my humble opinion. *Burman* quotes *Cice-*  
*ro* in *Lælio*, *cap. 5* “sed hoc primum *sentio*, nisi &c.  
*Ruddiman* replies nothing.

53. SERO. *lib. 14. cap. 39. p. 272. b 3.* "Qui cæ-  
 auctores fuerant, *vulgo ferebant*, se pollicitum fuisse  
 aturum, ut &c. So *Ruddiman* owns it is in the MS.  
 first edition and in that of *Geneva*, whose authority is  
 preferable to that of other editions, which have chan-  
 ged *ferebant* into *ferebant*. He adds that he had not  
 seen the verb *sero* in this metaphorical sense, without  
 some word added to it, such as *serere sermones, rumores,*  
*fabulas, colloquia*, and that nevertheless he scrupled to  
 make any alteration contrary to the authority of the best  
 copies. It had been well, if he had been as scrupulous  
 all along. There is a passage in *Livy* 34. 35. very like  
 that in *Buchanan*, where none of these words mention-  
 ed by *Ruddiman* are to be seen. "Hæc primo in cir-  
 culis *serentes*." And in the same place we meet with *fama*  
 in the ablative, as in other authors *sermone* or *sermonibus*  
 joined with *sero* or *sero*, "has conditiones, quamquam  
 ipse in secreto volutaverat cum amicis, *vulgo* tamen om-  
 nes *fama ferebant*, vanis, ut ad cæteram fidem, sic ad se-  
 creta tegenda satellitum regionum ingeniiis." *Cæs. B.*  
*C. 2. 17.* "Hæc omnibus *ferebat sermonibus*." *Liv. 3.*  
*43.* "L. Siccium in Sabinis per invidiam decemviralem  
 tribunorum creandorum, secessionisque mentiones ad  
*vulgus militum sermonibus occultis serentem*, prospecula-  
 tum ad locum castris capiendum mittunt." *Virg. Æn.*  
*lib. 6.* "multa inter sese vario *sermone ferebant*." There  
 is another passage of *Livy* 24. 23. which will correspond  
 to that of *Buchanan*, "nunc etiam apud infimæ plebis  
 homines crimina *ferebant* in senatum optimatesque. For  
 immediately after *vulgo ferebant* we have the crime men-  
 tioned which those who advised *James V* to put *John*  
*Armstrong* laird of *Kilknockie* to death, thought fit to lay  
 to his charge.

54. SPECTO. *lib. 17. cap. 5. p. 327. d 11.* "nec  
 certe admodum honorificam [*fortunam*], spectare pote-  
 rat." — *Ruddiman*, not so scrupulous here as in the  
 preceeding

preceeding instance, corrupts this passage by reading *sperare* for *spectare* after the foreign editions, in opposition to the first, and against the rules of criticism laid down by himself; for he acknowledges that *spectare* for *expectare* is perhaps tolerable, in imitation of *Publius* the Syrian mimographer highly esteemed by *Julius Caesar*. “*Ab alio species alteri quod feceris.*” as *Janus Gruter* thinks it ought to be read, tho’ the common reading be *expectes*. But I shall adduce some other authorities to justify the reading of the first edition of *Buchanan*. *Cicerone Divinat. lib. 1.* “*virtus vetat, cum præstatur fides spectare fortunam.*” *Id. somn. Scipionis cap. 6.* “*a quibus spectare gloriam certe nullam potestis.*” So the ancient MSS. and so *P. Victorius’s* edition, for which others read *sperare*, and some *expectare*. *Seneca de tranquillitate animi*, quoted already under the substantive noun *familia*, “*placet cibus, quem nec parent familiae, nec spectent.*” where *Pincian* would have us read *expectent*. without authority, *ib. cap. 3.* “*militare non licet honores spectet.* *Privato vivendum est? Sit orator.*” *Quintil. lib. 5. cap. 12. 17. de futuro oratore.* “*Jam in schola victoriam spectet, & ferire vitalia, ac tueri sciat.*” In the same sense we find *puto* in *Cic. de Off.* “*quasi populo Romano injustè imperanti accidere potuerunt, quid debent putare singuli?*” What ought particular persons to expect, when tyranny and oppression could bring all these calamities upon the *Roman* empire? I might likewise have observed that as frequentatives are used for their primitives, and compounds for the simple verbs, so the simple are sometimes put for the compound.

55. SPERO. *Miscell. 24. Jo. Calvini epicedium.* “*si quis erit nullos superesse a funere manes, Qui putet, aut si forte putet, sic vivit ut orcum speret, & æternas Stygis sub gurgite pœnas,*”——i. e. Whoever does not believe the immortality of the soul, or tho’ possibly



does believe that there is a future state, yet lives in  
 such a manner as (to be apprehensive, forbode by fears)  
 have reason *to be afraid* of hell and everlasting punish-  
 ment, ——— *Ruddiman*, not comprehending the au-  
 thor's sentiment, nor understanding the meaning of *spe-*  
*riat*, imagines that the true reading is *spernat*. *Spes* signi-  
 fies the looking for any thing good or bad, that is either  
 hope or fear, and refers to pain as well as to pleasure.  
*Prottus* : “ *Spes est opinio futurorum, & (ut Plato scri-*  
*bit) commune nomen est tam ad bona, quam ad mala.*  
*Singuli quippe homines duos intra se comites habent*  
*utrumque amentem, & alterum alteri contrarium : huic*  
*voluptas nomen est, illi dolor. Singulos præeunt futu-*  
*rum opiniones, quarum commune nomen spes est.*  
*Proprium vero ejus, quæ dolorem præcedit, timor : illius*  
*vero, quæ voluptatem, fiducia. Ab hac fit spero verbum*  
*quod similiter tam ad dolorem, quam ad voluptatem re-*  
*fertur. Virgilius : Hunc ego si potui tantum sperare do-*  
*tero, Et perferre soror potero. Sperare inquit hoc*  
*est futurum opinari, sive timere ; hinc bene spero, &*  
*male spero dicimus.” Virgil Æn. i. 542. “ Si genus*  
*humanum & mortalia temnitis arma, At sperate Deos*  
*memores fandi atque nefandi :” i. e. metuite. Juvenal*  
*57. “ jam quartanam sperantibus ægris stridebat de-*  
*formis hiems.” i. e. formidantibus. Hence Sidon. 7. e-*  
*pist. 7. “ Alia regio tradita servitium, sperat Arverna*  
*supplicium.” See more examples in Faber from Cicero,*  
*Quintilian, Florus, where spes is put for fear, and sperare*  
*for metuere.*  
 56. SUM. This verb is so often elliptically under-  
 stood, that *Sanctius* thinks it needless to put us in mind  
 of it, *quid Gracculus cum fidibus ?* Supply *est*. *Virg.*  
*“ haud mora festinant jussi”* understand *fit*. *Id.* “ *pro-*  
*missi ultorem”* supply *fore*. *Ter* “ *ne dicas tibi non*  
*prædictum”* supply *fuisse*. *Id.* “ *factum volo”* understand  
*esse*. *Gell.* 5. 8, “ *est, et erat, et fuit* plerumque ab-  
 sunt,

sunt, cum elegantia, sine detrimento sententiae."

*Buchanan's* Latin translation of *Linacre's* supplement construction pag. 70. "almost all the parts of speech by common custom are elliptically understood, particularly verbs, and especially the verb *Sum* in almost all moods, tenses, numbers, and persons, except the imperative." And he must be a perfect stranger to Latin authors, particularly to *Livy*, who does not perceive this ellipse in every page. *Linacre* de emend. structura lib. 6. "verba quoque non pauca ad legitimam constructionem nonnunquam requiri solent, præcipue verbum, *Sum*, quod etiam in omnibus desideratum legatur. As *Sum* is often suppressed, so is it sometimes elegantly expressed and doubled in the same sentence: of the latter *Ruddiman* seems to have had no notion at all, and frequently to have lost sight of the former, as will appear by running over the following passages of *Buchanan*.

(1.) *Lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 7. c. 9.* "Albion igitur, Bergion homines, ut videtur, cæteris vicinis corporum proceritate præstantes, et fiducia virium in ea Ligurum ora latrocinium exercentes: quos Hercules cum illac ire haberet armis compescuit." Here *Ruddiman* tells us *erant* or *fuerant* must be supplied; which it was a great chance that he did not foist into the text.

(2.) *Lib. 5. cap. 5 p. 75. b of Fergus I.* "nec res cum Romanorum invictis copiis, sed cum Brittonibus, ut non multo belli apparatu superioribus, ita laborum patientia longe inferioribus." Here *fuit* is foisted in after the word *Brittonibus*, tho' wanting in all the editions; because *fuerat* is added on the margin of the MS. to be inserted in the line following after *inferioribus*.

(3.) *Lib. 6 cap. 7. p. 94. b. of Constantine son. Kenneth.* "Is cum acceptam sub Donaldo ignominiam delere, atque ad fines a patre relictos regnum promovere cuperet, a senioribus inhibitus, quod juvenis magna pars sub Donaldo extincta, et reliqua ita corru-

... fuerat, ut arma publicè ei committenda non videren-  
 tur." It seems *Ruddiman* did not think of mending  
 this passage in due time ; for without altering the text,  
 he tells us in his note, that he would chuse to read à  
*senioribus est inhibitus.*

(4.) *Lib. 8. cap. 22. p. 139. a 9.* " Qui vicus  
 [Varium Sacellum] in ipsis valli Severi vestigiis *est inae-*  
*quificatus paulo plus sex millia passum à Sterlino distat.*"  
 In this, and many more instances, *Ruddiman* shewing  
 his ignorance of the ellipse of the conjunction *et*, strikes  
 out *est*.

(5.) *Lib. 8. cap. 49. p. 149. b 9, 10. on Edward II.*  
*of England :* " ipse à filio, atque ab uxore modicis co-  
 piis transmarinis freta *comprehensus est*, et in arctissimam  
 custodiam conjectus foedo mortis genere *interemptus est*,"  
 so *Ruddiman* the first *est* seems ill proper, because a se-  
 cond *est* follows. *Cic. ad M. Brutum, Orator.* " Isti  
 autem cum dissolvunt orationem, in qua nec res nec  
 verbum ullum *est*, nisi abjectum ; non clypeum, sed, ut  
 in proverbio *est*, (etsi humiliter dictum *est*, tamen consi-  
 mile *est*.) scopas (ut ita dicam) mihi videntur dissol-  
 vere." *Cic. off. lib. 3.* " non quidquid tibi audire  
*neesse est*, id mihi dicere *neesse est*." 'Tis not necessary  
 for me to tell you whatever is profitable for you to  
 know.

(6.) *Lib. 11. cap. 19 p. 204. c 2.* On the strong  
 castle of *Dumbarton* twice taken within a few days.  
 " Præerat arci inferiori Robertus Semplius, superiori  
 Patricius Galbrethus, ita partiti imperium, ut peculia-  
 rem quisque aditum in suam partem habentes : " here  
 there is evidently an ellipse of *essent* to *habentes*, which  
 is the same as if he had said *haberent*. *Aristotle* in his  
 metaphysics says, there is no difference between *an-*  
*thropos hygiainon esti*, homo est valens, and *anthropos hy-*  
*giainei*, homo valet : nay also *Cicero* in like manner *de*  
*Oratore :* " *est*, ut scis, quasi in extrema pagina Phæ-



dri, his ipsis verbis loquens Socrates." *Vos. de construc*  
*cap. 60. Cic. de senect. c 8.* "sed videtis, ut servitus  
 non modo languida non sit, verum etiam sit operosa,  
 semper agens aliquid, et moliens." *Id. de Amic. cap. 26.*  
 "omnino est amans sui virtus." *Ruddiman* misunder-  
 standing the construction of *Buchanan's* words in more  
 respects than one, for *ut quisque in suam partem habent*  
 would have us to read *in suam partem haberet*. And *Id.*  
*Tacitus, hist. lib. 2.* "jam tribuni præfectique su-  
 quisque facta extollentes, falso vera, aut majora vero mi-  
 cebant," we should read *quisque extollens*. And *Id. Ann.*  
*lib. 4.* "Et quia Cornutus sua manu ceciderat, actum  
 de præmiis accusatorum abolendis, si quis majestatem  
 postulatus ante perfectum judicium se ipse vita privavi-  
 sent." according to our critic, it should be *privavisset*.

(7.) *Lib. 12. cap. 58. p. 238. b 12.* *James IV*  
 principal motive to head the nobility that rose in arms  
 against *James III* to repress his tyranny. "Is à custo-  
 diis suis, et ætatis infirmioris rectoribus corruptus ho-  
 maxime metu, ne si ille recusaret, ad Anglos hostes se  
 milix suæ perpetuos imperium deferretur." To *Ruddi-*  
*man*, ignorant of the ellipse of *est* or *fuit*, this sentence  
 seems to hang in suspense without adding *est* after *cor-*  
*ruptus*, or rather *ducem illis se præbuit* after *deferretur*  
 tho' in the sentence immediately preceeding we have  
*quem sibi ducem nominarent*, and *in regis filium est ab om-*  
*nibus consensum*.

(8.) *Lib. 13. cap. 22. p. 247. d 10.* "Inter agro-  
 rum apud Scotos jura unum genus, quo dominus, &c. *Id.*  
 et alia servitus huic generi agrorum adjuncta," *Ruddi-*  
*man* from the MS. foists in *est* after *unum genus*, which  
 the author, in retouching his work, has struck out, and  
 designed as an ellipsis to be supplied from the beginning  
 of the very next sentence.

(9.) *Lib. 14. cap. 8. p. 260. d 3.* "Ideoque od-  
 um vetus in tempus recondens Proregi jamdudum o-  
 suspicion

culpationes Humilis infenso durioris consilii auctor tuisse existimatus," *Crawford* is for reading *existimatur*, but at that rate *Ruddiman* would rather prefer *existimabatur*: however as *est* may not without reason be here understood, he is not for tampering with the sentence without cause.

(10.) *Lib. 14. cap. 15. p. 263. b.* "Pactis induciis, et spe pacis injecta discessum. *Crawford* would have the reading to be *discessum est*: but neither here does *Ruddiman* follow him.

(11.) *Lib. 16. cap. 27. p. 313. b. 3.* "Quod ei non difficile, propter auctoritatem, quæ ei apud suos erat:" *Crawford*, to render the sentence fuller and clearer, bids read *difficile esset*: but *Ruddiman* does not obey him.

(12.) *Lib. 19. cap. 13. p. 371. b. 12.* "sed ea res non tam proregi erat futura formidolosa, quam inimici obantur, quippe quæ ab illis alienatura esset, et ipsi con-  
iunctura arctissime vires Anglorum esset." Without any authority at all, and in opposition to that of all the editions, as he owns himself, *Ruddiman* strikes out the *est*, because there is another *esset* in the end of the sentence: and at the same rate *est* should be rased out of the following passages of *Cicero* and *Seneca*. *Cic.* *Topic.* "à quibus ut quæque res gesta est, ita sit honesta necesse est." *Id.* pro P. Sextio. "Creditum est: discessum est———si P. Sextius, qui pro occiso relictus est, occisus esset." *Sen.* constantia sapientis. cap. 11. "Ut quisque contemptissimus, et ut maxime ludibrio est, ita solutissimæ linguæ est." *Id.* nat. quæst. 6. 31. "on earthquakes. "Cum maximus editus tremor est, quo in urbes terrasque sævitum est, non potest par illi sub-  
sequi alius, &c." *Cic.* Orator. "id autem est genus (ut ante dictum est) ex tribus partibus collocationis alterutrum." *Id.* Attic. 15. 5. "mihi vero deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe." I am fully determined, at present at least, to leave the city.

(13.) *Lib. 19. cap. 31. p. 378. a 7.* "Eisdem diebus ex Anglia Jacobus Hamiltonius familiæ suæ princeps *advenit*, a Regina Scotorum nova, et ante inaudita arrogatione in patrem *est adoptatus*, et regni vicarius factus." *Ruddiman* imagines he has added a grace to this sentence, which the author had not given it, and is plain from all the editions, by rasing out *est*.

(14.) *Lib. 19. cap. 38. p. 380. c 10.* "Cum hoc maxime pacto ad Fanum Andreæ cum Huntlæo transactum *esset*, cum duabus mercenariorum cohortibus, et satis magna amicorum manu Prorex primum Abredoniam, deinde Elginam, demum Ennernessum *delatus*." *Ruddiman*, contrary to all the editions, reads *est delatus*.

(15.) *Dial. de jure regni. cap. 77. pag. 34. lin. 1, 2.* Quia non Rex legi, sed lex regi coercendo quæsitæ *est*. Et à lege id ipsum habet, quod Rex *est*; nam absque eo tyrannus *esset*." *Ruddiman*, without any authority, has spoiled this passage, reading *tyrannus est*.

(16.) *Jephth. pag. 12. Storg. v. 22.* "Crudelitate *si propitius sit deus*," *Ruddiman* asks whether we should read *propitius sit*? And he may as well ask whether we should read *fiunt propitii* in *Plaut. Curc. 4. 2 45*. "Cui homini dii *sunt propitii*, lucrum ei profecto obijciunt."

57. SUPPEDITO See *apporto*.

58. ULCISCOR. *lib. 11. cap. p. 202. a 11.* "et inimicos cum summa nostra gloria *ulciscamur*." On this passage *Ruddiman* has favoured us with the following criticism. "*Ulciscor* is taken in almost two opposite senses, (*fere contrario modo*) either for *punio*, as here, or for *vindico*, as in other places. Thus *Terence*, "ego te pro istis dictis et factis, scelus, *ulciscar*," i. e. *puniam*. *Virg.* "cadentem *ulcisci* patriam" i. e. *vindicare*, or *pœnam de ea* [Helena] *expetere, quæ excidii Trojæ causa fuerat*. But does not the taking revenge for one's country, as the critic himself here explains it, carry it



the idea of punishment? And did he not know, that *vindico*, as well as *ulciscor*, signifies to punish, as in *Cic.* *amic.* “*omni supplicio vindicare.*” *Fam.* 1. 9. “*vindicare seditionem?*” We have a more express proof that *punio* and *ulciscor* are sometimes synonymous in *Gell.* 14. “*pœniendis peccatis tres esse debere causas existimatum est.*——Has tres *ulciscendi* rationes——1. for chastisement or amendment. 2. for supporting the dignity or authority of the person against whom the offence is committed. 3. for example and terror of others not to do the like. In *Ovid Met.* 14. 36. we have *ulciscor* in one and the same line and phrase in two different significations, “*unoque duas ulciscere factio*”—i. e. take revenge of *Scylla* and take revenge for *Circe*, nempe *ulcisci dicimur tum illum, in quem, tum illum propter quem, ultio exercetur.*

59. **VENDICO** and *vindico*. *Buchanan* uses the former in the sense of claiming, appropriating, taking to one's self, challenging, usurping, and the latter in that of punishing or revenging; as “*nomen sibi vendicant*——in *Flandriæ* dominatu *vindicando*——jus quod in *Moraviam* *vendicabat*——regnum sibi *vendicabant*——titulum regni *vindicando*——sibi sedes *vendicabant*——*austerales* partes sibi *vendicarunt*, quoted from *Bede*——*res gestas Cimbrorum tuis vindicare*——*ejus agros sibi vendicavit*——*Æbudas sibi vendicaverat*——partem sibi *vendicare*——imperium in vivos et mortuos *vendicarunt*.——Again, “*mors vindicata*——ad injuriam *vindicandam*. But in other places, he uses *vindico* and *vindico* promiscuously in the sense of *libero, defendo, assero*; “*ab oblivionis injuria vindicare*——*ab ejus libidine vendicabat*——*vendicat à timiditatis opinione*——in *pristinam libertatem vindicare*——*de se vindicando* in *libertatem*.——And “*familiam ab interitu vindicavit*——*ab Anglorum imperio suos vindicabant*——*ab oblivione vindicare*——*ab interitu vindicatam*

*vindicatam*——se à contumeliis & miseriis *vindicare*——a temeritatis infamia *vindicabit*——ab ha contumelia *vindicare*——in pristinum splendorem *vindicatum* regnum——de rege in libertatem *vindicando*——*Ruddiman* joining issue with our modern critics, it seems, is for exploding the verb *vendico* entirely for wherever he meets with it in *Buchanan*, he turns into *vindico*; a liberty which no editor ought to assume but leave his author accountable for the mistake, supposing it real. That there is a difference between the two verbs is asserted by some eminent restorers of learning whose opinion seems to be confirmed by passages of the antient *Latins*, the authority whereof has been rejected or called in question without sufficient ground. From *venum*, says *Perottus*, comes *vendico*, quasi *conveniens mihi dico*, *Quintil.* “*rusticus petit partem bonorum, orator totum sibi vendicat.*” But *vindico* is compounded of *vis* and *dico*, quasi *vindico*; which is properly *ulciscor* tho’ sometimes it be put for *ab injuria, contumeliave sibi jactura defendo & libera*. *Valla.* eleg. 5. 8. in the main agrees with *Perottus*, adding that *vendico* generally requires the dative, very often of primitive pronouns; “*hunc agrum ego vendico mihi, tu tibi, frater sibi.*” The same *Valla* differs from *Buchanan* in this particular, that he is not for saying *vindicare* (quasi *asserere*,) in *libertatem* or in *servitutem*, but *vindicare*, and doubts whether *vendico* is to be found; which may be understood in general, or rather more particularly of *vendico* for *assero*, as he had just said. (*ic.* Off. 1. 2. “*nam philosophiam scientiam concedens multis: quod est oratoris proprium, aptè, distinctè, ornatèque dicere, quoniam in eo studio ætatem consumpsi, si id mihi assumo, videor id me jure quodam modo vindicare.*” Allowing some other the precedence in philosophy, if I assume to myself what’s the part of an orator, viz. to speak suitably, methodically and handsomely upon any subject, seeing

have spent my whole life in that study, I think 'tis no more than what I may reasonably *lay claim to*. Id. pro Sulla "neque honoris neque ætatis excusatio *vendit* à labore" where *Lambin* reads *vindicat*, without pretending any authority. *Col. l. 10. de cultu hortorum* præf. "propriam sibi laudem non *vendicat*." Id. *R. lib. 1. præf.* "Maenander et Diodorus in primis sibi *vendicaverunt* agricolationis laudem." Id. 5. 1. *cujus scientiam mihi non vendico.*" *Seneca de morte Claudii* : "Eratoſthenes primus hoc cognomentum [philologi] sibi *vendicavit*." It were easy to multiply examples from other authors, particularly from *Quintilian*. *lib. 60. VENEROR. Lib. 12. cap. 19. p. 225. a 6.* "ea ædes [St. Bride's church] quanquam in illis locis magna ceremonia *veneraretur*,"——*Ruddiman* could no where find this verb in a passive sense, but only it's participle. And yet if he had read *Tacitus* with attention, he would have found the verb itself used passively, *de moribus German.* near the end. "Apud Naharvalos antiquæ religionis lucus ostenditur. præsidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romani Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ejus numinis nomen Alcis, nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium. ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes *venerantur*." Possibly *veneror* is put in a passive signification in *Quintilian* *declam. 5.* "Hinc et ille venit affectus, quod ignotis cadaveribus humum gerimus, et insepultum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit : ut non quantulocunque *veneretur* aggestu." We have already seen under *interpretor* Grammarians of great reputation affirming, that the using participles either in an active or passive sense is a sufficient proof that the verbs from which they are derived ought to be accounted common. *Vossius lib. 5. cap. 6.* is of this opinion with respect to *veneror* in particular, referring us to *Gellius lib. 15. cap. 13.* and *Priscian lib. 8.* I have already observed that

*Linacre*



*Linacre* is of the same sentiment. We find *venerata* passively taken *Virg. Æn. 6.* “*curfusque dabit venerata sacerdos.*” And *Hor. Sat. lib. 2. 2. 124.* “*E venerata Ceres ut culmo surgeret alto.*” *Vossius* takes notice that *venero* in the active voice is to be found in *Plautus Trucul.* “*date mihi huc stactam atque ignem, u venerem Lucinam meam.*” And in the same *lib. 5. cap. 7.* that many deponent verbs antiently ended in *o* or *or*, particularly *arbitro*, which is to be found in *Plautus Stich.* And which I have likewise found in *Cicero Attic. 2. 23.* “*numquam ante arbitro te epistolam meam legisse, nisi mea manu scriptam.*”

61. VINCO. *Lib. 12. cap. 43. p. 233. d 6.* “*Sin vinceritis, non quietem vobis, opes patriæ, Regi gloriam comparabitis:*”——*Ruddiman* following the foreign editions in this as in many other blunders, reads *viceritis*, shewing a third instance of his ignorance of that sort of archaism, according to which the preterite is formed from the present tense, as I before observed under the verbs *facio* and *premo*. Of this embellishment of style *Quintilian lib. 8. cap. 3. de ornatu*, discourses, commending the prince of *Latin* poets for his discreet judicious use of archaisms. “*Cum sint autem verba propria, ficta, translata, propriis dignitatem dat antiquitas. Nanque et sanctiorem et magis admirabilem facit orationem, quibus non quilibet fuerat usus, eoque ornameto acerrimi judicii P. Vergilius unicè est usus. Olli enim, et quianam, et mis, et pone, pellucet ad aspergendam illam, quæ etiam in picturis est gravissima, vetustatis inimitabilem [or admirabilem] arti auctoritatem. Sed utendum modo, nec ex ultimis tenebris repetenda.*”

## C H A P. IX.

participles. Mr. Ruddiman's corruptions and false criticisms.

**A**DDITURUM and *detraeturum*. Lib. 19. cap. 13. p. 371. d. "vel quod ea mora, et ludificatio aliquid virium, et animorum suis *additurum*, hostium *detraeturum* videretur:" This is plainly an imitation of Cicero in Ver. 5. "*hanc sibi rem præsidio spectant futurum*." Several other expressions of this nature are seen quoted by Gellius 1. 7. C. Gracchus: "*credo ego inimicos meos hoc dicturum*." Quadrigarius' *annal.* "*hostium copias ibi occupatas futurum*." — Est quod speremus deos bonis bene *facturum*." Valerius Antias: "*haruspices dixerunt omnia ex sententia processurum esse*." Plautus in *Casina* 3. 5. 50. speaking of a female, "*occisurum* and not *occisuram*." "*Etiamne habet Casina gladium? Habet, sed duos, Quibus, altero te occisurum ait, altero villicum*." Laberius: "*non putamus hoc eam facturum*." By these examples a friend of Gellius's, thoroughly versed in the writings of the ancients, supported his assertion, that Cicero in the forecited passage had committed no solecism, but that he speaks well and elegantly: for *futurum* does not refer to *rem*, nor is it put for a participle, but is an indefinite verb, which the Greeks call *aparempbaton*, of the indefinite mood, which is not divided either into numbers, persons, genders or tenses, but comprehends all these under one and the same declension or conjugation; as in the Greek language, such verbs as *poiessein*, *esesthai*, *lexein*, are of all numbers and genders, without distinction. Of the same sentiment are Priscian, Augustinus Saturnius, Carrion, Vossius, and others. Vossius, highly extolled by Mr. Ruddiman, to the foregoing examples adds two or three more

more preserved in *Priscian*. *Lucilius* addressing himself to *Penelope*; "*nupturum te nupta negas, quod vivere Ulysses speras.*" *Cato* in 5. *Originum*: "*illi polliciti se facturum omnia.*" *Sylla* in 21. *rerum suarum*: "*summam perniciem remp. perventurum esse.*" That this is the true reading *Vossius* proves by the authority of his MS. of *Priscian*, and that the reading of the antient *Venetian* and of a later edition of *Putschius*, is contrary to *Priscian's* meaning, who had made express mention of the participle neuter. The same *Vossius* is of opinion that not only the futures in *rum* were anciently of no certain gender or number, but even the preterites passive. *Plautus* *Amphitr.* prolog. "*justam rem, & facilem, esse oratum vobis volo.*" So the old MSS. which reading is approved by one of the first rate critics, viz. *Janus Guilielmus*. See *Vossius* de arte Gram. 5. 16. and de vitiis sermonis 9. 19. where he tells us, it is no solecism to say *uxor ait se venturum, filiae negant se crediturum*, and the like because such expressions are very elegant, and not uncommon. Mr. *Ruddiman* seems not to have been ignorant of all this; but thinking it hardly credible that *Buchanan* meant to have imitated [*so much as in one instance*] that antique and obsolete way of speaking, and imagining without reason that the passage in question is not perfectly like those adduced by *Gellius*, he turns *aditum* and *detractum* into *additura* and *detractura*, without any authority but his own, and contrary to what he himself alledges against *Burman*, that what is to be found in all the editions probably came from the author's hand. I have heard of a young gentleman's composing a *Latin* discourse, which he purposely intermixed with some passages of *Cicero*, as tho' they had been his own, and submitted to the inspection of a noted pedant, who fell a displaying his critical skill on the *Ciceronian Latin*, which he would have corrected without knowing the author. But Mr. *Ruddiman*, it seems, has outdone



ther in pedantry, and, according to him, *Buchanan* could write better *Latin* than the father of *Roman* eloquence himself, and *Mr. Ruddiman* was capable to mend many instances the style of an author which surpassed that of *Cicero*. Indeed *Johnson* says, the instances, except one from *Cicero* and another from *Gracchus*, advanced by *Vossius*, are quoted by Grammarians only out of authors not now extant. But will this prove that those authors did not write classical *Latin*? He adds that that of *Cicero* being now read *futuram* [by modern editors of bad taste in opposition to the authority of the most antient MSS. even of those that were extant in the time of *Gellius*] it is generally concluded [by half critics] that this word in this signification, is not now to be used. However he owns it is still remaining in *Plautus* not only in the passage quoted by *Vossius*, but in another a little above it, "*dejuravit occisurum eum hac nocte, quicum cubaret,*" *Cas. act. 3. Sc. 5. 37. i. e. Casina* *dejuravit se occisurum not occisuram.*

2. **ADVERSUS** and *aversus*. These two often used in an opposite sense, may sometimes admit of the same signification.

(1.) *Lib. 11. cap. 16. p. 203. b 4.* "*adversis a memoria periculorum animis,*"——so the first edition and *L. Elzevir's*: *Ruddiman* after the MS. and *Gerova* and *Frankfort* editions, reads *aversis*.

(2.) *ibid. cap. 19. p. 204. d.* "*Regem sibi aversum conciliare.*" So the MS. the first edition and those of *Gerova* and *Frankfort*: *Ruddiman*, on the authority of later editions, reads *adversum*, but without reason for as *Ter. And. 1. 1. 37.* "*eorum obsequi studiis, adversus neminem, i. e. contrarius.* *Plin. 32. 4.* "*neque est testudine aliquid Salamandrae adversus.*" So *Quintil. 7. 1.* "*iudex re-liquorum defensionis aversior.*"

(3.) *lib. 14. cap. 3. p. 259. a 4.* "*ejus ab Humio adversa voluntas.*" So the first edition: but the foreign editions

editions followed by *Ruddiman*, who says nothing about it in his notes, read *aversa*. *Tacitus* says *adversis animis accipere*, and *Cicero Attic.* 11. 4. *aversissimo in me animo fuit*. I remember to have read somewhere, *ita à republica sunt adversi*, they are so much against a commonwealth.

(4.) *lib. 15. cap. 61. p. 301. lin. penult*; “miles quidam machinæ æneæ maximæ, quæ in portam forte *aversa* stabat, ignem subjecit,” when the French had almost surprized *Haddington*, one of the English soldiers fired a great piece of ordnance, which happened to stand fronting the gate or port. *Ruddiman* on the authority of the MS. and contrary to that of all the editions, reads *obversa*; which emendation is at best but doubtful. This incident is described by *Knox* in the following manner. One amongst many of the English soldiers came to the east gate, where lay two great pieces of ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be [meaning without the port.] He fired a great piece, and after that another; the bullets rebounded from the wall of the frier-church to the wall of St. Katherine’s chapel which stood directly over against it, and from the wall of the said chapel to the said church wall again, so often that there fell more than an hundred of the French in those two shots only.

(5.) *Lib. 18. cap. 44. p. 362. a 10.* “Ibi a Balfourio intromissi per *adversam partem* [arcis Edimburgi] post paucos dies emissi incolumes.” So all the editions, but *Ruddiman* is almost persuaded, that the reading should be *adversam partem*, which he imagines is confirmed by *Thuanus*, who following *Buchanan* close, relates, that they were let out *per posticum*: as tho’ they could not have been let in at the foregate and let out at the postern, and as if these two gates had not been opposite, the one to the other. *Liv. 34. 46.* “nam extra vallum pugnabant, quarta legione in porta hærentes.”

te, cum alius tumultus ab adversa parte castrorum esset.  
exortus."

3. CONFECTUS. *lib. 1. cap. 33. p. 14 a 2.* "lorica ferreis annulis *confecta* ——— so all the printed books, so also the MS. in the first hand, but changed by a later into *conserta*, which *Ruddiman* has chosen, who thinks the author imitates *Virg. Æn. 3. 467. lorica consertam hamis auroque trilicem*, and 5. 259. "*levis armis huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem Lorica*— which also *Andrew Melvin* had in his eye in his *Scotia*, which is nothing else but a poetical paraphrase of this chorography of *Buchanan's*; for thus he, "*et bello arma tegunt hæc corpora: ferrea cassis, et lorica hamis ferri conserta trilixque demissa ad talos*" ——— to which *Ruddiman* might have added, if he had pleased, two passages more from *Virgil Æn. 3. consertum tegumen spinis* ——— and 11. "*spumantemque agitabat equum: quem pellis aenis in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat.* Nay in *Tacitus annal. lib. 16.* we read *prædura corio consertum.* But if *Ruddiman's* character of *Buchanan*, that he was not a servile copier of the ancients, be just, all these authorities put together will not justify the reading of *conserta* for *confecta* in the place in question. In *Virgil* we read *perfecta* in the same sense *Æn. 5. 267. cymbiaque argento perfecta*, and more expressly in *Silius Italicus lib. 2.* "*præterea textam nodis, auroque trilicem Lorica, et nulli tegmen penetrabile telo. Hæc ære et duri calybis perfecta metallo.*" Dr. *Ker* observes, that the proper signification of *conficio* seems now to be unknown to very many, being the same with *efficio* or *facio*, than which nothing is more usual in the ancients, particularly *Cicero*; as *vestem aliquam, annulum, pallium, soccos conficere.*

4. CREANDUS. *lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 132. c. K. Alexander III.* with his whole race, except one grand-daughter by his daughter, being dead, a convention of the



states was called to meet at *Scone*, “ in quo de novo rege creando, & statu regni interim componendo ageretur,” to consult about making a new king, and settling the state of the kingdom in the mean time : not to make a new king, says *Ruddiman*, after *Tyrell*, but to chuse a husband for the young queen, was this convention of the states called : as if there was any opposition betwixt these two, and as if the person they were to chuse for their queen’s husband, being a son of *Edward I. of England*, was not all under one to be created or made king. See under *eligendus*.

5. CULTUS. *lib. 11. cap. 46. p. 215. d.* on the death of Sir *William Crichton*. “ Is quanquam eque loco natus esset : tamen ob summam prudentiam, fortitudinem, fidemque singularem erga Regem ad ultimum usque vitæ diem constanter cultum, maximum bene omnibus desiderium sui reliquit.” *Ruddiman*, against the authority of all the books printed and Manuscripts, and without offering to give a reason for it, reads *cultam*. *Cic. Fam. 11. 29.* “ Et cum abessem, atque magnis periculis essem : et me absentem, et meos præsertim à te cultos, et defensos esse memini.” *Liv. 2. 2.* “ Gratias agunt liberaliter habiti, cultique in calamitate sua.” They were very thankful, as having been greatly used, and relieved in their calamity. *Buch. ep. 1. 3.* To *Charles de Marillac* bishop of *Vienne*, one of his great patrons. *Rebus in angustis tibi, Carole, cultus amicè*” so *Ruddiman* corrects the other editions of that of *Andrew Hart. 2. 24.* “ Hunc, Ransforte, tunc cineri *Buchananus* honorem Dat meritum, duro cultu in exilio ;” so *Ruddiman* justly corrects the former editions which read *custos*. This is Sir *John Rainsford*’s epitaph, a famous *English* knight, the only man that maintained the author against the fury of the papists, and at whose hands he found great relief, when the *grey friars* prevailing against him, he was fain to leave

country, escaping with great hazard of life, the  
 thieves on the borders, and the plague in the north of  
 England: I have mentioned these two epigrams to shew  
 how unjustly he has been loaded with the crime of in-  
 gratitude to his benefactors by Mr. *Ruddiman*'s friends,  
 without any shadow of proof, and by none more than  
 that pitiful scribbler Dr. *McKenzie*, in whom it may be  
 questioned whether weakness, acknowledged by *Ruddi-*  
*man*, or malice was most prevalent.

6. *DISICCATUS*. *lib. 1. cap. 43. p. 18. d 3.* On  
 the fuel, peat or turf, used by the inhabitants of the  
 Lewis instead of burnwood. "Hæc velut superior cru-  
 sta in cespites oblongos, et tenues conscissa, et ad solem  
*disiccata* in usum ignis colligitur, et lignorum vice uri-  
 tur." *Di* and *dis* in composition sometimes denote di-  
 versity or difference, as *dissentio* i. e. *diversum sentio*, and  
 sometimes add to the signification of the simple words,  
 as *discaveo*, valde caveo: and *disicco* is a very apposite  
 term for expressing the various ways of winning or dry-  
 ing peat or turf.; first, laying them on the moss or moor  
 where they are cast up, till they dry a little and can  
 be handled; next spreading, then setting them up  
 end and making them up in ricks before they be fit  
 for being brought near houses and built up in stacks. It  
 is no proof of *disicco*'s not being *Latin*, that it is not to  
 be found in any dictionary: for there are many words  
 to be seen in the best copies of the best authors, which  
 you vain shall you seek in the best dictionaries: and  
 therefore we may conclude, that *Ruddiman*, after the  
 foreign editors, has corrupted the above passage of *Bu-*  
*chanan*, (who speaking of moss but a little before, viz.  
*lib. 1. c. 38. p. 16. b.* has "glebas ad usum ignis desicc-  
 ant," and ever loves variety) for *disiccata* reading *desic-*  
*cata*. *Gruter* observes, that *Cicero* has been corrupted  
 the same way in some passages, particularly *de Sen. c. 2.*  
*à qua [natura] non verisimile est, cum ceteræ partes*

ætatis bene *discriptæ* sint, extremum actum, tanquam ab inerti poëta, esse neglectum." So *Gulielmius* has restored it from *Metellus*' MS. for which the common copies read *descriptæ*, as *de oratore*, lib. 1. *descriptè* for *discriptè* and *pro P. Sextio* describing the state of nature of mankind before the institution of civil government, society and laws. "Quis enim vestrum, iudices, ignoravit ita naturam rerum tulisse, ut quodam tempore homines nondum neque naturali, neque civili jure *discripto*, super agros, ac dispersi vagarentur. ¶ *Id.* *de orat.* and *Caesar* to major, *demenſa* is wrong read for *dimenſa*, as in *Vatin.* lib. 4. and in *Vatin.* *deligari* for *diligari*, and *deligendi* for *diligendi*, *dilegeret* for *dilegeret*. Thus *disſignare*, *disſignare* and many other such words have been corrupted in the printed editions of *Latin* authors. In *Vitruvius* 1. 1. we read *disſracta*. *disſumpo* in *Columella* is by *Ainsworth* reckoned a bad word or used only by writers of an inferior class; tho' *Gellius* 2. 3. assures us that the following line of *Virgil* *Geor.* 1. 196. was thus read in the best copies of that author extant in his time. "Aut ſe his undam tepidi *disſumat* aheni." When all this is considered, one would make some scruple to follow *Ruddiman* following the foreign editors lib. 16. cap. 48. 320. c 6. where the earl of *Arran* and lord *Jameſ* heads of the reformed, are spoke of c 4. *equis diſcendiſſent* as the 1st *Edinburgh* and 1st *Frankfort* editions, for which the later editions read *diſcendiſſent*. Much less would I be for reading *derepta* for *direpta* fratres fratres 35. 65. as *Ruddiman* proposes, because in some copies of *Ovid* in two passages we read *derepta*, where our critic owns some other copies read *direpta*.

7. DONATUS. See chap. 7. pag. 433. under the pronoun *ipse*

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¶ *Discribere est suum cuique, & diversa diversis adscribere*  
8. ELIGENDUS



8. ELIGENDUS. *lib. 9. cap. 1. p. 153. c. 2.* "Scorum proceres funebri officio erga Regem defuncti comitia in primum diem commodum indicunt *Proregi eligendo.* Ibi in Thomam Randolfum Moraviæ Comitem, (*qui Rege vivo eum magistratum gesserat, & à mortuente testamento erat populo commendatus*) publicus favor apparuit." *Buchanan*, if we believe *Ruddiman*, had forgotten what he had himself told us before, *lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 146. d. 9. viz.* that in 1315 *Robert Bruce* and the states of the kingdom ordained, that, during the minority of *K. David Bruce*, *Thomas Randolph* should be his tutor and governor; which decree was also ratified by the same king and estates in the year 1318, and last of all by the king's will a little before his death, *ib. cap. 17. p. 152. d. 5.* So that there was no room left for choosing a regent. In the former passage we are told, that *Thomas Randolph*, or failing him, *James Douglas*, was to be tutor of the minor king and governor of the kingdom in the latter, that *Robert Bruce* by his will recommended his son *David*, and next to him *Robert Stewart* his grandson by his daughter, to the care of the nobility and particularly of *Tho. Randolph* his sister's son, and *Jas. Douglas* who some years before had had the administration of all affairs of consequence in their hands. In the very passage censured by *Ruddiman*, who charges the author with forgetfulness, and has much more reason to accuse himself of stupidity, we are told, that *Randolph* had been warden of the kingdom for some of the last years of the life of *Robert Bruce*, by whom at his death he had been recommended by his last will to the people or grandees. The first of these passages absolutely destroys *Mr. Ruddiman's* hypothesis of hereditary indefeasible right: for by the context we learn, that the states confirmed the crown to *Robert Bruce* himself, about nine years after his coronation; that it was entailed to his brother *Edward* and his heirs male,

to the exclusion of *Mary* or *Marjory Robert's* daughter and that failing *Edward* and his male issue, she and her posterity were to enjoy the crown, and the nobility to chuse a husband for her who was also to be king. The states then had the power of confirming the crown to *Robert Bruce* several years after his coronation, and of making such a settlement of it, which was to take place after his death, much more might they be allowed a power of chusing a regent for his son, or of confirming the choice he had made by his will. It appears by the acts of the parliaments of the five *Jameses*, that the states annulled the donations of *James III.* annexed lands to the crown, appointed collectors for bringing in the king's property and casualty, authorised him to sell his lands in feu farm, and chose auditors of the accounts of all the king's officers, as treasurer, comptroller: that the king's secret council were chosen by the parliament and sworn in his presence to be answerable to the king and estates for their counsel, at which the king promised to remain and abide till the next parliament: that the king's revocation at his compleat age was ratified in his hands bound up from granting reprieves or remission for murder, and his confessor, almoner and master of household chosen by the parliament: that by the parliament embassies were appointed for making confederacies and alliances and treaties of truce, peace and marriage, and their instructions drawn up by the states or others having their authority, and their quality, number and expences particularly ascertained, and the receivers of the tax imposed for defraying their charges named by the parliament. One would think it were no easy matter from these particulars to extract the absolute power of our kings. In the preface to his edition of *Buchanan's* works, *Mr. Ruddiman* informs us, that many find fault with these ways of speaking, *electus est* &c. used by that author, and think that his main design

using them so often as he does was to justify the de-  
 throning of *Q. Mary*, and substituting *K. James* her  
 son, or rather the regent earl of *Murray* (who was  
 dead some years before *Buchanan* began to write the  
 history of *Scotland*) in her place, by the example of our  
 forefathers, and *Mr. Ruddiman* thinks he has some rea-  
 son to be of their mind. *Mr. Logan* in his treatise of  
 government, has made it evident that these phrases are  
 not peculiar to *Buchanan*, but that they were used by  
 those who went before him. Here is a part of *Mr. Rud-*  
*diman's* reply, pag. '69, 70, 1, 2, 3. "I confess *Mr.*  
*Logan* has brought more instances of that kind [of phra-  
 ses *electus est, suspectus est, &c.*] from *Boethius* and *Lesly*  
 than I expected. I wonder very much how they could  
 use such phrases. I suppose, that finding them very of-  
 ten in the *Roman* historians, especially in *Livy*, (where  
 indeed their signification is strict, and proper, all the  
 magistrates of that people being elective) they would  
 likewise use them, to embellish or diversify their diction.  
 But I believe they really meant no more by them than  
 the proclamation of the successor, or a publick notifica-  
 tion to the people that they had got a new king. —  
*Lesly* inconsiderately, and contrary to his own principle  
 following his leader *Boece*, sometimes stumbles on that  
 phrase. — There is one place in him, which I much  
 wonder at, wherein he outdoes *Boece*, where speaking  
 of *Constantine IV* surnamed *Calvus*, he says, p. 190.  
 "Constantino Culi filio nobilitas universa imperium  
 mandavit. — From what I have so often said, [and  
 supposed and believed contrary to fact, sense and reason]  
 it is evidently manifest, that if *Boece*, *Lesly*, or any other  
 use these phrases, *electus est, suspectus est, &c.* in any o-  
 ther sense than that of the proclamation or inaugurati-  
 on, they speak falsely, at least improperly. This they  
 themselves could not possibly be ignorant of," — To  
 refute this, which in truth refutes itself, and to justify  
 the





the judgment will appear by considering that *explorare* more properly the business of a traveller and *explicare* that of a geographer, who communicates the travellers knowledge to others : for *explorare* is *sagaciter inquirere*, *explorare*, *observare* ; and *explicare* is put for *explanare* and *extendere*, because *quæ extenduntur, perfectius videntur*. Cic. de nat. Deor. 2. “incredibilem fabricam naturæ *explicare*.” Id. de Divinat. “Geometricum quiddam, aut physicum, aut Dialecticum *explicare*.”

11. FUTURUS. lib. 16. c. 6. p. 306. b 9. the reason why the earl of *Cassillis* opposed the motion of banishing Huntly to *France*, as a punishment for the innocent death of the laird of *McIntosh*. “Hominem enim ingenio vafro, obtrektoribus, & æmulis nocendi cupido, bello, quod brevi futurum ob Gallorum insolentiam non dubitabat futurum, velut facem, atque adeo ducem hostibus præbendum non esse.” where there is an ellipse of *et*, and the meaning is, that *Cassillis* not only foresaw a war between the Scots and *French* as a thing future, but that it would quickly break out; or as an event that would soon come to pass. *Ruddiman* blindly following the foreign editions, has spoiled the beauty of this passage, by striking out the 2d *futurum*, and with little less reason might have rased the 2d *fieri* out of lib. 2. cap. 21. p. 31. c 7. where he proves that there is an ellipsis of *non*, *non modo*, after the example of the best writers, being put for *non modo non*. “nihil horum non modo fieri, sed etiam facile fieri potuisse.”

12. HABENS. See under the verb *sum* pag. 493. Cic. off. lib. 3. “virtutemque censuerunt ob eam rem esse laudandam, quod efficiens esset voluptatis.”

13. ILLECTUS. lib. 11. cap. 40. p. 213. d 1. “multi etiam in supremum ordinem illecti.” So all the copies printed and MS. *Ruddiman* reads *allecti*, quoting *Suet. Ner. 1.* “et inter Patricios *allecti* perseverarunt omnes in eodem cognomine.” and telling us from *Festus* that

that those among the *Romans* were called *adlecti* [ *adlectitii*, which word is not mentioned by *Festus* "qui propter inopiam ex equestri ordine in senatus numerum sunt assumpti." and lastly referring us to *Buchanan* in pandectas fol. 40. But what did our critic know but *Buchanan* meant to vary his expression in imitation of *Vell. Paterculus* describing the government of *Augustus*, after the civil wars were ended 289. where we have both *adlecti* from *allegor*, *lectus* from *legor*, and *illectus* from *illegor*? "tantum modò octo prætoribus *adlecti* duo; — senatus sine asperitate, nec sine severitate *lectus*. Principes viri, triumphisque & amplissimis honoribus functi, hortatu Principis, ad ornandam urbem *illecti* sunt."

14. ILLUCENS. *lib. 15. cap. 28. p. 290. e 5* "paulatim *illucente* veritate," so the 1st edition, the MS. *illucescente*; *Ruddiman*, on the authority of the later editions, of which he speaks with great contempt in his preface, reads *elucens*. *Cic. epist. ad Brut. 15.* "cum lætissimus ille civitati dies *illuxisset*, and so in many other places in the literal sense. *Suet. Jul. 81.* "ea nocte cui *illuxit* dies cædis," the night before the day of the assassination. In the sense of *appearing* or *showing one's self*, *Plaut. Bacch. 2. 3. 22.* "scelestiorum nulum *illuxere* alterum."

15. INSTITUTUS. *lib. 15. cap. 47. p. 297. d 5* part of the D. of *Somerset's* letter to the governor and nobility of *Scotland*. "Quòd si maritum ex dignitate, & utilitate publica eligant, quem potius assumant, quam *Regem vicinum* in eadem insula natum, genere propinquum, in eisdem legibus institutum, moribus, & lingua educatum" — if they did either respect their profit or honour, they could not make a better choice of a husband for their queen, than of a king their neighbour, born in the same isle, joined in propinquity of blood, instructed in the same laws, educated in the same manners and



nd language. By the help of the MS. *Ruddiman* has corrupted this passage for *institutum* reading *institutis*. sic. Topic. “sed in toto quasi contextu orationis nec erunt illustranda maxime, quemadmodum quisque generatus, quemadmodum *educatus*, quemadmodum *institutus*, moratusque fuerit.” *Id.* de finib. lib. 3. “honestas in familia *institutus* & *educatus*.”

16. INTERJECTUS. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 12. b 12. Quod [spatii] ultra Nessum, et fauces illas angustas quæ lacui Nesso et mari Deucaledonio interjacent] est *interjectum* [duobus scil. maribus, Germanico et Deucaledonio] in quatuor provincias [Rossiam, Naverniam, Sutherlandiam et Cathanesiam,] solet dividi.” *Ruddiman* thinks *interjectum* here an improper word to express *Buchanan*’s meaning, and hardly doubts but he wrote *proiectum*, *protensum* or some such word: but common sense and a sight of the map will render it obvious to any body, that *interjectum* more appositely expresses the author’s meaning than any word that our *Christarchus* can devise.

17. INTERSPARSUS. lib. 1. cap. 50. p. 21. d. “et inter eas totidem fere Holmæ *interspersæ*. *Ruddiman* unacquainted with the manner of the ancients, reads *interspersæ*, without pretending to reason or authority. *Plin.* epist. 3. 19. “quæ plurimum refert, unum in locum conseras, an in diversa *dispargas*.” *Liv.* 1. 13. of the Sabine women, “hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefando foci generique *respergerent*.”

18. OBJECTUS. lib. 6. cap. 22. p. 99. b 8. *objecto* Regis metu. *Ruddiman* after the foreign editions, reads *objecto*. See the verb *abhorreo* pag. 469. to which add, that *lachrimis obortis* is frequent for *abortis*.

19. ORDINATUS. lib. 12. cap. 24. p. 226. d 5. issue of a process between the Scots and the bishop of York, who pretended to be primate of Scotland. “Verum

rum decreto Romæ secundum Scotos dato, Gram  
 non modo Scotiæ primas judicatur, sed etiam à Pon  
 tifice *legatione* in triennium, ut sacerdotum prolaps  
 mores, et disciplinam ecclesiasticam præcipitantem  
 pristinum statum restitueret, *est ordinatus.*" The sam  
 thing is differently expressed *ibid.* cap. 33. p. 230. a 7,  
 " *legatum ad ecclesiasticum statum ordinandum in t*  
*ennium creatum,*" ——— in the former passage *Rud*  
*man* thinks we should either for *legatione* read *legat*  
 or for *ordinatus* put *cobenefatus*, or rather *ornatus*, whi  
 is nearest the sound of the other word. He did n  
 know, that *ordino* signifies to *create* or *commission* a pu  
 lick officer: *ordinare magistratus* for *constituere*, qui  
*dine succedant.* Est enim *ordinare*, quasi in ordines a  
 optare, vel in ordinem municipalem provehere: *Bud*  
*us.* for proof of which I shall not adduce the author  
 of *Jornandes*, but that of *Sueton Vesp.* 23. "Quenda  
 è caris ministris *dispensationem* cuidam, quasi fratri, p  
 tentem cum distulisset, ipsum candidatum ad se vocavi  
 exactaque pecunia, quantam is cum suffragatore f  
 pepigerat, sine mora *ordinavit.*" *dispensatione* & *lega*  
*tione ordinatus* and *legatione legatus* are all the same co  
 struction. *Cic. Fam.* 12. 21. "C. Anicius — n  
 gotiorum suorum causa *legatus est* in Africam *legatio*  
*libera.*" There is a passage of this author *pro Sylla*  
 "cum omnia *ordinarentur*, instituerentur, pararentur,  
 where *Lambin* reads *ornarentur* without authority. The  
 is another in *Seneca* epist. 39. where the best copie  
 read *diligenter ordinatos*, that is *ordine et methodo scripto*  
*memoriæ & disciplinæ adjuvandæ* which other copie  
 have corrupted, by reading *ornatos*, just as our critic  
 proposes to corrupt the passage in question.

20. PERFRACTUS. *lib.* 16. *cap.* 26. p. 313. a 4  
 The queen regent hearing that the inhabitants of *Pert*  
 had publickly embraced the reformed religion, com  
 manded *Patrick* lord *Ruthven* their provost to go an  
 sup

suppress these innovations : and he answering, that he  
 should make their bodies and goods subject to her, but  
 that he had no power over their minds and consciences,  
 he was so incensed as to say, “ non mirandum fore,  
 brevi eum tam *perfractæ* poeniteret audaciæ” that it  
 were no wonder, that he were soon made to repent of  
 his extreme effrontery ; according to *Knox*, she said he  
 was too malapert, which *Buchanan* expresses very strong-  
 ly, as if *Ruthven’s* presumption had broke through all the  
 barriers of decency, reverence and subjection. *Pliny* epist.  
 lib. 2. speaking of young, rash and impudent de-  
 claimers or pleaders, “ nunc *refractis pudoris & reve-*  
*rentiæ claustris* omnia patent omnibus : nec inducun-  
 tur, sed irrumpunt.” But to support the reading of the  
 former editions, which *Ruddiman* on *Crawford’s* autho-  
 rity has corrupted, by turning *perfractæ* into *præfractæ*,  
 I shall adduce some passages of *Cicero* in *Verr. lib. 5.*  
 Ut earum rerum vi, & auctoritate omnia repagula [ju-  
 dicii] pudoris et officii perfringeres : ut omnium bona  
 tuam duceret, ut nullius res tuta, nullius  
 domus clausa, nullius vita sæpta ; nullius pudicitia  
 unita contra tuam cupiditatem, et audaciam posset  
 stare.” *Id. pro Cluentio*, speaking of *Sassia Cluentius’*  
 mother, who after she had lived in adultery and incest  
 with *A. Aurius Melinus* her son in law, had married  
 him, after her daughter had parted from him ; “ O  
 mulieris scelus incredibile, & præter hanc unam, in om-  
 ni vita inauditam : ô libidinem effrenatam et indomi-  
 tam : ô audaciam singularem, non timuisse, si minus vim  
 hominum, hominumque famam, at illam ipsam noctem,  
 necisque illas nuptiales ? non limen cubiculi ? non cu-  
 biculi filiae ? non parietes denique ipsos, superiorum tes-  
 tis nuptiarum ? perfregit, ac prostravit, omnia cupidi-  
 tate, ac furore : vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia,  
 rationem amentia.” And in the same oration speaking  
 of *Oppianus*, who poisoned his own wife *Cluentia*, his  
 brother



brother, and likewise his brother's wife big with child  
 "ut omnes intelligerent *nihil ei clausum, nihil sanctum*  
*esse posse: cuius ab audacia fratris liberos ne mater-*  
*quidem corporis custodia tegere potuisset.*" Here he de-  
 scribes *Saffia* and *Oppianus* as having broke thro' all the  
 fences and barriers of shame and modesty, of fear and  
 reason. *Præfractus* properly *fractus ex superiore parte*  
 when applied to style signifies *short or concise*, and to the  
 tempers of men, *harsh, rigorous, or severe*, for which *se-*  
*Ainsworth*, would be improperly put in the queen re-  
 gent's mouth. *Cic. off. 3. 22.* "Ego etiam, cum  
*Catone meo sæpe dissensi. nimis mihi videbatur præfra-*  
*te ærarium vectigaliaque defendere."* In this particu-  
 I often disagreed with my old friend *Cato*, whom I al-  
 ways thought to be somewhat too *head-strong* in stand-  
 ing up for the interest of the publick treasury, and ex-  
 acting the tributes *with too much rigour*.

21. **PERFUNCTUS.** See chap. iv. pag. 169.  
 which I shall add *Liv. 27. 48.* "cæterum in ipso  
 nere auctum voluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus se  
 ultro et veteribus militibus *perfunctis jam militia.*" But  
 they were reinforced in their march by volunteers, the  
 old soldiers *who had already served out their time volun-*  
*tarily joining them.*

22. **PERSUASUS** See *persuadeor*.

23. **PRÆTENDENS.** *lib. 7. cap. 41. p. 123. e.*  
 "Anglo nihil aliud jus cupiditatis suæ prætendenti  
*Ruddiman* without any authority, reads *prætendente*.  
 it necessary to prove that participles of the present ten-  
 have *i* as well as *e* in the ablative, as *Sen. de benef.*  
 21. "utilitas *ex affectu latenti.*" *Sil. Ital. lib. 1.*  
 "At contra *ardenti* radiabat *Scipio cocco.*" *Ibid. fe-*  
*venti sanguine. Phæd. 4. 14. titubanti pede?*

24. **PROMISSUS.** *lib. 20. cap. 39. p. 399. a.*  
 "cui unquam sceleris convicto potestas est data filium  
 aut propinquum, suum in locum substituendi? cui a  
 quan-

quando libertas illa *promissa* est, ut quos *vellent* proxime signaturo curatores *apponerent*? Ruddiman without any authority and without any reason, has foully corrupted this passage, reading *permissa*——*vellet*——*appo-*  
neret——ignorant of the construction and of the meaning of *promissa*. Of this memorial of the earl of Morton's to Q. *Elizabeth*, explaining the reasons of the Scots deposing Q. *Mary, Camden* under the year 1571 gives this account. "they boasted of their lenity to the deposed queen, in having allowed her to substitute her son in her stead, and to name his tutors; and that her being alive was owing, not to her own innocence, but to the people's mercy." *Promitto* is compounded of *pro* in the sense of *porro*, in *longum* & *mitto*, applied to signify the growing of trees, throwing of darts and very often the letting the hair of the head or beard grow in length, and once a swag belly, the same as *producere, et quasi in magnitudinem nutrire, sive porro* i. e. *longè mittere*: and sometimes also literally to spread or stretch, as *Mela* l. 3. "Gallia est longè, et à nostris attonibus hucusque *promissa*." and here metaphorical-ly for making a stretch or acting without a precedent. *Beatus Rhenanus* on *Liv.* 2. 23. where some sciolist for *ad hoc promissa barba* read *ad hoc prolixa barba*, cries out *factum flagris dignum!* Is there not frequent occasion for exclaiming thus against Ruddiman?

25. RECURRENS. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 47. *p.* 20. (not. 19. as Ruddiman mistakes the page of his own edition) b 4. On the *Orkney* isles "Mare illis non solum ventorum violentia, & siderum positu sævum, et tempestuosum est, sed æstibus contrariis ex Oceano occidentali incitatis, & inter angustias terrarum confligentibus nulla vi remorum, aut velorum freti ex adverso recurrentes, et in se contorti vortites superari possunt." Ruddiman on *Crawford's* authority and without reason, reads *recurrentis*, tho' the construction corresponding to common sense

and the sense of the words, is obviously this : *vortices recurrentes et contorti*, the streams and eddies and whirlpools in that narrow sea, running back upon, and dashing against one another and reciprocally turning about with a violent motion : for *vortex* properly is *aquâ in se contorta*. see Mr. Mackenzie's account of the state of the tides in Orkney. "The collision of these opposite and oblique streams," says he, "will excite a circular motion in the water, and if the celerity of the tide is great, will occasion whirlpools or cavities in it, in form of an inverted bell."

26. SPERNANDUS. *lib. 2. cap. 44. p. 42. c 12*  
 "Adiiciam et alias non *spernandas* conjecturas." Ruddiman, after the foreign editions, reads *spernendas*, the *aspernor* and its participle *aspernandus*, used by Cicero be of the first conjugation ; and why may not the simple verb be so too ?

27. TENTATUS. *lib. 18. cap. 45. p. 362. d 2*  
 "Nam si illa triduum modo in arce Dumbari se continuisse, vindices juris publici omni belli apparatu destituti libertate frustra *attenta* [a typographical error for *tentata*] domos quisque suas discedere coacti fuissent. Ruddiman has *attentata*, which seems improper, if there were nothing but for the *concurfus vocalium*, which, according to Quintilian, *hiantem facit orationem*.



## C H A P. X.

*Of adverbs.* Mr. Ruddiman's ignorance of their use and meaning, the cause of his corrupting Buchanan's text and falsely accusing him of errors in history and chronology.

**A**NTE lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 75. e 8. "ac multo quam ante acrius murum aggressi." — Here Ruddiman on the authority of the MS. reads *antea*, very ingeniously imagining, that in the printed copies the first letter of the following word *acrius* has swallowed up the last of *antea*; by which he discovers his want of judgment, want of taste, and ignorance of the Latin tongue; the first in supposing that the MS. not corrected by the author is more correct than the printed copies; his bad taste appears by the following passage of Quintilian 9. 4. "Tum vocalium concursus, qui tum accidit, hiat et intersistit, et quasi laborat oratio. Pessimè longè, quæ easdem inter se literas committunt, sonabunt. Præcipuus tamen erit hiatus earum, quæ cavo aut patulo maximè ore efferuntur." Of which *antea acrius aggressi* may be an example. Lastly Ruddiman knew not, that *ante* as well as *post* is properly joined to adverbs ending in *o*: as *paulo ante*, *multo ante*. Ter. Eun. 4. 5. 7. "sed Thais multo ante venit. Cic. in Verr. "cui quemadmodum resistam, multo mihi ante iudices providendum." See more examples from Cicero and Virgil in R. Stephen under *multo*.

2. CONTINUO. Psal. 28. v. penult. "vitæ continuo fructibus affluat." Here, says Ruddiman, our author seems to use *continuo* for *continenter*, *assidue*, *usque*; which however the most accurate Jo. Ker positively affirms to be barbarous *select.* de L. L. Observ. lib. 2. But had Mr. Ruddiman been as accurate as he pretends

tends to be, he might have given undoubted authorities to the contrary of Dr. Ker's observation. Without mentioning *Quintilian* 2, 21. & 9, 4. I shall content my self with that of *Virgil Georg.* 1. 60. where *continuo* is used for *jugiter* and *in æternum*. "*Continuo* has *leges, æternaque fœdera certis imposuit natura locis*."

3. DONEC. *hist. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 132 d.* one of the articles of the treaty of marriage between *Edward I's* son and his sister's grand-daughter, daughter of the *K. of Norway*, lawful heiress of the crown of *Scotland*. "ut *Scoti tantisper* suis legibus, & magistratibus uterentur, *donec* ex eo matrimonio liberi nascerentur qui regni potentes essent." Nay, says *Ruddiman*, that they should enjoy their own laws and magistrates, not *tantisper*, but *in perpetuum*, for which he refers us to the convention itself in *Rymer's* feed. *Ang. Tom. 2. p. 582* all the while ignorant of the meaning of the word *donec* in which there is no such force as he imagines; as *bi* shop *Pearson* on the 3d article of the creed, our Saviour being born of a virgin, has proved of *heôs* by many quotations from *Greek* authors. In the same manner it is observed by the *Greek* grammarians of *prin*; that if any declared that he did it not *prin* before such a thing were done, it followeth not, that he did it *when* or *after* that thing was done. As when *Helena* saw and knew *Ulysses* a spy in *Troy*, she promised upon oath, that she would discover him to none *till* he was safe returned to the *Grecian* fleet. And yet it is not likely, says *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* that *Helena* did ever discover *Ulysses* to the *Trojans* after he was returned: so that a negation antecedent *prin* or *heôs* is no affirmation following them. The same learned divine has made this still more evident by many passages of the holy scripture. *Gen. xxviii. 15.* The Lord's promise to *Jacob*, "I will not leave thee, *until* I have done that which I have spoken to thee."

It does not follow, that when that was done, the God of Jacob left him. *Deut. xxxiv. 6.* "no man knoweth of his sepulchre, unto this day." It does not follow that the sepulchre of Moses hath been known ever since. Nor *1 Sam. xv. 35.* "Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death:" that he gave him a visit after he was dead, or that Michal the daughter of Saul who *2 Sam. vi. 23.* "had no child until the day of her death" bore children when she was lying in the grave: Christ promised his presence to the apostles until the end of the world; would it be a just inference, therefore for ever after he would be absent from them? Ruddiman has the same false criticism on another passage where we meet with the adverb

4. DUM. lib. 8. cap. 30. p. 142. a 2. "Brussius tantum moratus dum a Pont. Rom. veniam cædis in æde sacra factæ, obtineret, proximo mense Aprili— Rex coronatur." That this is evidently false," says our famed critic, "appears if it were but from hence, that a thing of such importance required longer time than from the 10th of February, on which Gumin was slain, to the 25th of March, on which most historians, or even the beginning of April, on which Buchanan writes that Robert Bruce was crowned. But the same pope Clement V's bull to the bishops of York and Carlisle, in which he orders Robert Bruce to be excommunicated for this slaughter 18th of May 1306, puts the matter beyond all dispute, see *facd. Angl. vol. 2. pag. 997.* It is indeed possible, that the bishop of Murray, who as Edward tells Haquin K. of Norway, *ib. pag. 1045.* was excommunicated by the pope for having assented to Gumin's slaughter, absolved Bruce from this crime, which perhaps posterity have believed was done by the pope's permission." This blind conjecture, which never existed any where but in Ruddiman's idle head, is not only improbable in itself, but grounded on a supposition contrary

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trary to fact, viz. that *Robert Bruce* by posterity was believed to have been absolved of *Gumins*' death, with or without the pope's permission, either before or for good many years after his coronation. For all that *Buchanan*'s words do necessarily imply is, that he delayed his coronation till the pope's answer should be brought him. And had *Ruddiman* known the history of that time, and attended to the geography of the countries he would not have so positively asserted so gross and notorious a falshood, viz. that the dispatching of such business required a longer time than between the 10th of *February* and (not the beginning, as he calumniates *Buchanan*, by making him say what he does not say, but the month of *April* 1306, whether beginning middle or end is not said. For that very pope *Clement V* had his see, not at *Rome* but at *Avignon* : and had *Ruddiman* read or attended to what he read in the same vol. of the *foedera*, to which he refers, he might have seen clearly from pag. 976. and forward, where we find a good many of that pope's bulls, that from the time of his promotion to the date of the order for excommunicating *Robert Bruce* he has been at *Lions*, *Avignon*, *Bordeaux*, and the places about. Nay, had *Ruddiman* but attended to the date of the bull for denouncing *Robert de Bruce* and all his adherents excommunicate, for the slaughter of *John Comyn* committed in the church of friars minors of *Dunfries*, in the diocese of *Glasgow*, he would have seen that the pope at that very time was at *Bordeaux*. But allowing Mr. *Ruddiman*'s suppositions, namely, that the pope's see at this time was *Rome*, and that *Buchanan* fixes *Robert Bruce*'s coronation to the beginning of *April*, which are both of them false in fact, to be well grounded, I shall prove that an interval of 50 days, that is from the 10th of *February* to the first of *April*, would have been a sufficient time for dispatching a pardon to *Bruce*, if this one reasonable *postulatum* is but granted,

viz.

that *Robert Bruce's* couriers were as expeditious as  
 were those of the *Romans* in the days of *Julius Caesar*.  
 For *M. Tullius Cicero* in the first letter of the 3d book,  
 addressed to his brother *Quintus* then in *England*, in an-  
 swer to several of his letters delivered to *Mark* at or  
 near *Arpinum* his birth place, makes mention, that a  
 letter of *Quintus's* dated from *Britain* the 10th of *Aug-*  
*ust* was delivered to him the 13th of *September*, that  
 the posts came from *Britain* to *Arpinum* in 20 days time,  
 having arrived 22d of *August*, and that *J. Caesar* with  
 whom *Quintus* was at that time in *England* writ *M.*  
*Tullius* a letter dated *September 1st*, which he received  
*September 28th* at *Rome*, as it would seem, whither he  
 arrived *ad XVI. Kal. October. i. e. 16th of September.*  
*Quarta epistola mihi reddita est Id. Sept. quam ad*  
*III. Id. Sext. ex Britannia dederas. — Cum hanc*  
*epistolam complicarem, tabellarii à vobis venerunt*  
*ad XI. Kal. Sept. vicesimo die — Ex Britannia Cæ-*  
*sar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit litteras : quas ego accepi ad*  
*III. Kalen. Octobr. fatis commodas de Britannicis re-*  
*bus."*  
 5. *EA. lib. 15. cap. 61. p. 301. c. 3. M de Dessie* de-  
 signing to surprize *Haddington*, "*Ea tota ferè nocte pro-*  
*spectus,*" — marching that way the whole night al-  
 most. *Ruddiman*, supporting himself by the authority  
 of the incorrect MS. reads *ad.*  
 6. *FERE, (1.) lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 10. a 1, 2. Julius*  
*Agricola* the first of the *Romans* penetrated into the more  
 northern parts of *Britain quadragesimo feri anno* about  
 forty years after *Claudius Caesar's* expedition, and 50  
 years after *Agricola*, *Adrian* built a rampart between  
*Tine* and *Esk*. *Ruddiman* observes, that *Claudius Cæ-*  
*sar's* expedition into *Britain* having happened in the  
 year of our Lord 43, and *Julius Agricola's* in 79, ac-  
 cording to *Petau* and others, and according to *Richard*  
*the Englishman* in 78, there is only an interval of 36 or

35 years : but that *Buchanan* has thought he was sufficiently on his guard by adding the word *ferè* : that notwithstanding he cannot be so well excused in what follows, because *Hadrian's* wall was built, according to *Petau's* supputation, in 121, according to that of *Tyre* and *Echard* in 120, between which and the year 79 or 78, there is only an interval of 41 or 42 years. But *Mr. Ruddiman* should either have proved that these historians and chronologers were infallible, or that they certainly were in no mistake about these matters : and as I before observed under the head of numeral adjectives it is common with the *Roman* writers to take the round for the precise number. Let us now see if *Ruddiman* himself can be well excused for his following notes on such passages where the word *ferè* occurs.

(2.) *Lib. 2. cap. 37. p. 39. c.* after an account of the state of affairs in *Britain*, *circa* *annum* about the year of our Lord 464. The *Danes* first invaded the coast of *England*, not like regular troops, but like pyrates *post 317 ferè annum* about 317 years after, and about 36 years after that *tricesimo sexto ferè post anno*, landed compleat army in that kingdom. *Ruddiman* observes 1. that, according to the most accurate of the *English* historians, the *Danes* came first into *England* in the year of our Lord 464, and that consequently instead of 317 *Buchanan*, who expresses it with some latitude, should have written 323, that is, the precise difference between the year 787 and the year 464 which he had just mentioned with the same latitude of expression. 2. that the same historians write, that the *Danes* landed a compleat army in *England* in 828, that is 41 years after their first descent. Now supposing *Ruddiman's English* historians, whom yet he does not name, to be as exact as he would have them, *Buchanan* here too has been sufficiently on his guard by adding the word *ferè* to both the numbers, not meaning to determine the precise number



years but something over or under, as *Ruddiman* himself explains the meaning of the particles *fermè*, *ferè*, *prope*, in his note on *lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 57. a 6.* which are never to be understood as expletive conjunctions, when applied to numbers, as he seems to insinuate they sometimes are. Farther, it ought to be observed, that, as the *English* and *Danish* historians give very contradictory accounts of the wars betwixt their respective nations, so they [and the *English* among themselves] differ chiefly in chronological matters, and in the names of the persons of whom they are speaking, which must of necessity breed the greatest confusion in history. Consequently, *Buchanan* did well to express himself with caution on that subject.

(3.) *Lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 54. e 2.* on the law made after the death of *Fergus I.* who left two sons minors : which was, that during the minority of the king's children, he of their relations who should be deemed fittest for government, should be set at the helm, and upon his death, the crown should revert to the former king's children. “*Hæc postea perpetuo lex valuit per annos mille 1025, usque ad Kennethum tertium.*” — This is plainly a slip of the pen or the press, the cypher having been put in the place of hundreds, instead of the place of units, 1025 for 1250 : which *Ruddiman* has magnified into an anachronism of 249 years, and for which he reads 1274, and takes a deal of pains to prove that even that number is too small, and shews that he himself could not ascertain the precise number of years betwixt the first law about the succession to the crown, and that made by *Kenneth III.* and that *Buchanan* did well to express the time at large, as *lib. 19. cap. 26. p. 375. e 6.* or rather the penners of the record translated by him. “*Majores enim nostri ob consanguineas in Regia familia cædes post annos prope mille trecentos comitiorum in Rege creando rationem totam immutarunt.*”

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We may here take notice of Mr. *Ruddiman's* prevarication on this subject in his answer to Mr. *Logan*. p. 1. "I do not say whether the crown of Scotland was *strictly and absolutely hereditary*, but simply that it was hereditary," it being evident from our history, that the monarchy was of about 1300 years standing before *Kenneth III's* law was made about the succession; and it is as evident, that this law was not strictly observed in succeeding ages. Pag. 129. "I hope it will not give offence, that I assert what was affirmed in the innumerable addresses presented to both these kings [*Charles II.* and *James VII.*] that till then the right to the crown was held to be *strictly and absolutely hereditary* by the laws and constitutions of both kingdoms.

(4.) *Lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 61. d. 10.* "Hæc fere septimo expeditionum anno gesta." The word *fere* which *Ruddiman* suppresses in his note, shews how impertinent it is. He says, *Tacitus*, closely followed by *Buchanan* affirms all these things to have been done in the sixth year of *Agricola's* expeditions. But does *Buchanan* say the 7th? does he not say about the 7th year, which is equivalent to the sixth?

(5.) *Lib. 10. c. 24. p. 185. a. 8.* The battle of *Beauce*, commonly called the battle of *Herrings*, happened *fere triennio* about three years after the battle of *Verneuill*. *Ruddiman* would have it *quinquennio*, because almost all the *French* and *English* historians testify, that this defeat happened in 1429. *Mezerai*, one of the most exact of the *French* historians, says, the battle of *Herrings* happened in 1428, between which and August 6, 1424, the day of the battle of *Verneuill*, are but three years complete. It is true others fix the battle of *Beauce* to 12 Feb. 1429: and so there will be an interval of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years, some days less. Had *Buchanan* said *quinquennio*, *Ruddiman* would have said, that he ought to have written *quadriennio*: whereas he only meant to express the time

at large in his short account of the exploits of his countrymen in *France*, which he was induced to give, in order to refute the invidious disparaging accounts of the *English* writers.

7. *IBI. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 93. a 6.* “*Saxum marmoreum——ex Argathelia Sconam ad Taum amnem translatum Kennethus, et in cathedram ligneam inclusum ibi posuit.*” *Ruddiman* tells us, *Crawford* would have the word *ibi* cancelled, and he himself, unacquainted with this idiom frequent in *Buchanan* and the best writers, has put it within brackets, as useless. *Liv. lib. 2.* “*Alter consul Æmilius in Sabinis bellum gessit, et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt.*” *22. 6.* “*Retro ægerrimè terram repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur.*” *24. 19.* “*Captivi Romam missi, atque ibi in carcere inclusi sunt.*” *18. 9.* “*Evidentissimum id fuit, quod quacunq̃ equo invehctus est, ibi haud secus quàm pestifero sidere icti pavebant.*” This was most evident, that *into whatsoever place* of the enemies army he *and, there* they were all terrified, as if planet-struck. See amongst a great number that might be adduced, another example of this kind under the word *vincula*, pag. 293.

8. *ILLIC. lib. 20. cap. 39. p. 398, e 3.* In the memorial presented by the *Scottish* commissioners to *Q. Elizabeth*, justifying the deposing of their queen, by many reasons, and many laws both civil, canon, and municipal, which they backed with examples drawn from the *Scottish* histories, and with the opinion of several famous divines; wherein particularly they shew, that they had punished *Q. Mary* less than her iniquities of the murder of the king her husband, and marrying the principal murderer deserved. “*Et nos in præsentia quid regimus aliud, quam quod tot regnorum, & liberarum nationum vestigiis insistentes licentiam supra omne legum imperium sese efferentem compressimus, non ea*



quidem severitate, qua majores in hoc genere sunt usi nēminem enim qui in tali scelere fuisset deprehensus poenas legum illic effugere voluerunt," with less severity indeed than our ancestors used in such a case: for they would not have suffered any person, *no not in that eminent station of a king's wife*, that had been convicted of such a crime, to have escaped the punishment of the laws. Agreeable to this, the author of an introduction to memoirs of *Scottish* affairs from 1624 to 1651 gives us the following note, pag. 29. "The *Romans*, who caused assassinate *Nero*, who killed his own mother thought themselves guilty of no crime, and a great number of the *Scots* were for putting *Mary* to death, who had killed her own husband; of which they wanted not a precedent in their history. For the wife of *Malduin*, the 55th king, having, in a fit of jealousy, strangled her husband, she was four days after burnt alive." This passage has set *Ruddiman* a raving and talking as wild in pag. 33. of his answer to Mr. *Logan*, as ever did the most furious bedlamite. The foresaid author, says he, "makes an inference, that as *Malduine's* wife was by the states of *Scotland* put to death for murdering her husband: so might they, and ought they to have done with *him*, had he [one of the most uxorious men that ever lived, of whom there is not so much as one single word spoken, or intended to be spoken by that author] been guilty of that crime. 'Tis pity that author did not live in king *Charles I's* time; for if he had *Cromwel* could hardly have chosen a fitter assessor to have sat with president *Bradshaw* on that king's trial. It is no wonder that one who would be realizing, in his own person, the character of *Hercules furens*, should be for ever blundering in history. For according to bishop *Burnet*, who had his informations from the best hands, it was *Ireton* that drove on king *Charles I's* trial and death, *Cromwel* being all the while in some suspense about

about it. And, if *Coke* and the author of *Cromwell's* life are to be credited, the case as it stood between him and the king, was plainly that of either killing or being killed. And if it were lawful to compare such a noted *Thraso*, and so great a poltron, to so great and so brave a man; and if we could suppose Mr. *Ruddiman*, in the very dregs of life, to be in the same situation with respect to *Charles III.*, it might be a very great question, whether his enthusiasm or rather fanaticism in favour of that idol, would be able to restrain him from acting *Cromwell's* part over again. But to return: *Ruddiman*, in the bloom of life, murdered *Buchanan's* writings, and following the foreign editions, for *illic* [i. e. *illo in loco*], in the forecited passage reads *illi*, spoiling both the sense and beauty, and destroying the force of the expression.

9. ITIDEM. *lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 154. ult.* *Laurence Twine* being often taken in the fact of adultery *à judice causarum ecclesiasticarum* *itidem admonitus* and not restraining, was at last excommunicated by the bishop of *Glasgow's* official. *Ruddiman* imagines, that for *itidem* likewise, we should read *identidem* now and then, sundry times, because *Boëthius* says he was admonished *semel atque iterum*, once or twice, and, according to the church discipline, it is usual for criminals to be admonished *three times*, before they be excommunicated. But in order to fix the precise number of times, and to improve his author, our most ingenious critic should rather have proposed to read *ter, tertio* or *tertium*.

10. LEVITER. (1.) *lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 8 d 10.* "Intra Vidogaram a tergo Gallouidiæ *leviter* declinat ad Glottæ æstuarium Caricta." Here *Ruddiman* doubts whether we should read *leniter*: says *Burman*, there is no occasion for it, tho' these words be often confounded even in antient writers. In the MSS. of *J. Cæsar 2. de B. G. collis leviter fastigiatus.*

(2.) *Lib. 4. cap. 32. p. 63. d 9.* "Itaque Rex non *leviter* animos commotos inflectere, & sedare annixus est, sed ferocibus minis vehementius inflammavit, & pene efferavit:" here again *Ruddiman* would have the reading to be *leniter*. *Burman* is for making no alteration: but gives this false reason, because *leviter* is not to be constructed with *inflectere* but with *commotos*, the same as if the author had said *graviter commotos*. *Ruddiman* shews that without foisting in another non, the expression would convey an absurd meaning and directly contrary to what *Buchanan* intended, and that the order of the words must be changed in this manner: "itaque rex animos non leviter commotos flectere, & sedare non annixus est, sed" &c. and triumphing over this shameful blunder of *Burman's*, applies to him a very coarse proverb, *the hasty bitch brings forth blind whelps*. *Cic. pro M. Fonteio*, "videor hoc *leviter* pro mea auctoritate vobis præcipere posse."

(3.) *Lib. 17. cap. 59. p. 345. a 6.* "Eisdem diebus literæ longissimæ ab Angliæ Regina venerant: in quibus multa benevole, & prudenter de præsentis rerum in Scotia statu dissierebat: *leviterque*, atque etiam amantè propinquæ animum ab ira ad mōderationem revocabat." *Ruddiman*, contrary to all the editions, reads *leniter*, as *lib. 18. cap. 33 p. 358. b 4.* following later editions, and despising the first, for *levitatis* he reads *lenitatis*, "E custodia elapsus, ut æmulorum impotentia cederet, in Galliam se recepit: ibique mansit ferme ad biennium proximum, quo tempore priorum seditionum omnium auctores oblitī, & nostræ erga se *levitatis*, & sui erga nos officii bello suscepto ad arma adversus nos ierunt." Out of the which [ward *Bothwell*] escaping to give place to their malice, he past out of the realm toward *France*, and there remained till about two years ago, that the same persons who before were the instruments of his trouble, began to forget their duty towards

ourselves.



ourself, putting themselves in arms, displayed plain banners against our person. So it is in *Keith's* copy of the original instructions to the bishop of *Dumblane*; which is not so full in this passage as *Buchanan's* translation. *Ruddiman* has not attended to what is said by *Gellius* 1. 16. who made the niceties of the *Latin* language his peculiar study, "veteres homines, qui propriè atque integrè locuti sunt, *levitatem* appellaverunt, proinde quasi *lenitatem*." The same *Ruddiman* has omitted to take notice of his changing *levis* into *lenis*, *lib.* 16. *cap.* 24. p. 312. d. of the queen regent. "Nam pristinam illam omnibus gratam comitatem in imperiosam paulatim convertebat arrogantiam: et pro *leuib*us responsis, quibus utrique factioni se excusabat,——nunc omnium reatum, ut rebatur, compos aliis moribus, alia oratione utebatur." As for *leviter* *lib.* 17. there is a passage in *Cicero pro Muræna*, which pretty much resembles it. "At ego te, verissime dixerim, peccare nihil, neque ulla in re te esse hujusmodi ut corrigendus potius, quam *leviter* inflectendus esse videre." The most correct copies read it so, and not *leniter*.

(4.) *Lib.* 19. *cap.* 10. p. 370. a. ff. in the description of the field of *Langside* "cæteris partibus *leviter* in planiciem decrescentibus," and in the same page b 8. "altero colle ex adverso se *leviter* attollente." In both these places according to *Ruddiman* we should rather read *leniter*, because these words may be easily chang'd, the one into the other. However, he adds, if any one contends that *leviter* is here said for *paulum*, after the example of *Cic. Nat.* 2. 57. "genæ ab inferiore parte [oculos] tutantur subjectæ *leviter*que eminentes," he will not draw the saw of contention. He might have added another example from *Cicero Divin.* 1. 58. besides a great multitude from other authors, where *leviter* is put for *parum* or *paululum*. "Romuli lituus, id est, incurvum, et *leviter* a summo inflexum bacillum."

11. MINIME. *lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 4. a 6, 7.* “Itaque in hac parte, ut si qua alia, consuetudini politionum hominum aliquid indulgendum censeo : et voluptatem *minime* illam illiberalem, et inhumanam, quatenus moribus est innoxia, *minimè* abominandam.” As the repetition of the word *minimè* in the same sentence is grating to *Ruddiman*’s delicate ears, he proposes instead of the second *minimè*, to read *neutiquam* : but unluckily for him, there is a sentence in *Cicero* ad *Memmium* 13. 1. 14. where *minimè* is repeated. “Homo *minimè* ambitiosus, *minimè* in rogando molestus” that is, as *Stephen* explains it, *nihil eo minus ambitiosum, &c.* as one should say, *omnium hominum minimè ambitiosus, omnium quidvis potius quàm ambitiosus.*

12. NON. I have already observed *chap. 3. pag. 101* that *Ruddiman* has corrupted *lib. 1. cap. 23.* where two negatives are put for one, after the manner of the *Greeks*, to make the negation stronger. Another passage we have *lib. 15. cap. 43. p. 296. b 7.* “*Ne Joanne Knoxio, qui tum ad eos advenerat, crebro admonente, Deum non irrideri, sed graves mox poenae per eos, a quibus minime sibi timebant, de suae legis profanatoribus expetiturum : à flagitiis tamen continet non poterant*” where *Ruddiman* contrary to all the editions, strikes out the last *non*, by *Crawford*’s advice, as the gentleman who wrote the preface to the last edition of the history and dialogue, acknowledges he has corrupted two passages more of the same kind, by *Ruddiman*’s consent, viz. *lib. 2. cap. 24.* “non potest fieri, ut non hinc Hispani, inde Romani, Angli, Dani, Normani, non multa peregrina vocabula secum advexerint” where the last *non* is cancelled : and *lib. de jure regni cap. 68.* “neque reges, opinor, si seorsum à facinorosis et adulatoribus consilia caperent, suamque magnitudinem non potius virtutum officii, &c.” by dictatorial authority the particle *non* is ordered into banishment.

ment, as hurting the sense. But that the beauty of all these four passages has been spoiled, will appear from what I am going to adduce, and that where the negation seems redundant, it is only repeated to render the expression more elegant and emphatical. *Quintil.* 9. 1. "In dicendo irasci, dolere, misereri, timere, confidere, contemnere, *non sunt figuræ, non magis, quàm suadere, minari, rogare, excusare,*" where our critics would have struck out the 2d *non*, and read, "*non sunt magis figuræ quàm suadere, &c.*" That two negatives are taken for, or have the signification of one *Nonius* proves by the following passages of *Varro*, the most learned of the Romans, de vita populi Romani, lib. 2. "Qua abstinentia viri mulieresque Romanæ fuerint, quod à Rege munera eorum noluerit nemo accipere." *Id.* Bim. "quæ non modò ignorasse me clamat, sed omnino omneis heroas negat nesciisse." *Joseph Scaliger* in his notes on *Varro R. R.* p. 56. 2. "nec si eum servare non potuisset." — tells us, that two negatives for one is an imitation of the *Greeks*, which is very frequent in *Plautus*; and is positive that the line in *Terence*, "faciunt ne intelligendo ut nihil intelligant," ought so to be understood. *Harry Stephen* is clearly of the same opinion as to the above passage of *Terence*, and observes of the *Latin* comedians in the general that they hellenize, and particularly, that they put two negatives for one. *Virg. Georg.* 1. 390. "nec nocturna quidem carpentes pensa puellæ Nescivere hientem." — *Perottus & Valla* eleg 3. 27. have observed, that three negatives are sometimes only equivalent to two, which is owing to the position of the words, as "*nunquam mihi nec profuisti, nec obfuiisti,*" which is just the same as it we should say, "*mihi quidem nec profuisti, nec obtuisti.*" Also "*nescis nec domi, nec foris vivere,*" is the same as "*nec domi nec foris scis vivere.*"

There



There is another elegant use of the negative *non* when it signifies something that is middling, as *Colum.* 11. 3. "Chærephyllum itemque olus atriplicis, circa calendas Octobr. obrui oportet *non frigidissimo* loco, i. e. *temperato*, that is, neither too hot nor too cold. *Nepos.* 17. 8. 2. "comites omnes vestitu humili & obsoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modo his regem neminem significaret, sed homines *non beatissimi* [for *non ditissimi*] suspicionem præberet," that is, "qui *non in magna quidam re*," as *Cicero* speaks, "*neque pauperrimus tamen ac infelicissimus omnium esset.*" So *Buchanan lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 6. b 6.* "In eadem sententia mihi fuisse videntur C. Julius Cæsar, & C. Cornelius Tacitus, alique scriptores latini *non indocti; non incelebres tamen.*" that is, other *Latin* writers, who tho' not of the first class, are far from being obscure or inconsiderable: where there is a likeness to such passages as these, wherein *quidem* or *quamvis* answers to *tamen*. *Cic. de clar. orator.* "Nam hunc, qui negat, video flagitatorem, *non illum quidem tibi molestum, sed assiduum tamen & acrem fore.*" *Id. de orator.* "Nam qui *Lysiam* sequuntur causidicum quendam sequuntur; *non illum quidem amplum, atque grandem, subtilem et elegantem tamen, & qui in forensibus causis possit præclare consistere.*" *Tacit. annal. lib. 4.* "Et erant qui non multum exitium, sed eruptionem suaderent: *neque ignobiles, quamvis diversi sententiis.*" *Melvin* corrects the last cited passage of *Buchanan* thus *non tam docti, non incelebres tamen*: *Crawford* is for raising out the three last words of it: *Ruddiman*, following the *Geneva*, *Frankfort* and *Elzevir* editions, has corrupted it, for *non incelebres* reading *non ita celebres*.

13. PAULATIM. *deteſt.* p. 6. lin. 28. "Sed non omnis humanitatis expers in mariti morte videretur paulatim tandem clauditur, lucus brevi finiendus indicatur." But lest she should appear void of all naturalness at the death of her husband, by little and little, at length

he kept her close, and proclaimed a mourning not long to endure ; so the *English* detection, perfectly agreeing with the *Latin*, and both making good sense : yet *Burman* thinks there is here an error occasioned by the clerk or printer : and tho' he had not the opportunity of consulting the first edition, he conjectures the reading in it might have been *palatium*. *Ruddiman*, who has grossly imposed on the publick by promising a compleat edition of *Buchanan's* works, and cutting off the *English* detection intirely, and who should have known better than a foreigner, agrees with *Burman* and thinks there is some error here.

14. PERINDE. see *proinde*.

15. POPULARITER. *lib. 11. cap. 4. p. 198. e ult.*  
 "omnique promiscua multitudo populariter effusa,"

"I dont believe," says *M. le Clerc* in his *bibl. chois.* Tom. 8. "there is any modern historian that has succeeded better than *Buchanan*, in imitating the historians of antiquity ; nor any poet of these last times that comes nearer the antient poets. Yet there are some few expressions, which to me seem doubtful, as *populariter*, answering to the *Greek pandemei*, the whole people in a body, and *fore* with the participle future active. As these expressions are several times to be found in his writings, we may believe that they really came from him, who no doubt was supported by some passage of antiquity, perhaps corrupted in the editions of that time." The last of these criticisms *Ruddiman* on *lib. 15. cap. 32 p. 292. c 7.* has shewed to be false, by the help of the author of *la nouvelle methode*, who justifies the use of *fore* with the participle future active by the authority of *Cicero* and *Livy*. \* But, af-

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\* *Linacre* on the enallage of tenses, proves by examples from *Cicero* and *Caesar* that *fore* and *affore* are put for the present, and that the verb future is joined with the participle

ter adducing some examples from *Cicero* and *Juvenal* where the word *populariter* occurs, and after giving an explication of it, *Ruddiman* professes once and again that he cannot positively say whether *le Clerc's* criticism be just or not. Neither of these critics, it seems, have attended to a passage of *Quintilian's* institutions lib. 1. cap. 9. where comparing an orator to the general of an army, he uses this expression, *totas vires populariter explicabit*. That it may the better appear that *populariter*, used by *Buchanan* in five of the passages to which *Ruddiman* refers to [signify] the same as *uno agmine* himself and other authors, has been used by *Quintilian* in this controverted sense, I shall set down the whole passage at length. “*Ante omnia, ne quod plerisque accidit, ab utilitate cum causæ, præsentis cupido laudis abducatur. Nam ut gerentibus bella non semper exercitus per plana et amoena ducendus est, sed adeundi plerumque asperi colles, expugnandæ civitates, quamlibet præcisis positæ montibus, aut operum mole difficiles: in oratio gaudebit quidem occasione latius decurrendi, æquo congressa campo, totas vires populariter explicabit at si juris anfractus, aut eruendæ veritatis latebras adincogetur, non obequitabit, nec illis vibrantibus concitatique sententiis velut missilibus utetur, sed operibus, cuniculis, et insidiis, et occultis artibus rem geret. Quæ omnia non dum fiunt, laudantur, sed cum facta sunt unde etiam minus cupidis opinionis, plus fructus venit.*” This sense of *populariter*, familiar, tho’ not peculiar to *Buchanan*, the same with that of *populatum* in *Pomponius* and *Cæcilius*, as quoted by *Nonius*, is perfectly agreeable to the analogy of derivation; and *Buchanan* in using the same word in different significations ha-

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riciple future as *doliturus eris* and *eris, futuris eris, rediturus ero, aspiciendus* and *habendus eris*, and *venturus ero* in *Ovid*, *Propertius*, *Martial* and *Cicero*.



conformed in this as in many other instances to *Cicero's*  
e.

16. PROINDE. *lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 10. b 4.* "a-  
ros inundationibus Oceani obrutos, ac *perinde* steriles."

— *Ruddiman* conjectures the reading should be  
*proinde*: *Burman* observes, that *Buchanan* was not ig-  
norant of the use of these words, which were often con-  
founded by copyists or printers, and refers us to his  
notes on *Quintilian's* institut. 5. 9. and 8. 3. to *Grævi-*  
us on *Flor. 1. 13. Buchanan lib 4. cap. 6. p. 55. b 2.*  
*lib. 9. cap. 53. p. 172. b 3.* "vitam ignavam, et *pe-*  
*inde* ignobilem egit. — ingens corpus, et *perinde*  
res," a manifest imitation of *Sallust* in *Quintilian*.  
*Ruddiman* makes no reply. I shall only observe, refer-  
ring for more examples to *Robert Stephen*, that *Lambin*  
in several passages of *Cicero*, particularly *N. D. lib. 2.*  
has *proinde* an adverb of likeness, signifying *just as*, sup-  
porting himself by the authority of a MS. where other  
copies read *perinde*: that in *Gell. 7. 10.* we have *pro-*  
*inde quasi*: and *Sall. Cat. 12.* "*Proinde quasi injuri-*  
*am facere, id demum esset imperio uti.*" as if the use  
of power consisted in the doing of mischief.

17. PROPE. *lib. 12. cap. 31. p. 229. a 4, 5.* *James*  
*III.* having concluded a divorce between his eldest sis-  
ter *Mary* and *Thomas Boyd* earl of *Arran* her husband,  
who was absent and unheard and durst not appear, for-  
ced her to marry *James Hamilton* — *homini prope no-*  
*vis, ac multum dignitate, et opibus, quam prior maritus in-*  
*feriori* — a man in a manner newly raised to honour,  
and much inferior to her former husband in honour and  
estate. Here *Ruddiman* thinks fit to oppose his own i-  
maginations to the testimony of *Buchanan*, who was  
born but about 40 years after the even there mentioned,  
and tells us as a part of the history of the *Boys* what  
he had learned from persons of credit that lived in that  
time. He asserts that the family of the *Hamiltons* was,  
*multis*

*multis ante seculis*, many ages or centuries before the one of the most eminent and illustrious, and only prove that they settled in *Scotland* 1½ century before that. It supposes that all knights and noblemen are perfectly equal in esteem, in riches, in authority and influence and consequently the *Boys* and the *Hamiltons*, who chiefs enjoyed the honour of knighthood *per aliquot cula*, for some ages or centuries till the times of *James II*, by whom, and the same year, as he imagines, viz. 1445, they were nobilitate; tho' the most remarkable thing before this in the history of the *Hamiltons* is the joining in rebellion with the *Douglasses* against *James I* whereas the *Boys* were the most powerful family of the kingdom, and the earl of *Aran's* father chancellor and regent during the minority of *James III*, the *Hamiltons* having been raised upon their ruins. If *Ruddiman* has as true a regard for the family of the *Stewarts*, as he pretends, he would not offer to exalt that of *Hamiltons* so much, and falsely accuse *Buchanan* of relating untruths of the *Hamiltons*, who having an eye to the crown, designed to destroy *Q. Mary*, and her son *James VI*, as they had done his father before. On the antiquity of the *Boys* let us hear one of Mr. *Ruddiman's* good friends, Dr. *Abercrombie* in the life of *Alexander* lord great steward of *Scotland* book 2. chap. 2. p. 44. " *Walter Steward* (senescallus & dapifer) of *Scotland* died in 1093. his eldest son died about the year 1153. He had three sons, *Walter*, *Adam* and *Simon*. *Simon* the third son is in the chartulary of *Paisly* called *frater* to *Walter*, *filius Alani dapiferi*, and was father to *Robert* ancestor of the *Boys*, who in the same register, is designed *nepos* to the above *Walter*. A plain proof of the antiquity of that noble family, whereof the present earl of *Kilmarnock* is chief."

18. QUA. lib. 18. cap. 1. p. 348, b 8. " In Allo vero Comitibus Maritima arce, qua navis appulit." *Ruddiman*

man by *Crawford's* advice, reads *quò* : and *Lambin* note 59. on *Cic. in Verr. lib. 5.* observes that the following passage has been corrupted in the same manner. “*Illi habitare in eo loco Syracusani, quà naves accedere possent, poluerunt.*” where the common copies read *quò*. *Livy lib. 1.* speaking of *Hercules*, “*prope Tiberim fluvium, quà præ se armentum agens, nando trajecerat.*” *Id. 35.* 27. “*Ad Pleias posuit castra. imminet is locus & Leucis & Acris ; quà videbantur hostes exercitum admoturi.*” *Varro R. R. 1. 16.* “*eundem fundum fructuosiorem faciunt vecturæ, si viæ sunt, quà plaustra agi facile possint, ut flumina propinqua, quà navigari possit.*” *Seneca de vita beata cap. 1.* *Decernatur itaque & quo tendamus qua : ——— nihil ergo magis præstandum est, quam ne, pecorum ritu, sequamur antecedentium gregem, argentes non qua eundum est sed qua itur.*”

But how did not *Ruddiman* observe an impropriety in the expression *navis appulit*, as other critics, and *Dr. Ker* in particular do, telling us, that it should be *navis appulsa est*, and not *appulit* ; that *homo, aut ventus appulsi navem* ; and that in the expression *Epiri regem in Italianam classe appulisse constat* there is an ellipse of *se* ? *Perizonius* note 73. on *Sanctii Minerva 4. 4.* proves this rule to be false by *Tacitus Ann 2. 24.* “*Sola Germanici triremis Chaucorum terram appulit.*” and 4. 27. “*cum velut munere deùm, tres triremes appulere.*”

19. *RECTA. lib. 20. cap. 40. p. 399. b 6.* “*a quibus recta, & ordine cuncta fuisse acta judicatum est, & decreto publico confirmatum est.*” So *Ruddiman* owns all the editions have it, that of *Frankfort* only excepted, which is false, if he meant the 1st *Frankfort* edition ; for in it the reading is *recta*, which our critic has turned into *recte* ; because, forsooth, the *Romans*, as *Buchanan* himself, often said *recte & ordine* ; and because he did not know that *recta* and *recte* have the same signification, as *Henry de Valois* observes on *Amm. Marcellin.*



*lib. 5. cap. 7.* and that there is an ellipse of *via* to *recta*, as *Sanctius* proves by good authorities, which is sometimes exprest, *Ter. Heaut. 4. 3. 29.* ut *recta via* rem narret ordine omnem."—— "eam secum rem *recta* reputavit *via*" he hath considered *rightly* of it, or he hath debated this matter with himself *rightly*.

20. SEMEL all together, all at once, at one time. *Cicero Att. 5. 8.* "nullas enim [litteras] adhuc acceperam, præter quæ mihi binæ *semel* in Trebullano redditæ sunt." *Virg. Æn. 11. 424.* "procubuit moriens, et humum *semel* ore momordit." *M. Seneca* epit. controvers. *lib. 4. præf.* "Quod munerarii [a term first used by *Augustus*, the same as *agonarchæ*, or *agonothetæ*] solent facere ad expectationem populi detinendam, nova pararia per omnes dies dispensant, ut sit quod populum et delectet et revocet : hoc ego facio. Non *semel* omnes produco, aliquid novi semper habeat libellus : ut non tantum sententiarum vos sed etiam auctorum novitate sollicitet. Acrior est cupiditas ignota cognoscendi, quam nota repetendi." *L. Ann. Senec. epist. 66.* "Talis animi virtus est, hæc ejus facies, si sub unum veniat adspectum, et *semel* totum se ostendat." *epist. 71.* "speaking of the Roman empire or republick in the time of *Pompey* ; "ne hoc quidem miseræ reip. continget, *semel* ruere." *ep. 72.* "corpori ad tempus bona valetudo est : quam medicus, etiam si reddidit, non præstat. sæpe ad eundem quem advocaverat, excitatur : animus *semel* in totum sanatur." *Id. de tranquill. animi cap. 1.* "hæc animi inter utrumque dubii, nec ad *recta* fortiter, nec ad prava pergentis, infirmitas qualis sit, non tam *semel* tibi possum, quam per partes ostendere." *Id. Nat. quæst. 2. 28.* "ventus qui circa arborem funditur sibilat non tonat. Lato (ut ita dicam) ictu, et totum globum *semel* dissipante opus est, ut sonitus erumpat : qualis auditur cum tonat." *Cic. Off. 3. 15.* "Q. Scaevola cum

cum postulasset, ut sibi fundus cujus emptor erat, *semel*  
 indicaretur, idque venditor ita fecisset: dixit se pluris  
 aestimare: addidit centum millia." *Quintus Scaevola*  
 going to buy an estate, desired the owner to tell him *at*  
*one word*, what it was he must have for it, the seller did  
 so, and *Scaevola* told him, he thought it was worth  
 more; and accordingly gave him 100,000 sesterces (a-  
 bout L. 800 sterl.) over. *Ovid*: "nulla reparabilis  
 arte *Læsa pudicitia*: deperit illa *semel*." *Lucan*:  
 dixitque *semel* nascentibus autor, quicquid scire licet."  
 It were easy to multiply examples from *Quintilian* (in  
 whom we frequently meet with *ut semel dicam, ut semel*  
*omnia [plura] complectar*) *Columella* and others to prove  
 that *semel* signifies *at once*, of which had not *Ruddiman*  
 been absolutely ignorant, he would not have corrupted  
 and proposed to corrupt the following passages of *Bu-*  
*rbanan* (1.) *lib. 2. cap. 29. p. 35. b.* "Quamquam e-  
 nim non penitus ac *semel* innotetur, tamen in perpetuo  
 fluxa est,"—(2.) *lib. 8. cap. 47. p. 148. b. rr.* "pe-  
 riculosum ratus omnium fortunarum *semel* discrimen sub-  
 ire."—(3.) *lib. 12. cap. 12. p. 222. c 6.* "Hanc  
 qui labefactare conantur, quid aliud moliuntur, quam  
 ut omnes leges, ritus, consuetudines majorum una lege  
 violanda *semel* evertant."—(4.) *dial. de jure regni*  
*cap. 36. p. 17. lin. 31.* "Quod medico fuerat initio fa-  
 ciendum, ut totum *semel* corpus noxiis humoribus leva-  
 ret,"—(5.) *epig. lib. 2. 6. 2.* "nec *semel* in Stygios  
 totus abire lacus," in all which 5 places, and it would  
 have been the same if there had been 500 of them, and  
 his attention had not failed, in opposition to the autho-  
 rity of all the editions, as he owns himself, *Ruddiman*  
 for *semel* reads *simul*, and on the last of the 5 refers us  
 to his note on *Psal. 109. ver. 30.* "Mors falce totam  
 demetat *semel* domum," where he makes no question  
 but the reading should be *simul* and not *seme*, and refers  
 us to *Benley* on *Horace*,

21. TANTISPER. See *donec*.

22. TANTUM. See the adjectives *dexter* and *sinister*, and add on the former, that according to *Ruddiman's* note, the rule of truth cannot be followed, without disturbing the order and spoiling the elegance of the discourse.

23. UNA. *lib. 15. cap. 57. p. 301. a 6.* "Navicula cum vectoribus, dum tumultuosius ad suos festinat, depressa est." Not only is this sentence blended with the former, but the word *una*, whether an adjective or an adverb, (for he never marks the accents) foisted in after *navicula*, without reason and without authority, so much as pretended.

24. UT. *lib. 4. cap. 33. p. 63. e 7.* "Intestinas enim seditiones fovendo, & externis viribus auctoritatem suam confirmando, junctoque cum primoribus Pictorum hospitio, ut uxore inde sumpta, filiabusque ibi elocatis facile apparebat cum viam ad regnum præstruere." In this description of the ambition of *Argadus* regent of the kingdom, he is said to have entered into friendship and amity with the *Pictish* grandees, of which these particular instances are adduced, that he took one of their daughters to wife, and married his daughters to them, *ut* being an adverb of similitude, and here used to signify *as, to wit, namely, as Cic. ut amicitia, bona existimatio* &c. To this *Ruddiman* not attending, and shewing in this as in most of his emendations his injudicious use of the incorrect MS. for *ut* reads *et*.

25. VIXDUM. *lib. 11. cap. 1. p. 197. d 6.* *James II.* began his reign *vixdum septimum ingressus annum.* — *Ruddiman's* note: "strange is the negligence of our historians in the business of chronology or arithmetick for *Boëthius* has written *lib. 18.* that *James II.* at the time that he began his reign "sextum ætatis annum nondum excessisse," *Buchanan* in the same sense "septimum: vixdum ingressum," and *Drummond* heedlessly follow



follows both. But if they had but cast a glance of their eyes to what they had a little before written of his birth, they could not have failed to discover that *James II.* succeeded his father at six years and about four months of age; for that is the time from the 16th or 14th of *October* 1430, on which all agree the son was born, to the 20th of *Feb.* 1437, on which the father died." If *Ruddiman's* impudence, insincerity and ignorance be not very surprising, they are at least very great. I have before observed under numeral adjectives pag. 409. his falsely and ignorantly charging *Buchanan* in the note immediately preceding with a blunder in the very place where he himself is really guilty of a greater, concerning the years of the reign of *James II.* His insincerity or impudence or both appears glaringly in asserting, that *Boëthius* in the place referred to, where he speaks of the beginning of the reign of *James II.* has the words "sextum ætatis annum nondum excessisse;" for his express words, as any one that can read him will see, are these: "reliquerat enim Jacobus rex filium, eodem nomine, admodum puerum, sextum enim annum vixdum excesserat." i. e. *James II.* at his father's death was but just out of the 6th year of his age, as *Buchanan* in the same sense says, the same *James II.* at his coronation, which happened about a month after his father's death, was but just entered on the 7th year of his age; which perfectly agrees with the author of the *extracta*, who says he was crowned in the 7th year of his age. Lastly, *Ruddiman's* gross ignorance of the *Latin* evidently appears in his confounding these two adverbs *vixdum* and *nondum*, and asserting that both of them have the same signification. Of a dozen of passages of *Livy* which I have marked where *vixdum* occurs, I shall only mention that 34. 59. on ambassadors being sent to *K. Antiochus*: "*vixdum* ii profecti erant, cum à Carthagine legati bellum

haud dubie parare Antiochum Annibale ministro attu-  
 lerunt : injeceruntque curam, ne simul et Punicum bel-  
 lum excitaretur." By the context the difference ap-  
 pears between *vixdum* and *nondum*, and that had not  
 the ambassadors been sent off, before the news came  
 from *Carthage*, they would not have set out. *Quintili-*  
*an* declam. 2. of a young man, who drew his father out  
 of the burning of a house, and who, whilst he was go-  
 ing back to fetch his mother, lost both her and his own  
 eyes : " *vixdum* posito sene, cum illum quoque mira-  
 remur explicitum, iterum flammæ aperuit, et undique  
 coëuntis incendii redditus globis arserat juvenis, si tar-  
 dius perdidisset oculos." Had *Ruddiman* said that *vix*  
 and *vixdum* are synonymous, he would have had better  
 reason. *Tacit. ann. 13. 6.* " igitur in urbe sermo-  
 num avidâ, quemadmodum princeps *vix* septemdecim  
 annos *egressus*, suscipere eam molem aut propulsare pos-  
 set ? anquirebant" therefore the people in the city  
 loving to speak their minds began to inquire, whether  
 prince *but just past* seventeen could support the fatigue  
 of a war, or stave it off any ways ? *Buchanan lib. 8*  
*cap. 16. p. 136. d.* animadverts pretty severely on *Rich-*  
*ard Grafton*, for saying that *Hector Boëtius* writes, *lib.*  
*14. cap. 2.* that so much blood was shed at the taking  
 of *Berwick* that a mill might have gone two days with  
 the streams of it running through all the parts of the  
 town. *Ruddiman* owns the remarks to be well ground-  
 ed. 1. that *Boëtius* did not divide his books into chap-  
 ters. 2. that what *Grafton* asserts is not to be found in  
 him : but as it is to be found in *Bellenden* his transla-  
 tor, or interpolator, he is offended at *Buchanan* for cal-  
 ling *Grafton* who mistook the one for the other " ho-  
 minem impudenter mendacem," and I own he has some  
 reason ; for had *Buchanan* been animadverting on *Rud-*  
*diman*, 'tis odds but he would have called him *homine*  
*indoctissimum & impudenter mendacissimum.*

## C H A P. XI.

*Of prepositions. Mr. Ruddiman ignorant of their use and meaning, has corrupted Buchanan's text, and falsely charged him with many errors in chronology.*

1. **A** or *ab*. Buchanan knew that *a* ought not to be used before *jōd* consonant, as they call it, but *ab*, as *Virg.* "ab Jove principium." *Nep.* "puer ab janua," which rule is confirmed by verbs compounded with *ab*, as *abjicio*, *abjungo*, *abjudico* &c. Hence *lib.* 14. *cap.* 26. 45 *p.* 267. a 274. a 3. "*lib.* 17. *cap.* 62. *p.* 346. a 5. "à Joanne Humio, à Joanne prorege, à Joanne Dami-oeta." *lib.* 18. *cap.* 56. *p.* 366. b. "à Joanne Knoxio" but *lib.* 19. *cap.* 2. *p.* 367. b 11. "ab Jacobo Duglas-sio Mortonio" — in the four first where the author has considered *I* as a vowel, *Ruddiman* reads *ab*, as well as in the fifth passage, where *Jacoba* is of three syllables as *Joanne* of four.

2. *A* or *ab*, according to *Servius*, differs from *è* or *ex* in this, that the former signifies nearness, and the latter distance of place. *Cic.* *Acad. lib.* 1. "nunciatum est nobis a M Varrone venisse eum Roma pridie vesperi." that is not from the city of *Rome* itself, but from a place near to it : for *Cicero* seldom uses to add the preposition to proper names of towns. *Liv.* "Flavius supplementum ab Roma abduxerat," i. e. *ex locis urbi Romæ propinquis*, "*a* theatro venit, qui a loco qui est juxta theatrum venit, *è* theatro venit, qui in ipso theatro fuit." *Cæs.* B. C. 1. 15. "Domitius per se circiter 20 cohortes Alba, ex Marfis & Pèlignis, & finitimis ab regionibus coëgerat." *Cic.* *Off. lib.* 3. "falsum testamentum è Græcia Romam attulerunt." *Gell.* 3. 9. "quos [equos] Hercules Diomedè occiso è Thracia Argos perduxisset." 19 9. "A-  
descentes à terra Asia." I have already made the ob-  
servation



ervation chap. V. p. 311, 317. and to confirm it shall only refer you to *Pliny* 3. 4. where it is obvious, that *in ora*, *à mari* and *maritima* are synonymous expressions. Tho' the difference between *à* and *ex* be sometimes confounded by other authors, yet not so by *Buchanan*, who in revising his work *lib. 1. cap. 28, 29. p. 12. a 2. b 5* has turned *ex* into *à* "*oritur autem Spæa à dorso Badenachæ,*" ——— and "*Nessus à lacu Nesso effluit.*" *Ruddiman* following the incorrect MS. and ignorant of the difference between *à* and *ex*, reads *ex dorso* and *ex lacu*. *Cicero* *Fin. lib. 1.* "*quidquid porro animo cernimus, id omne oritur à sensibus.*" *lib. 2.* "*ipsum à se oritur & sua sponte nascitur.*" *Id. N. D. lib. 2.* "*iis omnibus qui oriuntur à terra.*" *Seneca* *Nat. quæst. 6. 8.* speaking of the Nile: *à terra illum erumpere.*

3. A or *ab* for *a* or *ex parte*. *Liv. lib. 1.* "*ab urbe principes utrinque pugnam ciebant: ab Sabinis Metius Curtius: ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius.*" for *ex parte Sabinorum* and *ex parte Romanorum*, "*ab Romanis tubæ cornuaque cecinerunt.*" ——— *ab antesignanis* *pila non cessabant.*" i. e. *non cessabant antesignani pila jaculari.* So in these phrases *a me stat*, *a nobis facit*, *dico ab res*. See *Buchanan*, *lib. 10. cap. 54. p. 195. d 1.* *cecidit a Scotis*, there fell on the Scots side; which *Ruddiman* has corrupted, without offering to give any reason for it, by reading *ex Scotis*, and proposes to corrupt another passage, through the same ignorance of the meaning and use of the prepositions, *lib. 20. cap. 22.* quoted before in pag. 311. "*si quid ab Argathelia moveretur.*" *à* or *ab dextera*, *à læva*, *ab latere*, *ab oriente*, *occidente*, *meridie*, *septentrione*, on the east, west, south or north side, are very common expressions. In *Pliny* 13. 25. we read *a parte Aquilonis*. *Cæsar* *B. G. lib. 6.* describing the Uri: "*amplitudo cornuum, & figura, & species, multum à nostrorum bouum cornibus differt. Hæc studiose conquistata, ab labris circumcludunt.*" for *a parte labrorum ipsorum cornuum*.

*Lib. 5. cap. 17. p. 79. c. 6. "cujus ad populum maxima erat auctoritas" — lib. 7. cap. 22. p. 118. a. 4. "multis, & magnis virtutibus ad posteros insignis." lib. 12. cap. 60. p. 238. d. 10. "ad auctoritatem ad vulgus comparandam," — lib. 14. cap. 36. p. 271. a. 12. "ut nomen alioqui popolare ad vulgus invidiosum esset.*  
 On the first of these passages *Ruddiman* censures *Mosman's* edition severely (*importuna est hic diligentia*) for turning *ad* into *apud*, and proves by three examples from *Cicero* that the *Latins* used *ad* for *apud*: on the second there is a reference to this note: on the third the editions of *Elzevir* and *Mosman* are charged with *inscitia*, and with being ignorant that *ad* is to be found in this signification in the best authors, referring us to his note on the first of these passages. On the last there is a reference to the same note, and an authority added from *Livy* 2. 61. to which he might have added from the same author two examples more, full as pertinent, *lib. 1. cap. 3. & 19.* where we have the very expressions *ad posteros* and *ad multitudinem*. And yet the same severe censor of others deserves a much more severe censure himself for his gross ignorance of the meaning and use of the same preposition *ad*, discovered in many more instances.

4. AD for *apud* or near to (1.) *lib. 8. cap. 33. p. 143. c. 3. "Eduardus in belli apparatu adversus Scotos occupatus paucis post diebus morbo ad Lancastrum decessit,"* that is, whilst *Edward* I. was busied in making warlike preparations against the *Scots*, he sickened at or near *Lancaster* and died soon after, or died near *Lancaster*. *Ruddiman* ignorant of the author's meaning, and imagining that he was in a mistake as to this particular, tells us from the *English* historians that *Edward* died at *Burgh upon sands, July 7. 1307.* But that he was seized with a distemper a considerable time before he came to *Burgh* in *Cumberland*, which increased when he came there,

there, is plain from *Rymer's fœdera*. He was at the priory of *Lanrethst* of the diocese of *Karlile* in *October* *November*, *December* 1306 and *January* and *February* 1307 : and *March* 17th he writes from *Carlile* to the pope about ratifying his grant of the advowsons of the churches of *Mitford* and *Carlton* of the dioceses of *Durham* (in which there is a place called *Lanchester* and *Carlile*; one reason of which gift is said to be "propter diutinam moram nostram, quam nuper in eodem prioratu, dum adversa corporis valitudine premebamur". From the 10th of *March* to the 5th of *July* 1307 *Edward* has been at or near *Carlile*, *Wolveseye* and *Caldercotes* : and pag. 1059. Tom. 2. there is a memorandum that he died at *Burgh* upon sands extra *Karlilium* on Friday *July* 7. 1307. That *ad* is used for *juxta* or *prope* as well as for *apud* is evident from a multitude of examples. *Cic.* "eo die *Verres* ad *Messanam* venit." *Liv.* "habes hortos ad *Tyberim*." *Virg.* "prima quod ad *Trojam* pro caris gesserat *Argis*." *Liv.* "dum hæc ad *Veios* geruntur.

(2.) *Lib. 8. cap. 52. p. 150. a 12.* "Ad *Tinam* enim duo erant oppida munita, alterum propius *Valliam* *Carleolum*, alterum circiter quinquaginta millia passuum inferius, *Novum Castrum* appellant. Utrunque *Anglus* magnis præsidiiis, ut hostes transitu fluminis prohiberet, communierat." If we believe *Ruddiman*, *Froisart* led *Buchanan* into a mistake ; for, adds he, one of these towns, viz. *Carlile* is situate, not upon the *Tine*, but on the river *Eden*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Ituna*. According to *Camden*, south *Tine* has its rise in *Cumberland* near *Aston more*, where is an old brass mine, and after having for sometime rolled its waters northward, it turns to the east, and runs along in a straight course with the *Picts* wall begun by *Adrian* and finished by *Severus*, which is no where three miles distant from it : and any body may see by the map, that there is no great distance



ance between *Carlile* and *South Tine*. The same Cam-  
den has a very probable conjecture that *Lugu-vallum*,  
*Luguballium*, or *Lugubalia*, the antient name of *Carlile*  
and *Vallia Wales*, are both derived from the same *Pict*  
*vallum*, which is to be seen below the town of *Carlile*,  
because *Lugu-Vallum* is by *Antoninus* called *Ad Vallum*,  
and, according to *Pomponius Mela*, *Lugum* or *Lucum* in  
the old *Celtic* or *British* languages signified a tower : so  
*Lugu-vallum* is a tower or fort *ad vallum* ; and so *Lug-*  
*unum* may signify a tower on a hill, and *Lucoteicia*, the  
antient name of *Paris*, a fair tower. Had *Ruddiman*  
been as exact as he pretends, he would have told us,  
after *Camden*, that *Carlile*, in respect of its nearest situ-  
ation as to rivers, is bounded on the north by *Eden*, on  
the east by *Peterill*, and on the west by the *Gaude*, stan-  
ding between the confluences of these three, *Eden* re-  
ceiving the other two into its own firth. This account  
sufficiently explains and justifies that of *Buchanan*, who  
says, the K. of *England* kept a strong garrison in *Carlile*  
as well as in *Newcastle*, to prevent the *Scots* from pas-  
sing the *Tine*, near to which stands *Carlile*, tho' not so  
near as *Newcastle*, or as *Carlile* stands to the other three  
rivers just mentioned. Would any one, but *Ruddiman*,  
have imagined, that *Buchanan*, who travelled twice at  
least into *England*, viz. in 1539 when he fled from the  
fury of the papists, and in 1568 with the earl of *Murray*,  
could have been ignorant of the situation of *Carlile* and  
the course of the river *Tine* ?

(3.) *Lib. 9. cap. 25. p. 162. d 5. of Alexander Ram-*  
*say's* bold enterprize, by which he saved the castle of  
*Dumbarton* from being taken. " *Is nocte intempesta*  
*ad arcem* deceptis, qui in triremibus *Genuensium* mari-  
timum latus observabant, navem *ad arcem* applicuit : &  
quadraginta selectos viros, commeatusque magnam vim  
exposuit." where the first *ad arcem* signifies near or a-  
bout the castle and the 2d close to it ; of which *Ruddiman*  
being

being ignorant, strikes out the first *ad arcem* as altogether useless, after the example of the *Elzevir* edition 1668, and so has spoiled the sense and beauty of this passage; for the want of the first *ad arcem* lessens the idea the author meant to give us of *Ramsay's* bravery and leaves room to imagine that the galleys might have been at a good distance.

5 AD signifying by, or according to, lib. 6. cap. 42 p. 106. c 6. *Constantine* son of *Culen*, surnamed the bald disputing strongly against the law of *Kenneth III*, changing the law of the succession to the crown, on which *Ruddiman* builds his system of hereditary right, but has done well to have removed the objection of its being obtruded upon the kingdom by terror and constraint before he had laid such a mighty stress upon it, especially considering how his reasonings about the covenant and *Charles II's* being forced to take it, may be turned against himself, “*Quamobrem nunc oppresso tyranno libertatem ab eo sublatam fortiter esse repetendam: legemque illam per vim latam, per metum acceptam, modo lex est, ac non potius publicæ libertatis mancipatio, abrogandam, et ad pristina instituta, (quæ hoc regnum ex nihilo pepererunt, & ex parvis initiis in tantam magnitudinem extulerunt, ut nulli vicinorum cedat, & toties dejectum erexerunt) dum licet restituenda, i. e. negotia restituenda secundum pristina instituta.* *Ruddiman* has wilfully corrupted this passage, by striking out *ad* of which he knew not the meaning. Liv. 34. 30. “*nolite ad vestras leges atque instituta exigere ea, quæ Lacedæmone fiunt.*” *Vitruv.* *ad perpendicularum columnarum exigere.* *Cæsar B. Civ. lib. 3. ad præscriptum omnia agere.* *Cic. ad normam.* *Id. Catoni.* “*nam ad meum sensum & ad illud syncerum ac subtile judicium nihil potest esse laudabilius, quam ea tua oratio quæ est ad me per scripta à meis necessariis.*” So *ad arbitrium illius, ad nutum, ad hoc exemplum, ad hunc, ad eum modum* in *Plaut.*

Ter. So we say *pinxit ad exemplar*, i. e. *secundum exemplar*.

6. AD signifying *about*. (1.) *lib 9. cap. 44. p. 169.*  
 10. "*ad ducentos & quadraginta capti*:" *about 240*  
 were taken prisoners: 340 say the *extracta*, and *Boëthius*  
 400. This justifies *Buchanan*, who does not pre-  
 tend to limit the precise number, but leaves it undeter-  
 mined.

(2.) *Lib. 14. cap. 34. p. 270. c. 11.* *Douglas* retired  
 to his own castle of *Tantallon ad 14. M. passuum ab ur-*  
*be* about 14 miles distant from the city of *Edinburgh*.  
*Ruddiman* reads XVI. It is universally acknowledged,  
 that *ad* applied to numbers of miles, money, &c. signi-  
 fies *about*; but whether it has that signification when  
 joined to the days of the month has been called in que-  
 stion. That *Buchanan* uses it in that sense, is very  
 plain by comparing the *Latin* and *English* detection. p.  
 9. l. 3. "*hæc ad 15. Maii, An. 1567. acta sunt.*"  
 These things were done *about* the 25 (or 15) of *May*,  
 in the year of our Lord 1567. The difference be-  
 tween *tertio Calend.* and *ad tertium Calend.* is thus  
 explained by *Perottus*. The former signifies a certain de-  
 terminate day; the latter, not the very third day from  
 the *Calends*, nor any third day, but some day near it,  
 and to say *ad tertium Calendas* is the same as if we  
 should say *circiter tertium Calendas*. However he ac-  
 knowledges, that *ad tertium Calendas* may sometimes be  
 put for *ipse dies tertius Calendas* as if one should say, *ab*  
*hoc die usque ad tertium Calendas*, or *idus*, or *nonas*, there  
 are three days between. *Budé* understands the dates in  
 many of *Cicero's* letters in this manner, particularly *ad*  
*Attic. ad pridie nonas*, i. e. *sexto et septimo idus*; and  
 several other examples may be seen in *R. Stephen*. Se-  
 veral editors and annotators on *Cicero* and *Livy* imagin-  
 ing that in such passages the letters of *ad* should al-  
 ways be divided into *a. d.* an abbreviation for *ante diem*,



for instance, *ante diem tertium nonas*, the same with *tertio die ante nonas*, have very needlessly perplexed themselves, and corrupted several passages of their authors, without authority as well as without reason. This single observation that *ad* does not always signify a certain, precise, determinate day, is a sufficient answer to a very considerable part of *Ruddiman's* chronological notes on *Buchanan*, whose chronology might be defended against most of these, even upon the contrary supposition. It would not be very necessary to go over each of these notes, by which *Ruddiman* pretends to support his false accusation against *Buchanan* as having disfigured the whole face of our history by his innumerable errors in chronology; which charge he has thought fit to diminish in his last performance as tho' it contained nothing reproachful in it. In several of the notes he proves *Buchanan* to be in the right where other historians, and even the publick acts and records are in the wrong. I shall only select a few of the censured passages for a specimen.

(3.) *Lib. 8. cap. 39. p. 145. a 11.* on the battle of *Bannockburn* between *Robert Bruce* and the *English*, which lasted two days, and the night between, tho' then very short, *ad nonum enim Calendas Julias pugnatum est*, for it was fought on or about the 23d of June, seemed long, considering the ardor of both parties. *Ruddiman* very stupidly falls a proving that the battle was fought on the 24th of June St. John Baptist's day, never attending to what the author says.

(4.) *Lib. 9. cap. 8. p. 156. b 9.* *Edward Balliol* began his reign in 1332 *ad Oct. Cal. Sept. i. e.* about the 25th of September. *Ruddiman* reads *ad VII Cal. Oct.* for *ad Octobris Calendas septimum*, spoiling the harmony of the sentence; and then tells us, that several other writers have it the 24th of September, with whom he agrees, disagreeing with *Walsingham*, followed by *Tyrell* and

and *Barnes*, who has it the 27th, because he is mistaken about the year. But this is not a good reason, himself being judge in his answer to Mr. *Logan*, p. 285, 6. "I have known fathers and mothers, who could condescend on the day of the month, and hour of the day, in which some of their children were born, who yet could not be sure of the year. There are I believe some scores of people in *Edinburgh*, that cannot fix upon it; and I myself knew some such, particularly two Drs. of medicine of good character and reputation in this place, who could not assign the year; with whom however I have oftentimes celebrated the day of the month on which they had their birth."

(5.) *Lib. 9. cap. 12. p. 157. e 3.* the siege of *Berwick* began about the middle or 13th of *April*, *ad idus Aprilis*, and lasted three months before the capitulation: others say the 12th, *Tyrell* in the end of *April*, and *Ruddiman* observes that it appears by *Rymer's fœd.* that *Edward K.* of *England* came not to *Berwick* till the 7th of *May*. But could not the siege of *Berwick* have been begun, without *Edw.* being personally present? If *Major* meant as our chronologer would have it, his words "paulo post obsidionem pride idus Aprilis, ad Bervicum Anglus venit" plainly intimate that the siege was begun, before *Edward* came to *Berwick*.

7. *CUM. lib. 9. cap. 5. p. 155. c 6.* "Cum hæc igitur classe Kingornum vecta Cal. Aug. navales copias exposuit." No sooner was this fleet arrived at *Kingorn*, but *Edward Balliol*, Aug. 1. set his troops on shore. *Ruddiman*, against the authority of all the copies as he acknowledges himself, has foully corrupted this passage and spoiled the sense of it by reading *vetus*; as I shall prove by his own *large Grammar* part 2. p. 249, 251. & by *Perizonius* 4. 6. 8. to whom he refers. *Virg. Geor.* 2. 424. "ipsa satis tellus, cum dente recluditur unco, Sufficit humorem, & gravidas cum vomere fruges," i. e.

*statim post arationem.* Sall. Jug. 68. "Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis educit." *Cæs.* B. G. 5. 46. "exiit cum nuncio Crassus." *Apul.* Met. 2 p. 58. "& cum dicto faceffit." *Plaut.* Amph. 2. 2. 111. "abii hinc hodie cum diluculo." *Ovid.* Met. 1. 179. "Terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque Cæsariem, cum qua terram, mare, sidera movit." And *Heroid.* 10. 103. "Testis & Actæon, quondam fera creditus illis Ipse dedit leto cum quibus ante feras." non instrumentum, sed comitans quid significatur; q. d. *movit cæsariem, & unâ terram; ipse & unâ canes ejus leto dederunt.* Compare all this with *Ruddiman's* pretended reasons for corrupting the passage in question, and judge whether they be not so very frivolous and ridiculous as to deserve no answer.

8. E or ex. I have taken notice of *Ruddiman's* ignorance of the difference between these prepositions and *a* or *ab* at the beginning of this chapter; as chap. 4. p. 154. of his corrupting a passage of *lib. 8. cap. 36.* by reading *&* for *è*: and here I shall observe that he proposes to corrupt *lib. 2. cap. 39. p. 40. d 10.* and that there is another passage, *lib. 15. cap. 3 p. 282. b 4.* which he has corrected on the authority of the foreign editions. "Eum timorem auxerunt codicilli post Regis interitum reperti, è quibus supra trecentorum è prima nobilitate nomina continebantur." The critic contrary to the 2d rule of criticism laid down by himself, which I have taken notice of in p. 114. for *è quibus* reads *in quibus*, without offering to adduce any reason or authority. *Rob. Stephen* gives several examples from *Seneca, Pliny, Curtius* and *Livy*, where *ex* is used for *in*, in these phrases *ex toto, ex tuto*, and *ex vano*. And, which appears as odd, *Sigonius* on *Livy* 29. 1. *ex iis trecentos juvenes* observes, that *ex iis* is to be taken for *præter eos*, "quos centuriatos habebat, trecentos juvenes non centuriatos habebat:" thus *lib. 6. "alia ex eis edita etiam*



nam in vulgus :” *ex eis*, that is, *præter regias leges, æ æneas tabulas.*

9. ERGA. *lib. 20. cap. 35. p. 397.* a 7<sup>th</sup> of the murder of K. Henry father of James VI “*corpusque suffocati in proximum erga muros hortum per portulam (cujus ante memini referring to lib. 18. cap. 13. p. 351. c.) efferunt :*” *erga* is taken for *in, contra, è regione*, as in that of Plautus Truc. 2. 4. 52. “*tonstricem Suram Novisti nostram quæ modo erga ædes habet ?*” Ruddiman, ignorant of the meaning of *erga*, upon the authority of some late editions, which he does not name, reads *extra*. In the *detection* the situation of the house into which the king was put a little before his murder, is thus described. “On the south side of it the town wall, and in the same, for commodious passage every way, was a postern door. — It was not far from the fort [and garrison of his enemies (meaning the Hamiltons house, about a stone’s cast distant) *quod januam ædium spectabat* that stood right over against the door.”

10. IN. *lib. 13. cap. 8. p. 242. c 9.* James IV. held his first parliament at *Edinburgh*, which had been summoned to meet *qui indictus erat in sextum Novembris diem* on the sixth of *November*. Because the acts of parliament, which abound with false dates, say, not that it was summoned to meet on the 6th of *October* but that it met on that day, and because as he alledges, *Lesly* and *Abercrombie* agree with the acts of parliament, *Ruddiman*, against the authority of all the editions, for *Novembris* reads *Octobris*. But it is plain either that *Lesly*, who had a principal hand in publishing the *black acts* has not expressed himself justly, or that *Ruddiman* has misunderstood him. His words are, “*Rex trium ordinum concilium sexto die Octobris Edinburgi indicit.*” i. e. on the 6th day of *October* the king at *Edinburgh* summons a council of the three estates. So the day on which the parliament in question was called to meet,

and that on which it did meet, have been confounded. There are a good many of Mr. *Ruddimah's* notes, which I might have examined under the prepositions *circa*, *cir- citer*, *in*, *intra* and *per*, wherein he discovers his own inattention or insincerity and his ignorance of history and chronology and of the meaning and use of the public records both of *Scotland* and *England*, which I must pass over, both for want of room and want of leisure, and confine myself in the following chapter to such passages chiefly where he has corrupted the text of *Buchanan's* history.

## C H A P.

Of conjunctions. Mr. Ruddiman's ignorance of their use and meaning, and of the elegancies and idioms of the Latin tongue, the cause of corrupting and censuring Buchanan's text.

**I** NTERJECTION is by some looked upon as an exclamation rather than a part of speech : nor do I remember, that Buchanan has occasion to use it in any part of his history save *lib. 7. cap. 12. p. 114. d.* where MacDuff losing patience at Malcolm Canmoir's owning himself to be not only lewd and covetous, but false and jealous, "*apage inquit regii sanguinis ac nominis detestamentum, &c.*" And indeed it is not easy to imagine how Ruddiman could have gone wrong on the head of interjections : but we shall soon see his shameful blunders on the peculiar use and signification of conjunctions.

1. *AC* for *sed*. *lib. 18. cap. 34. p. 358. e.* "*Quo scripto non modo nuptiis inter me, et illum assentiebantur, ac bona, vitamque in consiliis exequendis se omnibus periculis objecturos promittebant, seque omnibus, qui rem impedire conarentur futuros hostes.*" In which writing they not only granted their consents to our marriage with him but also obliged themselves to set him forward thereto with their lives and goods, and to be enemies to all would disturb or impede the same. Ruddiman, by Crawford's advice, has corrupted this passage, turning *ac* into *sed*, and proposes to corrupt another passage perfectly like this *lib. 16. cap. 8. p. 307. a 10.* and a 3d in *lib. 17. cap. 60. p. 345. c 9.* "*Ac homines multo rerum usu eruditi, &c.*" *ac* in the beginning of the sentence for *at* or *sed*. Cic. Att. 3. 15. "*Ac si restitutor, etiam minus videbimur deliquisse abs teque certe, quoniam*



quoniam nullo nostro, tuo ipsius beneficio diligemur.—  
Hic mihi, primum meum consilium defuit sed etiam  
obfuit——*ac* si per populum” Here we have *ac*  
twice for *at*; *ac* in the MSS. and *at* in the common  
copies. But it seems pretty strange that *Dacier* on *Hor.*  
*Sat.* 2. 3. 189. should think *at* the preferable reading,  
without pretending any authority. “Et æquam rem  
imperito: *ac* si cui videor non justus inulto Dicere, quæ  
sentit, permitto.” Both *Cicero* and *Horace* use *atque*  
for *atqui*.

2. *AT. lib. 14. cap. 32. p. 269. e 6. At non multo post  
insania conflictatus mortem obiit:” Ruddiman* blindly  
following the foreign editions, blends this sentence with  
the preceeding, and turns *at* into *at*.

3. *AUT* for *ac* or *et* or *que*. (1.) *lib. 15. cap. 57. p.  
301. a 4. “ut——statim hostem funderet, aut fuga-  
ret:” Ruddiman*, on the authority of the MS. and be-  
cause the expression is much used by *Latin* writers, reads  
*ac*; not attending that the MS. was revised by the au-  
thor, who uses a vast variety of expression; nor know-  
ing that tho’ *aut* be often disjunctive, yet it is some  
times conjunctive, as *Virg. Æn.* 1. 418. “Moliri vi-  
am, *aut* veniendi poscere causas” In the same author  
we find copulatives used for disjunctives. “Aut pela-  
go Danaum insidias suspectaque dona Præcipitare jubet,  
*subjectisque* urere flammis for *aut subjectis*.

(2.) *Lib. 20. cap. 34. p. 396. e 3. Of the regent  
Lennox forwardness to hang John Hamilton* archbishop  
of *St. Andrews*, who had been concerned in the murder  
of the king and of the good regent, and of his being  
apprehensive, lest the Q. of *England* should have inter-  
ceded for his life. “Timebat etiam, ne si longior  
mora interponeretur, *aut* supplicibus Reginæ Anglo-  
rum literis eximeretur,”——*Ruddiman*, contrary to  
all the editions by *Crawford*’s advice, cancels the par-  
ticle *aut* as useless; and proposes another and as he ima-  
gines

times a better emendation, that is, to retain *aut* and foist  
 in *evaderet* : and in his MS. reply to *Burman*, he men-  
 tions a conjecture of *Laurence Dundas* humanist in the  
 college of *Edinburgh*, that for *supplicibus* we should read  
*supplicio* ; because the demeanour of a suppliant ill suit-  
 ed to great a princess as the Q. of *England*, on whom  
 the regent's party did wholly depend ; and because the  
 verb *eximo* is very seldom found without the dative,  
 which otherwise would be wanting in this place. *Literæ*  
*supplices* does not imply that Q. *Elizabeth* would desire  
 the thing prostrate, or kneeling on her knees, but only  
 interceding by her letter for *Jahn Hamilton's* life. The  
 deposed queen's party did also depend on her and made  
 frequent applications to her. *Aut* is sometimes con-  
 junctive, sometimes hortative, sometimes comminative,  
 as *Virg. eclog. 7.* " *Nymphæ, noster amor Libethri-*  
*æ aut mihi carmen Quale meo, &c.*" where *aut* im-  
 ports threatening ; and if it should be so taken in the  
 place in question, to signify intreaties mix'd with threats,  
 it would perfectly answer Mr. *Dundas's* difficulty. We  
 see *exima* without the dative expressed in *Tacitus annal.*  
*lib. 4. of Gn. Lentulus and Seius Tuberus* who were accus-  
 ed of crimes against the state *sed hi quidem statim ex-*  
*imti* : there is a passage in *Cicero orator ad M. Brutum*,  
 which pretty much resembles that of *Buchanan.* " *Sed*  
*magnam exercitationem res flagitat, ne quid eorum qui*  
*genus hoc secuti sunt non tenuerunt, simile faciamus,*  
*et aut verba trajiciamus aperte, quo melius aut cadat,*  
*aut volvatur oratio.*" *Lambin* strikes out *ne*, and for  
*ut* reads *ut*. In *Cicero* in the same treatise, we see *nec*  
*et.* " *Ita neque humilem, nec abjectam oratio-*  
*em, nec nimis altam, et exaggeratam probat.*"  
 4. AUTEM. *lib. 19, cap. 9, p. 370. a.* " *Numero-*  
*sim confisi, quod supra sex millia, et quingentos in ar-*  
*mis habebant : sciebantque apud proregem vix plena*  
*quatuor millia esse. Decreverunt autem præter Glas-*  
*ciam.*"





casus, quæ omnia late obtinebat." Here again *et* is  
 joisted in between *asperior* and *nivis*. *Longinus* on the  
 sublime, observes, that the frequent use of copulatives  
 renders the stile flat and languid. *Sallust* uses them ve-  
 ry sparingly: nay *Ruddiman* himself finds fault with  
*Melvin* for offering to turn *insidiis* into *insidiisque* lib. 1.  
 cap. 39. p. 16. e 2. "portum latrociniis infestum, in-  
 sidiiis tegendis aptum." See on the verb *sum* and its  
 participle *futurus*.

6. ET for *aut*, lib. 8. cap. 30. p. 142. b 3. "cum  
 uno et altero fere comite." ——— *Ruddiman*, without  
 any authority, reads *uno aut altero*, not knowing that the  
 expressions are both one and the same, and that *&* is  
 always disjunctive, for *one or two*, and not collective;  
 which ignorance he has proclaimed in a long note on  
 lib. 17. cap. 35. p. 337. a 10. enumerating the pas-  
 sages where *Buchanan* writes *unus & alter* and *unus aut*  
*alter*, in imitation of the *Roman* authors, who use them  
 differently.

7. ET for *etiam*, (1.) lib. 15. cap. 19. p. 287. e 5.  
 Hostes enim non contenti civium cætorum sanguine,  
 superstitum miseriis, & supellestilis direptione, &  
 valvas ostiorum, & fenestrarum, clatrasque ferreas ab-  
 ulerunt," ——— *Ruddiman*, on the authority of the  
 MS. not revised or corrected, reads *etiam valvas*. *Liv.*

65. "Antium & Romanus exercitus ductus, paucos  
 circumfessum dies deditur, nullâ oppugnantium novâ vi,  
 quod jam inde ab infelici pugna, castrisque amissis,  
 deciderant animi." The *Roman* army was also led to  
 Antium, which after a few days siege was surrendered  
 not by any new assault, but because their hearts failed  
 them ever since their unsuccessful engagement, and the  
 loss of their camp. See another quotation from the  
 same author under the participle *perfunctus*. (2.) lib.

8. cap. 44. p. 362. b 9. " & satis firmi ad debellan-  
 dos adversarios sibi videbantur." Here also *&* is raised  
 out.

out. (3.) *lib. 19. cap. 23. p. 375. a 3.* "homines jamdiu ad accusandum præmeditados"—here again cancelled. (4.) *lib. 20. cap. 34. p. 396. e 7.* "hæc frustratio ita discussa est," this exception, preter or put-off was *also* quashed. *Ruddiman* reads at so I have passed over *lib. 16. cap. 56. p. 323. a 3* regi Anglorum, & regni finibus maxime propinquam"—*lib. 18. cap. 11. p. 351. a 12. et Pont. quidem occultis lib. 19. cap. 17. 25. p. 372. d 12. & 375. d 4.* "et de civibus ingratis quererentur,"—"et genere prox & hæredi," in the three first of which passages *Roman*, ignorant of the *Latin* idiom, thinks *et* is redundant, as in the 4th he proposes for *et* to read *ut*. through the same ignorance, and upon the authority of the MS. and by virtue of his own dictatorial authority the copula *et*, where it seems to be ornamental, is ordered into banishment, *lib. 15. cap. 1. p. 281. c 3.* "casus item supremæ potestatis invadendæ et celeritate gere visa est." So all the printed copies.

8. ET——*et* for *non solum*——*sed etiam.* (1. *10. cap. 37. p. 189. d 11.* of *James I's* pardoning *Albald* 3d of that name, earl of *Douglas*, and taking for a witness to the baptism of his two sons: "res inter significationes, *et* honoris, *et* necessitudinis causas haberi solet"—a thing that is commonly laid upon, *not only* as a mark of honour, *but also* as a evidence of strict friendship. Here the first *et* is struck out, as useless, tho' the want of it spoils the sense & beauty of the expression.

(2.) *Lib. 17. cap. 40. p. 339. a 4* of *George Gordon* earl of *Huntly* a prisoner at the battle of *Corrichie*, dying between the hands of his takers; of which two causes are assigned, his age, his corpulency, and shortness of breath, its usual effect; as the lungs of fat men have not such freedom to play, as those of a leaner have. Or, if the doctrine of the animal spirits was known

*Buchanan's* time, I should be apt to think, that by *an-*  
*to spirituum meatu* we were to understand a failure of  
 life; which seems to be confirmed by *Knox's* account  
*Huntly*, "That morning he could not be wakened,  
 ere it was ten hours; and when he was upon his  
 feet, his spirits failed him, by reason of his corpulency,  
 that rightly, a long time he could do nothing." "*pa-*  
*etate ingravescente, et ut in homine corpulento, &*  
*gusto spirituum meatu, inter capientium manus est*  
*animatus.* *Ruddiman* dashes out the 2d *et*, which he  
 thinks is to be found in all the copies.

9. ETIAM. (1.) *lib. 9. cap. 37. p. 166. e 3.* "*cum*  
*potis etiam est transactum*"—where *Ruddiman*, ignor-  
 ant of the meaning of *transactum est* and of the use of  
*etiam*, confounds a treaty set on foot with a treaty a-  
 greed on, and a treaty agreed on betwixt two princes  
 with a treaty ratified by the subjects of one of them.  
 Tho' *Buchanan* had said that the release of the 2 kings,  
*John of France* and *David of Scotland*, was treated of at  
 the same time, that would not mean that both  
 the treaties were concluded at one and the same time.  
 The word *etiam* intimates the contrary, that when the  
 pope's legates were very earnest in treating a peace be-  
 tween the *French* and *English*, they had better success  
 to the release of the K. of *Scots*; for over and above  
 treating, the treaty was agreed and finished.

(2.) *Lib. 18. cap. 6. p. 349. d 7. on Q. Mary's poi-*  
*soning the king her husband:* "*liventes etiam pustulæ*  
*eruperunt*"——where *etiam* joined to *liventes*  
*pustulæ*, is explicative, and shews what were the tokens  
 of the treachery, or symptoms of the poison that disco-  
 vered themselves or appeared, viz. certain black pim-  
 ples. Yet *Ruddiman* has a blind conjecture, that for  
*etiam* we should read *enim*.

10. IGITUR. *lib. 2. cap. 25. p. 33. c 12.* "*Con-*  
*vero cum non tot annis, sed sæculis in sermone*



Britannico. videam eam concordiam inter nationes vel spatio terrarum longè separatas, vel mutuis odiis laborantes, quanta non est inter multos Gallorum populos, qui sub eisdem Regibus, & legibus diu vixerunt. Cum talem *igitur* in loquendo concordiam mecum recogito, &c." *Ruddiman* substitutes *inquam* in the room of *igitur*, imagining that otherwise the sentence is imperfect, and stops and stands stock still. He did not know that *igitur* is used in the sense of *inquam* by *Cicero in Tuscul.* where he uses the same figure *epanalepsis*, by which after several things interposed, what was put in the beginning, is resumed. "Confirmato illo de quo, si mortales animi sunt, dubitare non possumus, quin tantus interitus in morte sit, ut ne minima quidem suspicio sensus relinquatur. Hoc *igitur* probè stabilito, & fixo, illud excutiendum est, ut sciatur, quid sit carere, &c.

11. NAM. *lib. 1. cap. 19 p. 8. d 9.* "nam Galloid priscorum Scotorum lingua Gallum significat." *Ruddiman*, ignorant of the meaning of *nam*, and confounding times, and dividing nations and languages which ought to be united, imagines that particle to be useless and that this passage contradicts *lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 76. b.* *nam* is used as a transition by *Terence And. 1. 1. 24.* "nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis." The declamation in *Sallust*, which goes under *Cicero's* name: "nam quod in uxorem & filiam meam tam petulanter invecsus es." *nam quod* the same as *quod autem*. So *enim Liv. 22. 28.* "neque enim quicquam eorum, quæ apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebant." He was well informed of all measures and designs which were carrying on among his enemies.

12. NE. (1.) *lib. 15. cap. 21. p. 288. b.* "obstinatè recusabat ne in Hamiltonii potestatem veniret——" *Ruddiman*, who in offering to mend *Buchanan's* Latin, never fails to discover his ignorance and bad taste, imagines it would be better expressed thus, *recusabat in Hamiltonii*

*milonii potestatem venire.* This is really pretending to correct the *Ciceronian Latin*. Off. lib. 3. cap. 27. "In senatum venit : mandata exposuit : sententiam *ne diceret recusavit* : quandiu jurejurando teneretur, non esse se senatorem." *Regulus* came into the senate, told them his message, *refused to give* his own vote : as long as he was under an oath to the enemy, he did not count himself a senator. *Id.* ad Fam. 1. 9. "vehementer etiam res ipsa publica me movit, quæ mihi videbatur, contentionem, præsertim maximis rebus à Cæsare gestis, cum illis viris nolle fieri : & *ne fieret, vehementer recusare*" *ib.* 4. 1. "Trebatio mandavi, ut, si quid tu eum velles ad me mittere, *ne recusaret.*"

(2) *Lib.* 20. cap. 18. p. 392. a 4. "*Rogabat, ne interim ab armis, & a prorege creando abstinerent.*" *Q. Elizabeth* desired them to cease from using further hostility, and not to precipitate the election of a regent. The foreign editions for *ne* read *ut*, and *Ruddiman* follows them, without taking notice that the *Lat. ne* is sometimes used as the *Greek ne* or *ge*, and seems redundant, or signifies *utique, ceriè*. But, if it were lawful to make any alteration of the passage in question, I should rather think that the author wrote *rogabatque*, as *ut* is elegantly suppressed after such verbs ; of which I shall give but one example from *Tacit. Ann.* 2. 21: "*Ora- batque insisterent cædibus, nil opus captivis, solam inter- necionem gentis finem bello fore.*" He desired his soldiers to give no quarter, saying that they had no need of prisoners, and that there was no way of ending the war but by the entire destruction of the whole nation.

13. *NEC dial.* de jure regni. cap. 68. p. 30. lin. 30. "Neque reges, opinor, si seorsum a facinorosis & adul- latoribus consilia caperent, suamque magnitudinem non potius virtutum officiis quam impunitate scelerum me- tirentur, *nec ægrè ferrent tyrannorum supplicia* : aut ex- eorum qualicunque interitu majestatem regiam imminui existimarent."

existimarent." where the negative is repeated after a long clause or several words interposed, as *Lambin* observes that *Cicero* repeats *ut* (and the same holds in *English*) in imitation of whom *Buch. detect. pag. 111. l. 31.* "cur non illud saltem monet, *ut*, quia & præter & propter fores Regis eundum erat, *ut* saltem arma capiat?" Why did she not advise him of this one thing at least, that because he was to pass by, and hard by the king's door, he should, in any wise, put on his armour? In the former passage *Ruddiman* cancels *nec*, in the latter *ut*. See under the adverb *non*.

14. *NEC quidem. lib. 4. cap. 52. p. 71. d.* "Ipsi *nec* aspectum *quidem* illorum sustinere possent," they durst not look them in the face. *Ruddiman*, not knowing that *nec quidem* and *ne quidem* are sometimes used indifferently, imagines it should be *ne quidem*. *Cic. Off. 3. 10.* "At neque contra remp. neque contra jusjurandum ac fidem, amici causa vir bonus faciet, *nec* si *quidem* erit de ipso amico, ponit enim personam amici, cum induit judicis." If a man were judge in his friend's case, he ought by no means to be bias'd in his favour. For he lays aside the person of a friend, when he puts on that of a judge *Plin. 8. 3. b.* "quippe *nec* somno *quidem* saginatis."

15. *NEC unquam. lib. 20. cap. 37. p. 368. a 9.* "*nec unquam* tamen de legis acerbitate minuenda mentio facta est:" and yet there never was any mention made of lessening the severity of the law. *Crawford*, not attending that *nec* here as in very many places is to be resolved into *et non*, would have it *nunquam tamen*, and *Ruddiman* is of the same opinion. "*Cic. nec enim unquam* sum assensus veteri illo laudatoque proverbio.

16. *NISI.* see under the pronoun *ego*.

17. *QUE. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 7. c.* "Ex his opinor non abhorret à vero Album non unius, sed multarum gentium fuisse vocabulum, cumque omnibus quos nominavi



*minavi locis altitudo perpetuo, et immutabiliter albes-*  
*cere vix paucis mensibus, nec omnibus semper accidat."*  
 So the MS. and all the editions. But, says *Ruddiman*,  
 this reading renders the sentence maimed and imper-  
 fect; of which *Crawford* being aware, to *semper accidat*  
 would have these words immediately subjoined: "ap-  
 paret hoc potius altitudinis quam coloris nomen apud  
 eas gentes fuisse." This emendation of *Crawford's*,  
 adds *Ruddiman*, seems to receive no small confirmation  
 from what *Buchanan* had said in the beginning of this  
 paragraph. For there he undertook to prove two  
 points: first, that the word *Album* was not peculiar  
 to one nation, but common to many; next, that  
 with these nations it was a name not so much of  
 colour as of height. He ought therefore in the end,  
 when he was summing up the arguments, to have  
 pointed out both the particulars, which he undertook  
 to prove: for otherwise he will appear to have only exe-  
 cuted the half of his design. "However, for fear of  
 having a charge of arrogance and presumption laid a-  
 gainst me, for adding so many words, I think it safer to  
 make a slighter correction, viz. by dashing out *que*:  
 tho' I frankly acknowledge, *Crawford's* emendation  
 renders the sentence much plainer and more worthy of  
*Buchanan's*" On which I remark. 1. That *Ruddi-*  
*man*, according to custom, mistakes and misrepresents  
*Buchanan's* meaning and design, who at the passage in  
 question is not come the length of summing up the  
 whole of his argument, but only that part of it where-  
 by he proves that *Album* was not a word peculiar to  
 one, but common to many nations; and of this he  
 makes the other part of the argument about height a  
 proof: the places named *Alba* were not all at all times  
 white, and those that were but a few months so, where-  
 as height was a perpetual and unchangeable quality,  
 the towns standing all upon or near hills. Nor does

he offer to prove But incidentally, that *Album* among all these nations signified white, but rather high, and derives the name of *Albion* or great *Britain* from height, and the argument about height, not colour, is prosecuted in the following part of this, and through the whole of the next paragraph. The point *Buchanan* is chiefly labouring, is this, that *Albion* is derived from height, not from colour, not only for the reasons abovementioned, but because it is absurd to derive it from the *Latin*, which it is not probable those who first gave it that name were acquainted with; and because the coast of *Britain* is high and mountainous, and that of *Ireland* low and level. This his opinion *Buchanan* proposes with a great deal of modesty. 2. I remark that *que* ought not to be rased out of the MS. and printed books for the following reasons. (1.) There is all the reason in the world to believe that it came from the author's hand. (2.) It may be construed with *opinor*; for there are instances of *que* the enclitic joined to another word than the natural order requires. *Hor. lib. 2. Od. 19.* "ore pedes, tetigitque crura, for *cruraque tetigit.* *Tibull. 1. 3.* "Messallam terra, dum sequiturque mari for *marique sequitur.* (3.) *Que* may stand for *etiam* as *Plin. 35* "Ab hoc eodem factum Herculem, qui hodieque materix nomen in urbe retinet:" (4.) It ought to be retained, tho' it were merely ornamental, as *que* sometimes is.

18. QUOD. *lib. 1. cap. 21, 22. p. 9. b. 11. p. 10. b. 5. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 26. a. 9. lib. 8. cap. 16. p. 137. a. 4.* Out of the first of these passages *Ruddiman* strikes out *quod*, on the authority of the MS. in the two next he includes it within brackets, and rases it out of the last, without any authority, as perfectly useless; which visibly it is not in the 1st and 2d passage; and as to the two last, *Faber* has observed, that *quod cum*, *quod quia*, *quod si* &c. are pretty often to be found in *Cicero*, *Virgil* and

and *Nepos*. See *H. Stephen* on *quod* answering to the French *que* and *Perizonius* on *Sanctius* 3. 14. and the authors to whom he refers. See also *Ruddiman* himself large *Grammar* part 2: note 3. p. 153. where we are told, that the ellipse of the preposition *circa* or *propter* is frequent in these accusatives *hoc, id, quid, &c.*

(2.) *Lib. 16. cap. 14 p. 309. b 6.* “ of the 8 commissioners chosen by the parliament to conclude the match between *Q. Mary* and the dauphin of *France*, 3 noblemen, 3 clergymen, and 2 of the 3d estate: “ *Infimi ordinis duo, Georgius Setonius, quod Edimburgi, & Joannes Areskinus Dunensis Montis rosarum præfectus esset, equestri quidem loco, sed dignatione primoribus facile par* ” where there is an ellipse of *præfectus* to *Joannes Areskinus*, but not of *quod*. *George lord Seton*, in quality, not of a nobleman, but of provost of *Edinburgh* and one of the representatives of the estate of boroughs. *Ruddiman*, out of complaisance to *Crawford*, foists in *quod* after *Dunensis*: and his friend *Robert Keith* pretends to have convicted *Buchanan*, whom he did not understand, of degrading *George Seton* from a lord to a knight. *de Thou's* mistake is more excusable, as he was a foreigner, and had not the record before him, as *Keith* had.

(3.) *Lib. 17. cap. 40 p. 338 d 7.* “ describing the battle of *Corrichie*: “ *Reliqui statim inter ducendum adversus hostem aperte prodicionis signum dederunt; quod ramos ericæ, ut ab hostibus agnoscerentur, tegumentis capitum affixerunt.* ” The foreign editions have read the abbreviation wrong, *qui* for *quod*, and *Ruddiman* follows them.

19. SEU an abbreviation of *sive* as *neu* for *neve*, *lib. 12. cap. 18. p. 246. c 8.* “ *five bellum, seu pax placeat.* ” — for *seu* *Ruddiman* reads *sive*, on purpose, as it would seem, to render his author uniform. *Virg. Æn lib. 7.* “ *sive fide, seu quis bello est expertus & armis.* ”

20. UT.



20 UT. See *not.*

21. VERO: *lib. 19. cap. 26. p. 375. e ult.* For tho' in antient times the law was such, yet *Kenneth III* made an alteration. *Ruddiman* imagines that the particle *vero* is useleſs; which it is not, even when expletive or ornative, as *Ter. Eun. 5. 4. 8.* “*Id verò est quod ego puto mihi palmarium me reperisse.*”

And thus, ſir, I have gone over the *parts of ſpeech*, and ſhould now have proceeded to *ſyntax*, *proſody*, and *orthography*, and to offer ſome miſcellaneous obſervations on thoſe parts of *Buchanan's* writings that follow the *hiſtory and dialogue* in *Freebairn's* edition. But, as I have already run out into a much greater length than I at firſt expected, I muſt refer theſe things to another opportunity. I have no other apology for writing ſo copiouſly on this ſubject, but that which *Buchanan* makes for himſelf in his reſutation of *H. Lhuyd.* “*Hæc nos fortæſſe paulò pluribus, quam aut rerum obſcuritas deſiderabat, aut Ruddimanni imperitia & inconstantia merebatur perſecuti ſumus, ut hominis loquaciter maledici inſulſam procacitatem paulum retunderem, & a rabie, qua in Buchananum alioſque eximios Dei ſervos graſſatur, aliquando ad ſua eum errata recognoſcenda revocarem.*” or, if that is not to be expected, (ſhall I ſay?) “*ne indoctorum factio nimium ſibi hoc patrono placeret*” and to ſet him up as a beaçon warning all ſuch ſcioliſts and haſt critics and calumniators to beware of ſplitting upon the ſame rock, *i. e.* of cenſuring and correcting *Buchanan's Latin*, and of attacking his character as a good hiſtorian and an honeſt man. And now let me aſk you whether, as far as we have gone, it does not appear, that the charge I have brought againſt Mr. *Ruddiman* of corrupting *Buchanan's* writings and miſtaking and perverting the ſenſe of them, is well ſupported; and if you are not by this time ready to rank him among a ſet of men deſcribed by *Valla, eleg. 2. 1.* “*Profeſſorum nihil eſt*

supercilio superbius, nihilque improbius, & ad emendandos libros, vel corrumpendos potius magis audax?" And to cry out against him in the words of another judicious critic, "Atquibus tandem crucibus digni censentur, qui in autoribus non modo emaculare mendas, quæ vel temporis vitio, vel inscitia librariorum inoleverant: sed his quæ rectissimè habebant, suas impuras manus admoliri, polluere, adulterare, omnia denique nullo nec pudore nec judicio intervertere sunt ausi — Nunquam enim eorum exemplum placuit, qui prout temere quidvis in mentem inciderit, ita scripturam statim aut supplendam aut eradendam putant?" I think I have clearly proved, that this character suits Mr. *Ruddiman*, and that in pretending to correct and censure *Buchanan*, he has himself every where committed very gross blunders, which of all the faults of a critic is the least pardonable and the most shocking: this is what I think I have proved. But, as we authors are a sort of men that are very apt to flatter ourselves,

*Quos subsequitur cæcus amor sui,*

I have possibly committed the same fault that I have so much censured in Mr. *Ruddiman*. And therefore I wait your judgment, to which I submit myself so much the more willingly, that I'm very much persuaded, it will correspond to that of the publick. I am,

Sir,

Your &c.

P. S. I send you the just copy of the principal charter given by king *David Bruce*, the year of his reign 34, the year of the Lord 1365 to the haill burrows of this realm; which I mentioned, ch. vi. p. 403.

*Carta Davidis 2di regis Scotiae concessa burgenfibus burgorum Scotiae.*

David Dei gratia rex Scottorum Omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue clericis & laicis salutem. Sciatis.

atis nos cum Consilio concessisse dilectis nostris combur-  
 gensibus Scotiis facultatem emendi ac vendendi libe-  
 ram ubique infra libertatem suorum burgorum. Prohiben-  
 do ne aliquis eorum infra libertatem alterius emat vel  
 vendat nisi licentiatus. Prohibemus etiam ne Episco-  
 pus aut Prior vel persona ecclesiastica, comes, baro, vel  
 persona secularis emat lanam, pelles, corea, aut alia mer-  
 cimonia, sub quocunque colore, cujuscunque fuerit sta-  
 tus, neque vendat, nisi solummodo à mercatoribus bur-  
 gorum infra quorum libertates resident. Quibus preci-  
 pimus quod hujusmodi mercimonia presentent apud cru-  
 cem & forum burgorum ut mercatoria emant, & ipsos  
 effectualiter prostent sine fraude & ibidem solvent cu-  
 stumam regis. Prohibemus etiam ne aliqui extranei  
 mercatores cum navibus & mercantiis venientes vendent  
 aliquod genus mercimonitorum nisi mercatoribus no-  
 strorum burgorum nec quid emant nisi a manibus merca-  
 torum burgorum sub pena regie defensionis nostre.  
 Quas quidem concessiones, libertates, constitutiones,  
 perpetuo duraturas, tenore presentis carte nostre confir-  
 mamus. In cujus rei testimonium presentis carte no-  
 stre confirmationis sigillum nostrum præcipimus apponi  
 Testibus venerabilibus in Christo patribus Wilhelmo e-  
 piscopo Sancti Andree, Patricio episcopo Brechinensi  
 cancellario nostro, Roberto Senescallo Scotiæ nepote  
 nostro, Wilhelmo comite de Dowglas, Roberto de Er-  
 skin cancellario nostro. Apud Perth vigesimo octavo  
 die mensis Marcii anno regni nostri trigesimo quarto;

F I N I S.





# ERRATA.

Page 4. line 7. *read* grounds p. 9. l. 28. permit p. 13. l. 6, 8. *Galde* l. 19. *Gael*. p. 17. l. 10. *cæteros*. p. 43. l. 25. r. 367. p. 48. l. 10. *inaequales*. p. 49. l. 16. for good r. kind. p. 55. l. 6 colleges. p. 60. l. 31. *conjunctus* p. 66. l. ult. *Peiresc*. p. 76. l. 14. familiarities p. 80. l. 8. inimitable p. 98. l. 1. dele *con-* p. 102. l. 21. the l. ult. b 9. p. 104. l. 5. *contingere*. p. 106. l. 20. b 2. p. 114. l. 18. r. E 2. p. 138. l. 25. *testes*. l. penult. *sense*. p. 140. l. 1. *nostros*. p. 141. l. 24. feminine. p. 142. l. 10. *simile*. l. 11. *cap.* 4. pag. 168. a. l. 30. r. d 8. p. 147. l. 20. B 4. p. 148. l. 24. not. p. 157. l. 3. *negotio*. p. 200. l. 1. r. b 7. p. 218. l. 26. before *pannus* r. 54. p. 221. l. 21. r. (1.) p. 235. l. 16. *liberetis*. p. 238. l. 18. *dele è* p. 242. l. 25. r. 383. p. 252. l. 22. *Alexandrinum*. p. 254. l. 10. *Cassivellauno*. p. 257. l. 27. r. E 2. p. 264. l. 20. for their r. the. p. 272. l. 8. commenced. p. 279. l. 17. *habuisse*. p. 288. l. 3. r. 213. p. 291. l. 21. *insimulati* p. 300. l. 24. *Threidicus*. p. 303. l. 2. was gifted. p. 309. l. 5. à fine r. *Charisius*. p. 312. l. 22. r. B 5. p. 320. l. 8. for constantly r. generally. p. 334. l. 15. *add*, if they have not mistaken *Buchanan's* meaning. p. 337. l. 1. *after* that *add*, they are between it and the west sea, as it may be said that *Leith &c.* p. 343. l. 10. before *Pomona* r. 12. p. 346. l. 14. language. p. 354. l. ult. for 78. r. 8, 9. p. 355. l. 9. *after* not *add* at B 3: for there - l. 12. r. 134. p. 381. l. 13. r. 291. p. 401 l. 29. *millesimo*. p. 411. l. 15. *memorabilis*. p. 427. l. penult. b 4. p. 452. l. 30. *Segestæ*. p. 454. l. 5. r. *lib.* 1. p. 459. l. 27. *ver.* 45. p. 471. l. 12. r. 163. e. p. 506. l. 12. *cap.* 45. p. 515. l. 5. à fine r. *obhorreo*. p. 539. l. 33. event. p. 418. l. 17. *Æn.* 4.

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The first of these is the fact that the  
 government has been unable to  
 maintain a stable currency. The  
 value of the dollar has fallen  
 sharply since 1929, and this  
 has led to a loss of confidence  
 in the government's financial  
 policy. The second is the fact  
 that the government has been  
 unable to maintain a stable  
 budget. The government has  
 run a large deficit for many  
 years, and this has led to a  
 loss of confidence in the  
 government's financial policy.

